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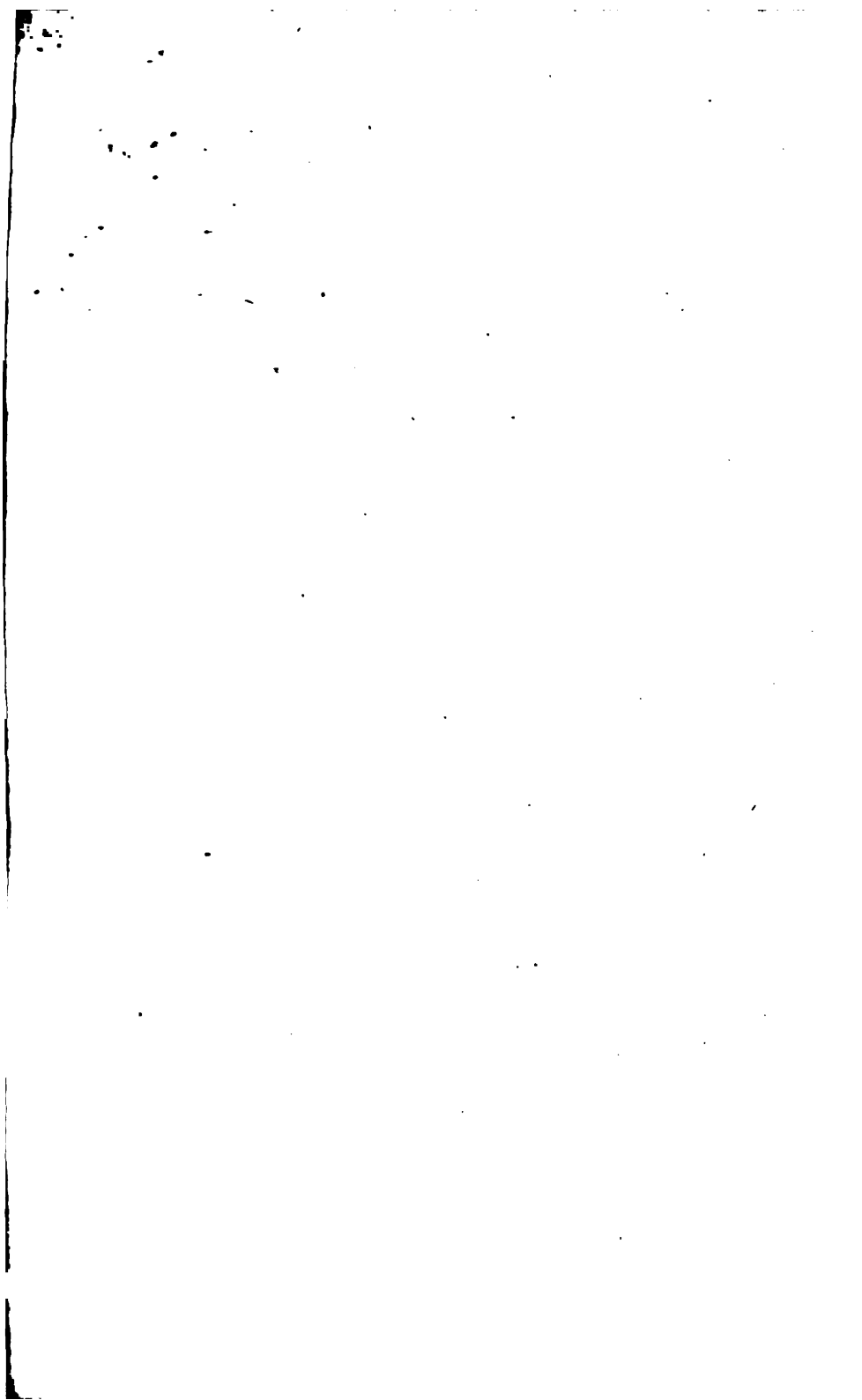
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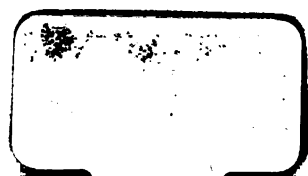
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE
CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH
TO THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
THREE DISSERTATIONS:

1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
2. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.
3. ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

BY
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FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, AND LATE
PROFESSOR OF POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.



A NEW EDITION
CAREFULLY REVISED,

WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE LATE MR. RITSON,
THE LATE DR. ASHBY, MR. DOUCE,
MR. PARK, AND OTHER EMINENT ANTIQUARIES,
AND
BY THE EDITOR.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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W. BEE PLAMMAN



TO HIS GRACE
G E O R G E,
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,
MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD,
KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,
A JUDGE AND A PATRON
OF
THE POLITE ARTS,
THIS WORK IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED
BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBLIGED,
AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THOMAS WARTON.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN an age advanced to the highest degree of refinement, that species of curiosity commences, which is busied in contemplating the progress of social life, in displaying the gradations of science, and in tracing the transitions from barbarism to civility.

That these speculations should become the favourite pursuits, and the fashionable topics, of such a period, is extremely natural. We look back on the savage condition of our ancestors with the triumph of superiority; we are pleased to mark the steps by which we have been raised from rudeness to elegance: and our reflections on this subject are accompanied with a conscious pride, arising in great measure from a tacit comparison of the infinite disproportion between the feeble efforts of remote ages, and our present improvements in knowledge.

In the mean time, the manners, monuments, customs, practices, and opinions of antiquity, by forming so strong a contrast with those of our own times, and

by exhibiting human nature and human inventions in new lights, in unexpected appearances, and in various forms, are objects which forcibly strike a feeling imagination.

Nor does this spectacle afford nothing more than a fruitless gratification to the fancy. It teaches us to set a just estimation on our own acquisitions; and encourages us to cherish that cultivation, which is so closely connected with the existence and the exercise of every social virtue.

On these principles, to develope the dawns of genius, and to pursue the progress of our national poetry, from a rude origin and obscure beginnings, to its perfection in a polished age, must prove an interesting and instructive investigation. But a history of poetry, for another reason, yet on the same principles, must be more especially productive of entertainment and utility. I mean, as it is an art, whose object is human society: as it has the peculiar merit, in its operations on that object, of faithfully recording the features of the times, and of preserving the most picturesque and expressive representations of manners: and, because the first monuments of composition in every nation are those of the poet, as it possesses the additional advantage of transmitting to posterity genuine delineations of life in its simplest stages. Let me add, that anecdotes of the rudiments of a favourite art will always be particularly pleasing. The more early specimens of poetry must ever amuse, in pro-

portion to the pleasure which we receive from its finished productions.

Much however depends on the execution of such a design*; and my readers are to decide in what degree I have done justice to so specious and promising a disquisition. Yet a few more words will not be perhaps improper, in vindication, or rather in explanation, of the manner in which my work has been conducted. I am sure I do not mean; nor can I pretend, to apologise for its defects.

I have chose to exhibit the history of our poetry in a chronological series: not distributing my matter into detached articles, of periodical divisions, or of general heads. Yet I have not always adhered so scrupulously to the regularity of annals, but that I have often deviated into incidental digressions; and have sometimes stopped in the course of my career, for the sake of recapitulation, for the purpose of collecting scattered notices into a single and uniform point of view, for the more exact inspection of a topic which required a separate consideration, or for a comparative survey of the poetry of other nations.

A few years ago, Mr. MASON, with that liberality

* [Ritson has observed that "The History of English Poetry stands high in public estimation; that the subject is equally curious, interesting and abstruse; and that he should have experienced satisfaction in finding the work *entirely free from error*." Obs. p. 2. This was penned, alas! with a selfish disregard to that urbane moral maxim *humanum est*

errare: since it may be considered as one of the highest testimonies to the merits of Mr. Warton's elaborate and multifarious publication, that Ritson himself, in his lynx-eyed scrutiny, has detected little more than what a liberal and candid mind would have communicated to the historian as a mere table of *errata*. —PARK.]

which ever accompanies true genius, gave me an authentic copy of Mr. POPE's scheme of a History of English Poetry, in which our poets were classed under their supposed respective schools. The late lamented Mr. GRAY had also projected a work of this kind, and translated some Runic odes for its illustration, now published ; but soon relinquishing the prosecution of a design, which would have detained him from his own noble inventions, he most obligingly condescended to favour me with the substance of his plan, which I found to be that of Mr. POPE^b, considerably enlarged, extended, and improved.

It is vanity in me to have mentioned these communications. But I am apprehensive my vanity will justly be thought much greater, when it shall appear, that in giving the history of English poetry, I have rejected the ideas of men who are its most distinguished ornaments. To confess the real truth, upon examination and experiment, I soon discovered their mode of treating my subject, plausible as it is, and brilliant in theory, to be attended with difficulties and inconveniencies, and productive of embarrassment both to the reader and the writer. Like other ingenious systems,

^b [See Pope's plan for a History of English Poetry, with another formed upon it by Gray, together with a letter to Warton in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1783. It has also been inserted by Mr. Mant and Mr. A. Chalmers in their *Lives of Warton*. Mr. Malone, in vol. 3. of *Dryden's Prose Works*, pointed out several mistakes in the classification of our English poets by Pope; and Dr. Warton made a new arrangement of them into four different classes and degrees, because he thought we do not sufficiently attend to the difference between a man of wit, a man of sense, and a true poet. Ded. to *Essay on Pope*.—PARK.]

it sacrificed much useful intelligence to the observance of arrangement; and in the place of that satisfaction which results from a clearness and a fulness of information, seemed only to substitute the merit of disposition, and the praise of contrivance. The constraint imposed by a mechanical attention to this distribution, appeared to me to destroy that free exertion of research with which such a history ought to be executed, and not easily reconcileable with that complication, variety, and extent of materials, which it ought to comprehend.

The method I have pursued, on one account at least, seems preferable to all others. My performance, in its present form, exhibits without transposition the gradual improvements of our poetry, at the same time that it uniformly represents the progression of our language.

Some perhaps will be of opinion, that these annals ought to have commenced with a view of the Saxon poetry. But besides that a legitimate illustration of that jejune and intricate subject^c would have almost doubled my labour, that the Saxon language is familiar only to a few learned antiquaries, that our Saxon poems are for the most part little more than religious rhapsodies, and that scarce any compositions remain marked with the native images of that people in their pagan state^d, every reader that reflects but for a mo-

^c [This subject has since been very ably and learnedly illustrated by the pen of Mr. Sharon Turner, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, to which the antiquarian reader is referred.—PARK.]

^d [To evince the unhappy tendency of Ritson's criticisms on Mr.

ment on our political establishment must perceive, that the Saxon poetry has no connection with the nature and purpose of my present undertaking. Before the Norman accession, which succeeded to the Saxon government, we were an unformed and an unsettled race. That mighty revolution obliterated almost all relation to the former inhabitants of this island; and produced that signal change in our policy, constitution and public manners, the effects of which have reached modern times. The beginning of these annals seems therefore to be most properly dated from that era, when our national character began to dawn.

It was recommended to me, by a person eminent in the republic of letters, totally to exclude from these volumes any mention of the English drama. I am very sensible that a just history of our Stage is alone sufficient to form an entire and extensive work; and this argument, which is by no means precluded by the attempt here offered to the public, still remains separately to be discussed, at large, and in form. But as it was professedly my intention to comprise every

Warton's History, the following comment upon this passage may serve as a sufficient sample. "It may seem (says the critic) a very extraordinary idea in a Christian minister (and who is not only the historian of poets but a poet himself) that these people could not have a poetical genius, because they were not pagans; and that religion and poetry are incompatible." How pitiable was the temper which dictated this forced inference; and

what a "picture in little" does it exhibit of morbid spleen!! Indeed, the critic seems totally to misapprehend the drift of Mr. Warton's reasoning: who only infers that when the Saxons were converted to Christianity, they lost all the wild imagery of their old superstitions; and composed religious rhapsodies in lieu of their native barbaric songs. —See *Gent. Mag.* Nov. 1782, p. 528. —PARK.]

species of English Poetry, this, among the rest, of course claimed a place in these annals, and necessarily fell into my general design. At the same time, as in this situation it could only become a subordinate object, it was impossible I should examine it with that critical precision and particularity, which so large, so curious, and so important an article of our poetical literature demands and deserves. To have considered it in its full extent, would have produced the unwieldy excrescence of a disproportionate episode: not to have considered it at all, had been an omission, which must detract from the integrity of my intended plan. I flatter myself however, that from evidences hitherto unexplored, I have recovered hints which may facilitate the labours of those, who shall hereafter be inclined to investigate the antient state of dramatic exhibition in this country, with due comprehension and accuracy.

It will probably be remarked, that the citations in the first volume are numerous, and sometimes very prolix. But it should be remembered, that most of these are extracted from antient manuscript poems never before printed, and hitherto but little known. Nor was it easy to illustrate the darker and more distant periods of our poetry, without producing ample specimens. In the mean time, I hope to merit the thanks of the antiquarian, for enriching the stock of our early literature by these new accessions: and I trust I shall gratify the reader of taste, in having so

frequently rescued from oblivion the rude inventions and irregular beauties of the heroic tale, or the romantic legend.

The design of the *DISSERTATIONS* is to prepare the reader, by considering apart, in a connected and comprehensive detail, some material points of a general and preliminary nature, and which could not either with equal propriety or convenience be introduced, at least not so formally discussed, in the body of the book; to establish certain fundamental principles to which frequent appeals might occasionally be made, and to clear the way for various observations arising in the course of my future inquiries.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE "History of English Poetry" assumes the first place in the catalogue of Warton's prose writings, and, to use the language of his biographer, "forms the most solid basis of his reputation." Though not the only labour of his life, which embraces the study of early English poetry and antiquities, it is still the only one to which he devoted himself with the ardour inspired by a favourite occupation, or in which the nature of his subject allowed him a fair and appropriate field for the display of his genius, his erudition, and his taste. His other productions are either testimonials of what he felt due to his rank in his college, or the amusements in which an active mind indulges when relaxing from severer pursuits; and even much of his poetry contains but a varied disposition of the same imagery which enlivens the pages of his history. In this his most voluminous and most important work, he found a subject commanding all the resources of his richly stored and fertile mind; a task which had excited the attention of two distinguished poets¹, as an undertaking not unworthy of their talents; where the duties were arduous, the path untrodden, and not a little of public prejudice to subdue against the worth and utility of

¹ The reader will find Pope's plan of his projected history, enlarged by Gray, in Dr. Mant's *Life of Warton*. The reasons for differing from his predecessors are given by Warton in the preface to his first volume.

his object¹. But Warton was too much in love with his theme, and too confident in his own ability, to be dismayed by difficulties which industry might overcome, or opinions having no better foundation than vulgar belief unsupported by knowledge; and the success attendant upon the publication of his first volume, which speedily reached a second edition², encouraged him to persevere in his course. A second and a third volume appeared in due succession; a small portion of the fourth had been committed to the press, when death arrested his hand, just as he was entering on the most interesting and brilliant period of our poetic annals—the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The comprehensive plan upon which Warton had commenced this work, so far exceeded his expectations of its possible extent, that though the original design was to have been completed in two volumes, there was still as much to do as had been accomplished, when his labours were thus abruptly terminated. Of this plan it had been a leading principle, that the historian was not to confine himself to the strict letter of his subject, a chronological account of poets and their writings, with an estimate of their merits or defects. The range of inquiry was to be extended further, beyond its obvious or perhaps its lawful limits; and the History of English Poetry to be made a channel for conveying information on the state of manners and customs among our feudal ancestry, the literature and arts of England and occasionally of Europe at large. A life longer than Warton's might have been unequal to the execution of such an extensive project; and there will be as many opinions upon the necessity of thus enlarging the boundaries of his theme, as of the manner in which he has acquitted himself in the undertaking. For while the general reader will complain of the frequent calls upon his patience

¹ Pope's sneers against "all such reading as was never read," and "the classics of an age that heard of none," were still fresh in public recollection.

² This second edition is not a mere reprint of the title-page; it is marked by several typographical errors which do not occur in the first.

for these repeated digressions, the scholar will regret, that subjects so attractive and copious in themselves are only passingly or superficially treated of. Without attempting to justify or deny the force of these objections, it may be more to our present purpose to inquire, what may have been the author's views of his duty, and the manner in which this was to be accomplished. In common with every one else who has duly canvassed the subject, Warton indisputably felt that the poetry of a rude and earlier age, with very few exceptions, can only command a share of later attention in proportion as it has exercised an influence over the times producing it, or conveys a picture of the institutions, modes of thinking or general habits of the society for which it was written. To have given specimens of these productions in all their native nakedness, would have been to ensure for them neglect from the listless student, and misapprehension from the more zealous but uninformed inquirer. A commentary was indispensably necessary, not a mere gloss upon words, but things, a luminous exposition of whatever had changed its character, or grown obsolete in the lapse of time, and which, as it unfolded to the reader's view the forgotten customs of the day, assisted him to live and feel in the spirit of the poet's age. For such a purpose it was requisite to enter largely into the domestic and civil economy of our ancestors, their public and private sports, the entertainments of the baronial hall, the martial exercises of the tournament, the alternate solemnities and buffooneries of misdirected devotion, and those coarser pastimes and amusements, which relieve the toil of industry, and give a zest to the labours of the humbler classes. The spirit and gallant enterprize of chivalry was to be recorded in conjunction with the juggler's dexterity and the necromancer's art; the avocations of the cloister, the *wode-craft* of the feudal lord, and the services of his retainer, were each to receive a share

of the general notice; and though romance and minstrelsy might be the prominent characteristics of the age, the occult mysteries of alchemy were not to be overlooked. With these were to be ranged, the popular superstitions of a departed pagan faith, and the legendary marvels of a new religion; the relations of the citizen to the state, and of the ecclesiastic to the community; the effects produced by the important political events of five centuries, and their consequences on the progress of civilization and national literature. In addition to these varied topics, Warton considered it equally imperative upon him to account for the striking contrast existing between the poetry of the ancient and modern world; and, in developing what he has termed the origin of romantic fiction, to discuss the causes which embellished or corrupted it, and to explain those anomalies which appear to separate it both from more recent compositions and the classic remains of antiquity. He also knew, that though poetry be not the child of learning, it is modified in every age by the current knowledge of the country, and that as an imitative art, it is always either borrowing from the imagery of existing models, or wrestling with the excellencies which distinguish them. It was therefore not only necessary to investigate the degree of classic lore which still diffused its light amid the gloom of the earlier ages of barbarism, but to show the disguises and corruptions under which a still greater portion had recommended itself to popular notice, and courted attention as the memorials of ancient and occasionally of national enterprise. But the middle age had also produced a learning of its own, and the scholar and the poet were so frequently united in the same personage, that in this ill-assorted match of science "wedded to immortal verse," the muse was often made the mere domestic drudge of her abstruse and erudite consort. Of this once highly-valued knowledge, so little has descended to our own times, that the modern reader, with-

out a guide to instruct him in his progress, feels like the traveller before the walls of Persepolis, who gazes on the inscriptions of a powerful but extinguished race, without a key to the character recording their deeds. Above all, it was of importance to notice the successive acquisitions, in the shape of translation or imitation, from the more polished productions of Greece and Rome; and to mark the dawn of that æra, which, by directing the human mind to the study of classical antiquity, was to give a new impetus to science and literature, and by the changes it introduced to effect a total revolution in the laws which had previously governed them. This is clearly the outline of what Warton proposed to himself as his duty:—of the mode in which this design has been fulfilled it must be left to others to determine. But let it not be hastily inferred, that when he has been excursive upon some collateral topic, he has consequently given it an importance disproportionate to its real bearing on his subject; or that the languor produced upon the reader's mind in certain periods of these annals, is exclusively the author's fault. The results attendant upon literary, as well as moral or political changes, are not always distinguished by that manifest equality to their exciting cause, which strikes the sense on a first recital; and the poetry of so many centuries, like the temper of the times, or the constitution of the seasons, must necessarily exhibit the same fitful vicissitudes of character, the same alternations of fertility and unproductiveness. Of the materials transmitted to his hands, whether marked by excellence, or proverbial for insipidity, it is still the historian's duty to record their existence; and though many of these may contain no single ray of genius to redeem their numerous absurdities, they yet may throw considerable light on the state of public opinion, and the ruling tastes or customs of their age. The most popular poetry of its day is well known not always to be the most meritorious, however

safely we may trust to the equity of time for repairing this injustice. The only question therefore will be, as to the degree in which such compositions ought to be communicated. In the earlier periods, where any memorials are exceedingly scanty, and those generally varying in their prevailing character, a greater latitude will be granted than in those where the invention of printing equally contributed to multiply the materials, and render the documents more generally accessible. Of Warton's consideration in this respect, it will be sufficient to remark, that in the sixteenth century (when every man seems to have been visited with a call to court the muse, and had an opportunity of giving publicity to his conceptions,) he has frequently consigned a herd of spiritless versifiers to the "narrow durance" of a note. There is another point upon which it may be more difficult to rescue his fame at the bar of outraged criticism: but as this seems to have been a crime of malice prepense, rather than inadvertency, his name must be left to sanctify the deed. The want of order in the arrangement of his subject is a charge which has been repeated both by friends and foes. A part of this Warton seems to have intentionally adopted. In a letter to Gray, tracing the outline of his forthcoming history, he specifically states, "I should have said before, that although I proceed chronologically, yet I often stand still to give some general view, as perhaps of a *particular species of poetry*, &c., and even to *anticipate* sometimes for this purpose. These views often form one section; yet are interwoven into the tenor of the work without interrupting my historical series⁴." He possibly thought, that as it is of the essence of romantic poetry "to delight in an intimate commingling of extremes, in the blending and contrasting of the most opposing elements⁵," it was equally so of its historian to

⁴ See Chalmers's Biog. Dict. art. Warton.

⁵ Schlegel on Dramatic Literature, vol. iii. p. 14.

deviate from established rules, and may have been so smitten with his antient masters as to conceive some of their distinguishing characteristics not unworthy of occasional imitation. But when it is said that his materials are ill digested, that we are frequently called upon in a later century, to travel back to one preceding, that we are then treated with specimens which *ought* to have found a place in an earlier chapter⁶, the zeal of criticism is made to exceed the limits either of justice or candour. It is wholly overlooked, that Warton was the first adventurer in the extensive region through which he journeyed, and into which the usual pioneers of literature had scarcely penetrated. Beyond his own persevering industry, he had little to assist his researches; his materials lay widely scattered, and not always very accessible; new matter was constantly arising, as chance or the spirit of inquiry evolved the contents of our public libraries⁷, and he had the double duty to perform of discovering his subject, and writing its history.

But these objections, whether founded in error, or justified by facts, have all been urged with temper, and are distinguished by that consideration for Warton's personal character, which every gentleman is entitled to, and every liberal scholar prides himself upon observing. In those now to be noticed, a widely different spirit was manifested; and one so opposite to every principle of decent or manly feeling, that it might be safely left to the contempt which Warton in the proud conviction of his own honour and integrity bestowed upon it, were it not

⁶ See Monthly Review for 1793.—Dr. Mant, who has refuted some of these charges, states them to have been copied (without acknowledgement) by Dr. Anderson, in his Life of Warton. May we not rather infer, that Dr. Anderson felt no obligation to acknowledge a quotation from himself?

⁷ The poems of Minot could only have been known to Warton by report, when he published his first volume. It

is well known, that they were accidentally discovered by Mr. Tyrwhitt, while engaged in searching for MSS. of Chaucer. A similar accident led to the discovery of the alliterative romance on the adventures of Sir Gawain, quoted vol. i. p. 186, by the writer of this note; and which there is every reason to believe, must have passed through the hands of Mr. Ritson.

interwoven with matter requiring attention on other accounts, of which occasional notice has been taken in the body of the work, and which must again be the subject of discussion. The reader of early English poetry will be at no loss to perceive, that the objections and conduct here spoken of, are those of the late Mr. Ritson. To be zealous in detecting error, exposing folly, or checking the presumptuous arrogance of any literary despot, is an obligation which the commonwealth of learning imposes upon all her sons. The tone of the reproof, and the character of the offence, are all that will be demanded of the ministrant in his office; and so great is the latitude allowed, that he who will condescend "to break a butterfly upon a wheel," *secundum artem*, runs no greater risk, than a gentle censure for the eccentricity of his taste; and even acrimony, where great provocation has been given, may pass for just and honest indignation. But Mr. Ritson, in the execution of his censorial duty, indulged in a vein of low scurrility and gross personalities, wholly without example since the days of Curll. He not only combated Warton's opinions, and corrected his errors, questioned his scholarship, and denied his ability; but impugned his veracity, attacked his morality, and openly accused him of all those mean and despicable arts, by which a needy scribbler attempts to rifle the public purse. There would have been little in this beyond the common operation of a nine days wonder, and the ferment of the hour which every deviation from established practice is sure to excite, had the charges been limited to a single publication. But for a period of twenty years, both while the object of them was living, and after his decease, they were repeated in every variety of form, always from the same amiable motives, though occasionally in a subdued style of animosity. The result of this extraordinary course, was the establishment of Mr. Ritson as the critical lord paramount in the realms of

romance and minstrelsy; his fiat became the ruling law, and no audacious hand was to raise the veil which covered the infirmities of the suzerain. For though he has magnified those venial errors, which, as the human mind is constituted, are almost inseparable from such an undertaking as Warton's, into offences which only meet their parallel in the criminal nomenclature of the country—into fraud, imposture and forgery—yet his own labours in the same department of literature, his “Ancient Songs,” and “Metrical Romances,” though scarcely equalling a tithe of the “History of English Poetry,” are marked by the same kinds of inaccuracy as those he has so coarsely branded. Indeed on such a subject it would have been as marvellous as unaccountable, if they had not:—but this is foreign to our purpose. It will rather be asked, whether the historian of English poetry may not have provoked this treatment by his own intemperance of rebuke, or want of charity towards others; and whether the vehemence of Mr. Ritson's indignation, and the virulence of his invective, may not have had a more commensurate motive, than the misquotation of a date, a name or a text, or the fallacy of a mere speculative opinion. With the exception of one misdemeanour hereafter to be mentioned,—a sin in itself of pardonable levity, if it must be so stigmatized,—Warton's conduct towards his fellow-labourers in the mine of antiquarian research, was distinguished by a tone of courtesy and complimentary address, which the sterner principles of the present day have rejected as bordering too closely upon adulation. Of this therefore as a general charge he must be acquitted, and equally so of any intention to wound the feelings or undermine the reputation of Mr. Ritson, as that gentleman's first publication connected with early English literature^a, was his “Observations” on Warton's

^a A Collection of Garlands (which cannot now be referred to) may bear an earlier date. But this was a local publication, not likely to extend beyond the limits of a country town. The “Observations” produced a controversy in

history⁹. The causes of this extraordinary persecution must hence be sought for in other directions. Among these it is not difficult to detect the sullen rancour of a jealous and self-appointed rival, the workings of an inferior mind, aiming at notoriety by an insolent triumph over talents, which it at once envies and despairs of equalling. The "taste and elegance" with which Warton had embellished his narrative, became a source of chagrin to a man who sought distinction by a style

the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1782-83. The first letter on the subject, signed *Verax*, was in all probability written by Warton. (See his letter to Mr. Nichols of the same date, inclosing a communication to that Miscellany, and requesting a concealment of the writer's name.) Those signed A. S. were by the late Mr. Russell of Sydney College. The letter signed *Vindex* contains internal evidence of Mr. Ritson's hand, who may also have drawn up the epitome of his pamphlet (1783, p. 281). But who was *Castigator*? (1782, p. 571). Was it the same worthy personage of whom his *friend* records the following creditable transaction? "This *venerabilissimus episcopus* [the bishop of Down], upon a different occasion, gave *Mister STREVEN*s a transcript from the above [folio] MS., of the vulgar ballad of *Old Simon the King*, with a strict injunction not to show it to this editour [Mr. Ritson], which however *he immediately brought him!*" Yet these were *honourable men!*

⁹ In this extraordinary pamphlet, Mr. Ritson made *thirty-eight* remarks upon the multifarious matter contained in Warton's first volume (extending to p. 304, vol. ii. of the present edition). Nine of these consist of those personalities already spoken of, or are mere objections to the conduct and order of the work. Thirteen are devoted to glossarial corrections, among which are the candid specimen recorded vol. ii. p. 52, note^o, and two literal interpretations, instead of two very appropriate paraphrases. The remaining fifteen, or rather the subjects they refer to, it may be worth while to analyse. One of

these had been already corrected by Warton in the *Emendations* appended to the second volume,—a circumstance which Mr. Ritson either knew, or ought to have known, as he carefully picked his way through this additional matter, for the purpose of supplying two corrections, one of which he afterwards recalled, and in furnishing the other committed an error equally great with that he amended. A second comprises the very "egregious blunder" of calling a piece of political rhyme a "ballad," when it is not written in "your ballad-metre." In a third, Warton has chosen to make a direct inference, where the affair admits neither of absolute proof, nor disproof. And a fourth offers an opinion, but a mere and guarded opinion, as to the age of a poem, in which there is every reason to believe he was correct. (See Mr. Park's note, vol. ii. p. 512. a.) In seven examples, it may be allowed that Mr. Ritson has convicted the historian of "ignorance;" though two of these refer to matters that are rather probable than certain: but in four of the remaining five, he has offered objections or corrections on subjects, where the charges of error only rebound upon himself. The fifteenth refers to a subject where Warton candidly acknowledges his inability to gratify the reader's curiosity. Thus, with the exception of the glossarial inaccuracies, of which more will be said hereafter, Mr. Ritson can only be admitted to have corrected *seven* mistakes, or more rigidly speaking *five*, in a 4to volume of 468 pages, and in the execution of which he has himself become chargeable with *four*.

of orthography, resembling any thing but the language of his native country; and hence the sarcastic tone in which these graceful advantages are complimented, while they are carefully contrasted with the historian's "habitual blunders." Warton's learning was also of no common order; and his reading of that extensive kind which enabled him to illustrate his theme from the varied circle of ancient and modern literature; and here again it became matter of exultation to discover, that his knowledge of Italian had *once* been but limited, or to hint that his acquaintance with Hickes's Thesaurus had been assisted by a translation of "Wotton's Conspectus." But in the gaiety of his heart, Warton had smiled at the solemn dullness of Hearne, the idol of Mr. Ritson's affections; he had descanted on the laboured triflings of this diligent antiquary in a style of successful yet playful irony, and chose to entertain no very exalted opinion of the patient drudgery by which "Thomas" was to recommend himself to posterity. This was an unpardonable offence, and little short of a declaration of hostilities by anticipation. For though genius will approve the well-directed satire which exposes its own peculiar foibles, while pourtraying the follies of a contemporary, yet moody mediocrity never forgives the bolt which, aimed at another's eccentricities, inadvertently grazes its own inviolable person. In addition, the historian of English poetry was a Christian, a churchman, and a distinguished member of his college; all and either of them sufficient to condemn him in the eyes of a man whose creed was confined to a rigid abstinence from animal food; with whom a clergyman was but another name for a "lazy, stinking and ignorant monk;" and who seems never to have been better pleased, than when retailing the coarse and pointless ribaldry of the fifteenth century, against the honours and dignities of an University. To this full measure of indiscretion, Warton had superadded a warm admira-

tion of the powers and learning of Warburton; and had even adopted, and considerably amplified, the fanciful theory of this eminent prelate on the origin of romantic fiction. This again was siding with the enemy. The bishop of Gloucester had conducted a merciless persecution against a sect of which Mr. Ritson made no scruple to acknowledge himself a follower, the "Epicureorum factio, æquo semper errore a vero devia et illa existimans ridenda quæ nesciat"¹⁰, and unhappily for his fame and the cause he advocated, in the possession of a giant's strength had too frequently exercised it with the cruelty of a giant. The tyranny of the master was therefore to be avenged on the head of his otherwise too guilty pupil; and the double end to be gained, of inflicting an insidious wound upon a foe too powerful to be encountered in the open field¹¹, and crushing an unresisting and applauded rival. But enough of this revolting subject, of which justice to the memory of an amiable, unoffending and elegant scholar required that some notice should be taken, and which no language can be too strong to mark with deserved reprobation.

It is now time to turn to those objections of Mr. Ritson, which embrace the literary defects of the History of English Poetry.

There can be no intention of dragging the reader through the minute and tedious details, with which this branch of the controversy is burthened. Wherever the better information of

¹⁰ Macrobius Som. Scipionis, in init.

¹¹ It is ludicrous in the extreme to observe a man of Mr. Ritson's attainments, stating Warburton's "distinguishing characteristic" to be "a want of knowledge." The "habitual mendacity" of the same learned prelate finds its parallel, if mere errors of opinion must receive this bland distinction, in such hasty assertions as the following: "The real *chanson de Roland* was unquestionably a metrical romance of great length." *Introd. to Met. Rom.* p. 37. "The Armorians never possessed a single story on the subject of Arthur

and the Round Table." *Ib.* p. 46. "The poets of Provence borrowed their art from the French or Normans." *Ib.* p. 50. "There is but one single romance existing that can be attributed to a troubadour," p. 51. "Before the first crusade, or for more than half a century after it, there was not one single romance on the achievements of Arthur or his knights." *Ib.* p. 52. To enumerate all the unfounded assertions contained in the section immediately following "the Saxon and English language" would be to write a small treatise.

Mr. Ritson has been available, (at least in all cases where his reasoning has produced conviction on the editor's mind,) his corrections will be found submitted in their appropriate places. But as the more important of these were directed against opinions rather than facts, and consequently, whether correct or inadmissible, could not always be inserted or combated in the body of the work, without deranging Warton's text or causing too frequent repetitions, they have been reserved for consideration here, and may be classed under the general heads of:—objections to the Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction, the credibility of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, the character of Warton's specimens, and his glossarial illustrations of them.

If the object of this examination were a mere defence of Warton's opinions, by exposing the false positions assumed by his adversary, it would be an easy task to show that Mr. Ritson's sweeping assertions with regard to the general relations between the Moors in Spain and their conquered subjects, or even their Christian foes, are not borne out by the facts. The inferences he has drawn would consequently fall of themselves; and it might be added, that the discoveries of our own times have sufficiently proved the possibility of this decried system being upheld, if the general principle it assumes, and which has been applied by Mr. Ritson to the progress of Romance in England, Italy and Germany, were otherwise allowable. The romance of *Antar* might be offered as a sufficient type for all subsequent tales of chivalry; and the story of the *Sid Batallah* adduced as a proof, that the Spaniards could endow a national hero with a title borrowed from the favourite champion of their foes². But this would be creating a phantom for the purpose of foiling an over-zealous

² Of course this is only stated hypothetically. The reason assigned in the *Chronicle* for the appellation, is indisputably a fable; since every tributary

Moor would have used the same address, *Sid, Master*, to his Spanish liege lord. The Arabian romance is noticed by Warton, *Diss.* i. p. xiv.; and Mr. von

adversary. The ends of truth will be better advanced by examining the causes which led to Warton's adoption of this dazzling theory, and an estimate of its application to the subject it was intended to develop.

The light sketch given by Warburton of the origin of romance in Spain, traced the whole stream of chivalrous fiction to two sources,—the chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin relative to Charlemagne and his peers, and the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In this system there were many points totally irreconcilable with the state of the subject, both before and after the periods at which these productions obtained a circulation; and it was therefore necessary to account for what might be termed, the anticipations of their narratives, and even their omissions, by the discovery of a more prolific fountain-head. A large portion of the marvellous imagery contained in the early poetry of Europe, was found to have its counterpart in the creations of Oriental genius. To account for this, by a direct communication between the East and West, was the problem that Warton proposed to solve; and as the æra of the first crusade was too recent to meet the difficulties already alluded to, and Warburton had been supposed to prove that the first romances were of Spanish origin, the subject seemed to connect itself in a very natural order with the Moorish conquest of that country. A more extensive acquaintance with the general literature of the dark and middle ages has fully proved the fallacy of this assumption, which could only have been entertained in the infancy of the study. But that such an hypothesis should have been conceived in this stage of the subject, will be no impeachment of Warton's general judgement, when it is recollected, that his contemporary

Hammer has recently borne evidence to its great popularity among the Saracens. The Moorish Sid died in the campaign against Constantinople, anno 738. See *Jahrbücher der Litteratur*, No. 14. The

German romances on the story of the Saint Graal (to be noticed hereafter) are derived from an Arabic source, through the medium of the Provençal.

Dr. Percy had adopted a system equally exclusive; and that Dr. Leyden, at a later period, advocated a third upon the same contracted principles. The analogous conduct of such men, though not wholly exculpatory, is at least a proof that the causes for this procedure rested on no slight foundation. There is however one leading error in Warton's Dissertation, an error it only shares in common with the theories opposed to it, arising from too confined a view of the natural limits of his subject, and too general an application of the system in detail. The consequence has been an unavoidable confusion between the essence and the costume of romantic fiction, and the exclusive appropriation of the common property of mankind to a particular age and people. Indeed, the learned projectors of these several systems no sooner begin to disclose the details of their schemes, than we instantly recognise the elements of national fable in every country of whose literature we possess a knowledge; and notwithstanding the professed intention of conducting an examination into the origin of romantic fiction, their disquisitions silently merge into the origin of fiction in general. To such an inquiry it is evident there can be no chronological limits. The fictions of one period, with some modification, are found to have had an existence in that immediately preceding; and the further we pursue the investigation, the more we become convinced of a regular transmission through the succession of time, or that many seeming resemblances and imitations are sprung from common organic causes, till at length the question escapes us as a matter of historical research, and resolves itself into one purely psychological. It is even difficult to conceive any period of human existence, where the disposition to indulge in these illusions of fancy has not been a leading characteristic of the mind. The infancy of society, as the first in the order of time, also affords some circumstances highly favourable to the development of this faculty. In such a state, the secret and invisible bands

which connect the human race with the animal and vegetable creation, are either felt more forcibly than in an age of conventional refinement, or are more frequently presented to the imagination. Man regards himself then but as the first link in the chain of animate and inanimate nature, as the associate and fellow of all that exists around him, rather than as a separate being of a distinct and superior order. His attention is arrested by the lifeless or breathing objects of his daily intercourse, not merely as they contribute to his numerous wants and pleasures, but as they exhibit any affinity or more remote analogy with the mysterious properties of his being. Subject to the same laws of life and death, of procreation and decay, or partially endowed with the same passions, sympathies and propensities, the speechless companion of his toil and amusement, the forest in which he resides, or the plant which flourishes beneath his care, are to him but varied types of his own intricate organization. In the exterior form of these, the faithful record of his senses forbids any material change; but the internal structure, which is wholly removed from the view, may be fashioned and constituted at pleasure. The qualities which this is to assume, need only be defined by the measure of the will, and hence we see that, not content with granting to each separate class a mere generic vitality suitable to its kind, he bestows on all the same mingled frame of matter and mind, which gives the chief value to his own existence. Nor is this playful exercise of the inventive faculties confined to the sentient objects of the creation; it is extended over the whole material and immaterial world, and applied to every thing of which the mind has either a perfect or only a faint conception. The physical phenomena of nature, the tenets of a public creed, the speculations of ancient wisdom¹³, or the exposition of a moral duty,

¹³ See the celebrated passage in the Iliad viii. 17, relative to the golden chain of Jupiter, with Heyne's account of the interpretations bestowed upon it

in the ancient world. Mr. F. Schlegel has given a parallel passage from the Bhagavatgita, where Vishnu illustrates the extent of his power by a similar image:—

are alike subjected to the same fantastic impress, and made to assume those forms which, by an approximation to the animal contour, assist the understanding in seizing their peculiar qualities, and the memory in retaining them. It is this personification of the blind efforts of nature, which has given rise to those wild and distorted elements that abound in all profane cosmogonies; where, by a singular combination of the awful and sublime with the monstrous and revolting, an attempt is made to render intelligible those infinite energies of matter which surpass the limits of human comprehension. The same law is evident in the obscure embodiment of a moral axiom, or an abstract quality, as shadowed forth in the enigma¹⁴; in all that condensed imagery which has found its way into the proverbial expressions of nations; and some of the most surprising incidents in romantic narrative, have no better foundation than the conversion of a name into an event¹⁵. But of this universal tendency to confer a spiritual existence upon the lifeless productions of nature, and to give a corporeal form and expression to the properties and conceptions of matter and mind, it would be superfluous to offer any laboured proof. The whole religious system of the ancient world, with one ex-

¹⁴ "I am the cause of existence as well as destruction to all; than me nothing higher is found, and nothing without me. O friend! this ALL hangs united on me like the pearls that are strung on a fillet." Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier, p. 303. See also IL i. 422, with the ancient expositors.

¹⁵ Considerable collections on this subject are to be found in the preface to Resenius's edition of the Edda. The whole argument is very elaborately discussed in Mr. Creuzer's learned work, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker besonders der Griechen*, vol. i. Leipzig 1810.

¹⁶ The name of *Cœur de Lion* has furnished king Richard's romance with the well-known incident of his combat

with a lion. A still more remarkable illustration of the same practice is to be found in the German romance, *Heinrich der Löwe*, or *Henry the Lion*. See Görres *Volks-bücher*, p. 91. There can be as little doubt, that we are indebted to the name of Cypselus (a chest) for the marvellous story related by Herodotus, 5. 92. See also the fable relative to Priam (from *apud* Apollodorus *Biblioth.* ii. 6. 4.) and Ajax (from *above*, Schol. in *Pind.* *Ist.* 4. 76.) To the same cause, perhaps, we may also attribute the tale of Pelops and his ivory shoulder. The concurrent practice of the minstrel poets will show these recitals not to have been mere fancies of the grammarians.

ception, may be adduced as an exemplification of the fact; and even the sacred writings of the Old Testament contain occasional indications of a similar practice¹⁶.

The operation of this principle, while it is sufficient to account for all the marvels of popular fiction, will also lead to the establishment of two conclusions: first, that wherever there may have been any resemblance in the objects calling it forth, the imagery produced will exhibit a corresponding similarity of character; and secondly, that a large proportion of the symbols thus brought into circulation, like the primitive roots in language, will be found recurring in almost every country, as a common property inherited by descent. In illustration of these conclusions, we need only refer to those local traditions of distant countries which profess to record the history of some unusual appearance on the surface of the soil¹⁷, the peculiar character of a vegetable production, or the structure of a public monument. Whether in ancient Greece or modern Europe, every object of this kind that meets the traveller's eye is found to have a chronicle of its origin; the causes assigned for its existence, or its natural and artificial attributes, wear a common mythic garb; while in either country these narratives are so strikingly allied to the fictions of popular song, that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the muse has supplied their substance, or been herself indebted to them for some of her most attractive incidents¹⁸. A mound of earth becomes

¹⁶ See the fable of the trees, Judges ix. 8.; of the thistle and the cedar, 2 Chronicles xxv. 18.

¹⁷ At the entrance of a cave near the plain of Marathon, Pausanias saw a number of loose stones, which at a distance resembled goats. The country-people called them Pan's Flock. (*Attica*, 26.) A similar group on Marlborough Down is still called the Gray Wethers. A tuft of cypresses near Psophis, in Arcadia, was called the Virgins. (*Arcad.* c. 24.) On the downs between Wadebridge and St. Columb, there is a

line of stones called the Nine Maids. *Borlase Ant. of Corn.* p. 159. The Glastonbury thorn, which budded on Christmas day, was a dry hawthorn staff miraculously planted by St. Joseph. *Collinson's Somersetshire*, ii. p. 265. This is a common miracle in the history of the Dionysic thyrsus. A myrtle at Trézene, whose leaves were full of holes, was said to have been thus perforated by Phædra in her moments of despair. (*Paus.* i. 22. See also ii. 28 and 32.)

¹⁸ There can be little doubt that the story of the Phæacian ship (*Od.* xiii. 163.)

the sepulchre of a favourite hero¹⁹; a pile of enormous stones, the easy labour of some gigantic craftsmen²⁰; a single one, the stupendous instrument of daily exercise to a fabulous king²¹; the conformation of a rock, or a mark upon its surface, attests the anger or the presence of some divinity²²; and the emblems and decorations of a monumental effigy must either be explained from the events of popular history²³, or perverted from

was taken from some local tradition well known at the period. In the time of Procopius it had become localized at the modern Cassopé; notwithstanding an inscription explained the origin of the votive structure to which it was attached. At the present day, a small island near the harbour of Corfu, claims the honour of being the original bark. In the same way many incidents in the Argonautica received a "local habitation." According to Timonax, Jason and Medea were married at Colchis, where the bridal bed was shown. Timæus denied this, and referred to the nuptial altars at Ceryra. (Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1217.) The earliest version of this fiction may be supposed to have confirmed the Colchian tradition; but as the limits of the sphere of action became extended, the later narratives of necessity embraced other fables. Hence the Argonautic poems became for ancient geography and local tradition, what the syncretic statues of Cybele were for ancient symbols. The passage in Apollonius, l. i. v. 1305, is evidently taken from a local fiction, as it refers to the *rocking-stones* commemorating the event.

¹⁹ In localizing these traditions, little regard is paid to the contending claims of other districts. Several mounds are shown in various parts of Denmark, as the graves of Vidrich Verlandsen, and as many of the giant Langbein. (Müller *Saga Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 224.) The residence of Habor and Signe, so celebrated in Danish song, has been appropriated in the same way; and has given name to a variety of places. (Udvalgte Danske Viser, vol. iii. p. 408.) Scottish tradition has transferred the burial place of Thomas the Rhymer, from Erceldown to a *temban* which rises in a plain

near Inverness. Grant's *Essays*, &c. vol. ii. p. 158.

²⁰ The Cyclops were the contrivers of these works in ancient times, whose place has been supplied by the Giants. See the books relative to Stonehenge, Giant's Causeway, &c. The Arabs have a tradition, that Cleopatra's needle was once surrounded by seven others, which were brought from mount Berym to Alexandria, by seven giants of the tribe of Aad.

²¹ The common people call a crom-leach, near Lligwy in Anglesea, Coeten Arthur, or Arthur's Quoit. Jones's *Bardic Mus.* p. 60. The general character of the Homeric poems will justify the conclusion, that a similar monument supplied the incident in the *Odyssey*, viii. ver. 194. The Locrians showed an enormous stone before the door of Euthymus, which he was said to have placed there by his own efforts. *Ael. V. Hist.* viii. 18.

²² At mount Sipylus in Attica, there was a rock, which at some distance resembled a woman weeping; the inhabitants called it Niobe. (Paus. i. 21.) The footstep of Hercules was seen imprinted on a rock near the river Tyra in Scythia, Herod. iv. 82. In Cicero's time the marks of the horses' hoofs of Castor and Pollux were still shown as a proof of their presence at the battle of Regillus. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 5. 11. 2.

²³ The statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus gave rise to a Grecian fable, that the stone of which it was made had been brought to Marathon by the Persians, for the purpose of erecting a victorious trophy. (Paus. i. 33.) That it was a mere fable, every practice of their enemies clearly proves.

their original character to give some passage in it a locality²⁴. It is thus too that the volcanic eruptions of Lydia, Sicily, Cilicia, and Bœotia, were respectively attributed to the agency of Typhon²⁵; that the purple tints upon certain flowers were said to have originated with the deaths of Ajax, Adonis and Hyacinthus; that the story of the man in the moon has found a circulation throughout the world; and that the clash of elements in the thunder-storm was ascribed in Hellas to the rolling chariot-wheels of Jove²⁶, and in Scandinavia to the ponderous waggon of the Norwegian Thor. The same general principle has likewise led to that community of ideas entertained by all mankind of the glories and felicities of the past. Every age has been delighted to dwell with sentiments of admiration upon the memory of the "good old times;" they still continue to form a theme of fond and lavish applause; and the philosophic Agis had to console his desponding countryman with a remark which every man's experience has made familiar, "that the fading virtues of later times were a cause of grief to his father Archidamus, who again had listened to the same regrets from his own venerable sire²⁷." In this, indeed, the feelings and conduct of nations in their collective capacity, only present us with a counterpart to individual opinion. The sinking energies of increasing age, like the dimness of enfeebled vision, have a constant tendency to deprive passing events of their natural sharpness of outline, and the broader features of their character; and we learn to charge them with an indistinctness of form, and a sombre tameness of colouring, which only exists in the spectator's mind. The defects of our own impaired and waning organs become transferred to the changeless objects around us; and in proportion as the imagination recalls the impressions of earlier life, when the sense enjoyed

²⁴ See the account of sir John Conyers' tomb in Gough's Camden, iii. p. 114.

²⁵ Schol. in Lycoph. v. 177.

²⁶ Hesychius in v. ἀχαιϊκόρα.

²⁷ Plutarch. Apophtheg. Læon. 17.

the robust and healthy action of youth, the present is doomed to suffer by an unjust and degrading contrast. Thus also in the lengthened vista of popular tradition, every thing which is shrouded in the obscurity of a distant age, is made to partake of those physical and temporal advantages which the fancy has bestowed upon the reign of Saturn in Hesperia²², or the joys of Asgard before the arrival of the gigantic visitants from Jotunheim²³. The qualities of the mind, and the properties of the body, are then supposed to share in the native vigour of a young creation; and those cherished objects of man's early wishes, extreme longevity and great corporeal strength, are believed to be the enviable lot of all²⁴. Hence the fictions of every country have agreed in regarding an unusual extension of the thread of life as a mark of divine favour²⁵; and

²² See Diod. Sic. iii. 61. Compare also Hesiod's account of the golden age. *Op. et Dies*, v. 108, &c. The comic side of the picture is to be found in Athen. i. vi. p. 267, &c. But the ancients always had some distant country, where these fancied blessings were still enjoyed. In the earlier periods, Æthiopia seems to have been the name ascribed to this land of promise (*Il. i.* 423. *Od. i.* 22.); and hence perhaps the flattering, though somewhat sobered, picture of its inhabitants given by Herodotus iii. c. 17-24. Later traditions place the scene in the country of the Hyperboreans, a people changing their locality from the northern extremity of Asia to that of Europe, or even the coast of Gaul (compare Diod. Sic. 2. c. 47 with Pomponius Mela, 3. c. 5.), and to whom Strabo, on the authority of Simonides and Pindar, has given a life of a thousand years, lib. xv. p. 711. Another chain of fiction assigns it to the isles of the West (*Od. iv.* 563), and from hence have sprung the descriptions of Horace (*Epod. xvi.* 41), and Plutarch (in *Vit. Sertor.*). For similar accounts of India see Ctesias ap. Wesseling's Herod. p. 861. and Pliny vii. 2.

²³ *Edda* of Snorro Durnesaga, 12.

²⁴ Josephus, after noticing the age of Noah, cites the testimonies of Manetho

for the extreme longevity of the early Egyptians; of Hieronymus for that of the Phœnicians; of Hesiod, Hecateus, &c. for the Grecians; all of whom gave a thousand years to the life of man in the first periods of the world. *Archæolog. i. c.* 3. § 9. For the same advantage enjoyed by the early Egyptian kings, see Diod. Sic. i. 26, and compare Pliny's account of the Arcadians and Ætolians, some of whom lived three hundred years. *Hist. Nat. vii.* 48. The long-lived Æthiopians of Herodotus, who, be it remembered, were the tallest and most beautiful of mankind, usually lived 120 years. Herod. iii. c. 17. 23.

²⁵ At the siege of Troy the "Pylian sage" was living his third age. *Il. i.* 260. A Lycian tradition had assigned to Sarpedon a life of three ages, as the favourite son of Jove. *Apollod. Bibl. iii.* 1, 2. Heyne, forgetful that we are here on mythic ground, wishes to follow Diodorus, who attempts to give the narrative an air of probability, by making two Sarpedons, a grandsire and his grandson. Tiresias was said to have lived seven ages, and Agatharchides more than five. (*Meurs. in Lycophr. v.* 682.) Norna-Gest, as he lighted the candle on which his existence depended, said he was three hundred years old. (*Norna-*

every national hero has been endowed with gigantic stature², and made to possess all those virtues which the common consent of mankind unites in considering so, or the ruder ethics of an earlier period have substituted for such.

With regard to those standing types of popular fiction, which have been compared to the roots of language, the history of their application in various periods of society displays the same frequent recurrence of certain primitive images, and the same series of ever-changing analysis and combination which mark the growth and progress of language itself. There will appear something fanciful perhaps in this comparison, yet the nearer we investigate it, the more we shall feel assured, that many of the laws which have governed the one are strictly analogous with those which have swayed the development of the other; and that, however much we may dispute as to the causes which have called forth these important phenomena of the mind, their subsequent regulation is considerably less equivocal. The mass of primitives in every language,

Gest Saga in Müller's *Saga-Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 113.) Toke Tokesen was also fated to live two ages of man, *Ib.* p. 117. and Hildebrand, the invincible champion and Mentor of Theodoric, died aged 180 or 200 years. *Ib.* 278.

² The sandal of Perseus found at Chemnis was two cubits in length. Herod. 2. c. 91. The footstep of Hercules shown in Scythia, was of the same size. *Ib.* 4. c. 82; though the more sober traditions make his whole stature only four cubits and a foot. (Herod. Ponticus ad Lycophr. v. 663.) Lycophron calls Achilles *εἰς ἰσχυρὸν*, *Cass.* v. 860. The body of Orestes when found measured seven cubits. (Herod. 1. c. 68.) And for the large size of Ajax, Pelops and Theseus, see Paus. i. 35. v. 13. and Plut. in Vit. c. 36. A Ferøe song says of Sigurdr (the Siegfried of the Nibelungen Lied), that he grew more in one month than others did in twelve. (Compare the romance of Sir

Gowghther and Homer's account of Otus and Ephialtes, *Od.* 11. 308.) He was so tall, that when he walked through a field of ripe rye, the point of his sword (which was seven spans long) might be seen above the standing corn. (Müller, p. 61.) A hair of his horse's tail, which Gest shewed king Oluf, measured seven ells. (*Ib.* p. 111.) Theodoric of Berne was two ells broad between the shoulders, tall as an Eten (giant), and stronger than any man would believe who had not seen him. (Wilkins-Saga, c. 14.) The grave of Gawain was fourteen feet long, the reputed stature of Little John. (Ritson.) Of Arthur, Higden has said: "Also have mynde that Arthures chyn-bone that was thenne (on the discovery of his body at Glastonbury) shewed, was longer by thre yches than the legge and the knee of the lengest man, that was thenne founde. Also the face of his forhede, bytwene hys two eyen, was a spanne brode." Trevisa's transl. f. 290. rec.

(even in those whose decided character gives them the aspect of parent dialects) is well known to bear a very small proportion to the wealth of its vocabulary; and at some stage of human existence, even these elementary terms must have been sufficient to express the wants, and effect an interchange of thought, between the several members of the community. As fresh necessities arose, and the bounds of knowledge became extended, the original types in their simple import would be unequal to the demands of every new occasion; and hence the introduction of a long roll of meanings to the primitives, and all the intricacies of analysis and synthesis, which have given wealth, dignity, and expression to language. There is however no fact more certain, within our *knowledge* of the past and our experience of the present, than that words neither have been nor are now *invented*; but that they always have been compounded from existing roots in the dialect requiring them, or borrowed from some collateral source; and for this very obvious reason, that any other mode of proceeding would wholly defeat the only end for which language was intended, the communication of our wishes, feelings and opinions. That the progress of popular fiction has followed a nearly similar course, a slight consideration of the subject will tend to assure us. The extraordinary process already alluded to, which, by endowing inanimate objects with sense, feeling, and spirituality, robs man of his proudest distinction, is no new creation of elementary forms previously unknown, but a simple transference of peculiar properties, the characteristics of a more perfect class of beings, to others less perfectly constituted. The prophetic ship, the grateful ant, the courteous tree³³, *et hoc genus omne*, are none of them subjected to any mutation in their physical qualities; they merely receive an additional grant of certain

³³ See Grimm's *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* and Müller's *Saga-Bibliothek*, *passim*.

ethical attributes, which, like secondary meanings in language, enlarge their power without varying their natural appearance. Even the personification of immaterial things, though approaching nearest to the plastic nature of a really creative power, is but an extension of the same principle. For though in these the external forms be wholly supplied by the fancy, the inherent qualities of the thing personified furnish the outline of all its moral endowments; and the contrast between the abstract property in its original state, and the living image representing it, is not more striking than between the different objects which are expressed in language by one common symbol²⁴. The wildest efforts of the imagination can only exhibit to us a fresh combination of well-known types drawn from the store-house of nature; and it is the propriety of the new arrangement, the felicitous juxtaposition of the stranger elements in their novel relation to each other, which marks the genius of the artist, which fixes the distance between a Boccaccio and a Troveur, a Shakespeare and a Brooke²⁵. The same chaste economy which has regulated the development of language, is equally conspicuous in the history of popular fiction; and, like the vocabulary of a nation once supplied with a stock of appropriate imagery, all its subsequent additions seem to have arisen in very slow progression. For this we must again refer to the prevailing state of society and the condition of those common agents by whom both subjects have been fostered. The more degraded the intellectual culture of a nation upon its first appearance in history, the poorer will be found its vocabulary, with reference to the innate resources of the language; and the subsequent wealth of every dialect will be discovered to have been attendant upon the pro-

²⁴ The burning lava of *Ætna* was made the type of Typhæus's fury; but the contrast here is not greater, than between those objects of domestic use which are named after animals, such as

a cat, dog, horse, &c.

²⁵ See Brooke's poem on the subject of *Romeo and Juliet* in Malone's *Shakespeare*.

gress of civilization, and the acquisition of new ideas². The patrons of popular fiction, as the very name implies, belong to that class of the community which, amid all the changes and revolutions that are operating around it, always retains a considerable portion of its primitive characteristics. Among these may be reckoned the narrow circle of its necessities in the use of language and expression, and the modest demands of its intellectual tastes, so opposite to that later epicurism of the mind, a refined and learned taste, which is only to be appeased by an unceasing round of novelties. Unacquainted with the feverish joys occasioned by the use of strong and fresh excitements, popular taste only asks for a repetition of its favourite themes; and, blest with the pure and limited wants of infancy, it listens to the "twice-told tale" with the eagerness and simplicity of a child. It is on this principle that every country in Europe has invested its popular fictions with the same common marvels; that all acknowledge the agency of the lifeless productions of nature; the intervention of the same supernatural machinery; the existence of elves, fairies, dwarfs, giants, witches and enchanters; the use of spells, charms and amulets; and all those highly-gifted objects, of whatever form or name, whose attributes refute every principle of human experience, which are to conceal the possessor's person, annihilate the bounds of space, or command a gratification of all our wishes. These are the constantly-recurring types which embellish the popular tale, which hence have been transferred to the more laboured pages of romance; and which, far from owing their first appearance in Europe to the Arabic conquest of Spain, or the migration of Odin to Scandinavia, are known to have been current on its eastern verge long anterior to the

² "J'ai eu des idées nouvelles; il a bien fallu trouver des nouveaux mots, ou donner aux anciens de nouvelles accep- tions," says Montesquieu in the *Advertisement* to his *Esprit des Loix*.

æra of legitimate history³⁷. The Nereids of antiquity, the daughters of the "sea-born seer," are evidently the same with the Mermaids of the British and Northern shores; the habitations of both are fixed in crystal caves, or coral palaces, beneath the waters of the ocean; and they are alike distinguished for their partialities to the human race, and their prophetic powers in disclosing the events of futurity. The Naiads only differ in name from the Nixen³⁸ of Germany and Scandinavia (Nisser), or the Water-Elves of our countryman Ælfric; and the Nornæ, who wove the web of life and sang the fortunes of the illustrious Helga, are but the same companions who attended Ilithyia at the births of Iamos and Hercules³⁹. Indeed so striking is the resemblance between these divinities and the Grecian Moeræ, that we not only find them officiating at the birth of a hero, conferring upon him an amulet which is to endow him with a charmed existence, or cutting short the thread of his being, but, like their prototype or parallel, varying in their number—from three to nine,—as they figure in their various avocations, of Nornæ or Valkyriar, as Parcæ or Muses⁴⁰. In the Highland Urisks⁴¹, the Russian Le-

³⁷ It will be felt, that this intricate and copious subject could only be generally noticed here. More ample sources of information are to be found in the preface and notes to the *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* of Messrs. Jacob and William Grimm, Sir W. Scott's *Essay on the Faeries of Popular Superstition*, (*Min-strelsy*, vol. ii.) and some useful collections in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. A further consideration of the subject is reserved for another occasion; when the authorities for some opinions, which may appear either too bold or paradoxical, and which could not be introduced here, will be given at length.

³⁸ The Russian *Rusalkis* belong to the same family. They are represented as a race of beautiful virgins, with long green hair, living in lakes and rivers, and who were generally seen swinging on the branches of trees, bathing in the

flood, or dressing their hair in the meads beside a running stream. Mone's continuation of Creuzer's *Symbolik*, vol. i. p. 145.

³⁹ Compare Helga *githa hin fyrsta*, in *Sæmund's Edda*, with Pindar *Ol. vi. 72.* and Anton. *Liberalis*, c. 29.

⁴⁰ A further illustration of this subject must also be reserved for a future publication.

⁴¹ The Urisk has a figure between a goat and a man; in short, precisely that of a Grecian Satyr.—Notes to the *Lady of the Lake*, p. 356. There are few antiquarian subjects requiring more revision than the modern nomenclature of this sylvan family. This confusion of character and name is no where more apparent than in the account of the ancient monuments in the British Museum. The Grecian Satyr is perfectly human in the lower extremities of his person; but the

schies⁴², and the Pomeranian or Wendish Berstucs⁴³, we perceive the same sylvan family, who, under the name of Panes and Panisci, presided over the fields and forests of Arcadia. The general meetings of the first were held on Ben-Venew, like the biennial assembly of the Fauns on mount Parnassus; and the Slavonian hunter invoked the assistance of his Zlebog⁴⁴, the Finn of his Wäinämöinen⁴⁵, and the Laplander of his Storkjarkare⁴⁶, with the same solemnity as that with which the Greek

Panes (for the ancients acknowledged more than one Pan, as well as more than one Silenus) and Panisci preserved the legs and thighs of a goat.

⁴² These Russian divinities had a human body, horns on the head, projecting pointed ears, and a bushy beard. Below they were formed like a goat. (Compare the well-known group of Pan and Olympus in the Villa Albani, and the representations of the same subject in the *Pittura d'Ercolano*.) They had the power of changing their stature as they pleased. When they walked through the grass, they were just seen above it; in walking through forests, their heads ranged above the highest trees. Woods and groves were consecrated to them, and no one dared offend them, as they excited in the culprit's mind the most appalling terrors, or in a feigned voice seduced him through unknown ways to their caves, where they tickled him to death. Mone, p. 143. Among the Finns these practices were attributed to a god Lekkio and a goddess Ajataa. The first assumed the form of a man, dog, crow, or some other bird, for the purpose of exciting terror; and the latter led the traveller astray. *Ib.* 59. The reader will not fail to recognise in this the Panic terrors of the Arcadian god; and to be reminded of the Olympian invocation, which called Pan Rhea's *ἰσχυρὸς ἀνδρῶν*. Pind. *Frag.* ap. Aristot. *Rhetor.* ii. 24. The irritable temperament of these sylvan deities is also common to their parallel. Theocritus, *Id.* i. v. 15.

⁴³ The worship of these deities appears to have been common to all the Slavonic tribes situated between the Vistula and the Elbe. This district has been

divided by some chroniclers into Pomerania and Vandalia, an arrangement which has caused the inhabitants of the latter to be confounded with the Teutonic invaders of the Empire. The term in the text has been borrowed from the German to avoid this inaccuracy; but Trevisa has shown that there was a name for it in England: "Wyntlandia, that ilonde is by-west Denmark, and is a barren londe; and men [go there] out of byleve, they selle wynde to the shypmen that come to theyr portes and havenes, as it were closed under knottes of threde. And as the knottes be unknytte the wynde wexe at theyr wylle." f. 32. In all their attributes, the Berstucs appear to have been the same with the Russian Leschies.

⁴⁴ The head of the Berstucs was Zlebog, usually explained The angry god. *Frencel de Diis Soraborum et aliorum Slavorum* ap. Hoffmann *Script. Rer. Lusat.* tom. ii. p. 234-6. Care must be taken not to confound them with the Prussian dwarfs, called Barstuck; and who perhaps have usurped a name which designates their form rather than their occupation. In Durham and Newcastle, the English Puck is called Bar-quest.

⁴⁵ Wäinämöinen was the inventor of the kandeale (a stringed instrument played like the guitar), and the author of all inventions which have benefited the human race. He was implored by the hunter, the fisherman and the bird-catcher, to play upon his kandeale, that the game might fall into their nets. Mone, 54.

⁴⁶ This name has been borrowed from the Norwegians. In Torneå Lapland the same deity is called Seite. He is supreme lord of the whole animal cre-

implored the aid of the "shaggy god of Arcady." Another feature in the national creed of the same mountainous district of Greece, is to be met with in the ballad of the Elfin-Gray⁷⁷; and if the testimony of Ælfric, in his translation of Dryades by Wudu-Elfen, is to be received as any thing more than a learned exercise⁷⁸, the same notion must have prevailed in this country. But the collection from whence the ballad alluded to has been taken, the Danish *Kiæmpe-Viser*, contains more than this single example of such a belief; and the reader will find below⁷⁹ a local tradition, preserved in Germany, which will remind him of the conversation between Peræbius and an

ation (with the exception of the human race), and patron of hunting, fishing, &c. He frequently appears to the fishermen &c. of Luleå Lapmark, dressed like a Norwegian nobleman in black, of a tall and commanding figure, with the feet of a bird, and with a gun on his shoulder. His appearance never fails to produce a successful fishery or chase. Mone, 36.

⁷⁷ See the Notes to the Lady of the Lake.

⁷⁸ It may be questioned, whether this catalogue of Ælfric's (dun-elfen, berg-elfen, munt-elfen, feld-elfen, wudu-elfen, sæ-elfen, water-elfen,) ever obtained a circulation among the people. It is at least rendered extremely suspicious by its strict accordance with the import of the Grecian names.

⁷⁹ "A peasant named Hans Krepel, being one day at work on a heath near Salsburg, 'a little wild or moss-wyfie' appeared to him, and begged that on leaving his labour he would cut three crosses on the last tree he hewed down. This request the man neglected to comply with. On the following day she appeared again, saying, 'Ah! my man, why did you not cut the three crosses yesterday? It would have been of service both to me and yourself. In the evening, and especially at night, we are constantly hunted by the wild huntsmen, and are obliged to allow them to worry us, unless we can reach one of these trees with a cross

on it; for from thence they have no power to remove us.' To this the boor replied with his wonted churlishness, 'Pooh! pooh! of what use can it be? how can the crosses help you? I shall do no such thing to please you, indeed.' Upon this the wyfie flew upon him, and squeezed him so forcibly that he became ill after it, notwithstanding he was a stout fellow. Such wyfies, and even mannikins, are said to dwell upon that heath, under the ground, or in obscure parts of the forest, and to have holes, in which they lie on green moss, as indeed they are said to be clothed all over with moss." Prætorius says, he heard this story from an old dame, who knew the before-mentioned Hans Krepel, and adds, the time of day was a [little] after noon, an hour not usually devoted to labour, because at such a time "this sort of diablerie frequently occurs." Anthropodemus Plutonicus, Magdeburg 1666. vol. ii. p. 231. For this superstitious attention to silence at noon, see Theocritus, Id. i. v. 15.; and for the persecution of the Nymphs by Pan, the romance of Longus, p. 63. ed. Villosion, where it is said of him, *παύσαι δὲ οὐδένου Δρυάδου ἰσχυλόν, ὃ Ἐριμανθίου Νύμφης πρὸς ἡμᾶς παύειν*. The passage relative to the Hamadryad, who threatened Peræbius with the consequences of neglecting to prop the falling oak, in which she lived, is to be found in the Schol. to Apollon. Rhod. ii. v. 479.

Hamadryad. How far the Duergar of the Edda were originally distinct from a similar class of dwarfish agents, who are to be met with in the popular creed of every European nation, cannot now be precisely ascertained⁵⁰. The earliest memorials of them in the fictions of Germany and Scandinavia, present us with the same metallurgic divinities who in the mythology of Hellas were known by the various names of Cabiri, Hephæsti, Telchines, and Idæan Dactyli⁵¹. In the other countries of Europe, the traces of their existence as a separate class,

⁵⁰ The Northern traditions relative to the Duergar, are among the most obscure points of Eddaic lore, and are too important to be discussed in a note. Their residence in stones seems to be a portion of the same belief which gave rise to the *λίθου ἰατρικῆς* of antiquity. The author of the Orphic poem on stones mentions one in the possession of Helenus, which not only uttered oracular responses, but was perceived to breathe, ver. 339 et seq. Photius (coll. 242. p. 1062, from the life of Isidorus by Damascius) mentions another in the possession of a certain Eusebius. This was a meteoric stone, which had fallen from heaven. On being asked to what deity it belonged, it replied, Genæus — a god worshipped at the Syrian Heliopolis. Others were said to be subject to Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun, &c. (For this notion of the daemons being the subordinate followers of some superior god, whose name they bore, see Plutarch de Defectu Orac. 21.) This will serve to illustrate the account given by Pausanias of the thirty stones at Phæræ, each of which was inscribed with the name of some god. (vii. c. 22.) Damascius thought the stone in question to be under divine, Isidorus only demoniacal, influence. Photius treats the whole story as a mere piece of jugglery. Plato, however, has said, that these lithic oracles were of the same antiquity as that of the oak at Dodona. Phædrus 376.

⁵¹ The spirit of later times, with its characteristic tendency of studying beauty of form in all its imagery, having converted these ancient deities into the

youthful Curetes, Corybantes and Dioscuri, a confusion arose in the nomenclature of them which wholly baffled the attempts of Strabo to reduce into a system. See the tenth book of this geographer, under the head of Theologoumena. The Dwarf of ancient mythology is perhaps best represented on the coins of Cosyra, where the figure closely accords with the description of the mining dwarf given by Prætorius, i. p. 243. Another representation, from the creed of Egypt, may be seen among the terracottas of the British Museum, No. 42. Mr. Coombe calls "this short naked human figure" Osiris; but there can be little doubt, that it exhibits the dwarfish god of Memphis, whose deformity excited the scorn and ridicule of Cambyses. This deity, whether we call him Phthas or Hephestus, resembled in his person the Patæci or tutelary divinities of Phenicia, to whom Herodotus has assigned the figure of a pygmy man. (Thalia, c. 37.) The attributes on this and a similar monument may be easily accounted for. The reader who is desirous of learning the esteem in which these divinities were held in the ancient world, may consult a treatise "On the Deities of Samothrace" by Mr. von Schelling, a gentleman chiefly known in Europe for his philosophical works, but who is known to his friends for his extensive erudition in every branch of ancient and modern learning, and who, among the numerous virtues that adorn his private character, is particularly distinguished for his hospitality to the "stranger, who sojourns in a foreign land."

chiefly occupied in the labours of the forge, are not so clearly defined; and if a few scattered traditions⁵² seem to favour a contrary opinion, it is equally certain that they have been more frequently confounded with a kindred race, the Brownies or Fairies. The former, as is well known, are the same diminutive beings with the Lares of Latium, an order of beneficent spirits, whom Cicero⁵³ has taught us to consider as nearly identical with the Grecian Dæmon. In Germany they have received a long catalogue of appellations, all descriptive of their form, their disposition, or their dress; but whether marked by the title of Gutichen, Brownie, Lar, or Dæmon, we observe in all the same points of general resemblance; all have been alike regarded as the guardians of the domestic hearth, the awarders of prosperity, and the averters of evil; and the author of the Orphic Hymn endows the particular Dæmon of his invocation with the same attributes that are given by Hildebrand to the whole tribe of Gutichens or "gude neighbours⁵⁴." The English Puck, the Scottish Bogle, the French Esprit Follet, or Goblin—the Gobelinus of monkish Latinity—and the German Kobold, are only varied names for the Grecian Kobalus⁵⁵; whose sole delight consisted in perplexing the human race, and calling up those harmless terrors that con-

⁵² Essay on the Faeries of popular Superstition, p. 163.

⁵³ "Quamquam enim Dæmon latius patere quodam modo videatur, non dubito tamen quin melius sit, Larem, quam Dæmonem vertere, ut sit species pro genere." De Universitate.

⁵⁴ Hymn 72. and Hildebrand vom Hexenwerke, p. 310.

⁵⁵ See the Scholiast to Aristoph. Plut. v. 279. The English and Scottish terms are the same as the German "Spuk," and the Danish "Spøgelse," without the sibilant aspiration. These words are general names for any kind of spirit, and correspond to the "Pouk" of Piers Plouhman. In Danish "spøg" means a joke, trick or prank; and hence the character

of Robin Goodfellow. In Iceland, Puki is regarded as an evil sprite; and in the language of that country "at pükra" means both to make a murmuring noise, and to steal clandestinely. The names of these spirits seem to have originated in their boisterous temper. "Spuken," Germ., to make a noise; "spøg," Dan., obstreperous mirth; "pukke," Dan. to boast, scold. The Germans use "pochen" in the same figurative sense, though literally it means to strike, beat, and is the same with our *poke*. In Dithmarsh, the brownie, or domestic fairy, is called Nitsche-Puk. The French "goblin" seems to spring either from a diminutive—Koboldein? or a feminine termination, Koboldinn?

stantly hover round the minds of the timid. To excite the wrath, indeed, of this mischievous spirit, was attended with fatal consequences to the luckless objects who rashly courted it; and Prætorius (l. p. 140.) has preserved a notice of his cruelty to some miners of St. Anneberg, to whom he appeared under the guise of the Scottish Kelpie, with a horse's head, and whom he destroyed by his pestiferous breath. The midnight depredators mentioned by Gervase of Tilbury, who oppressed the sleeper, injured his person, despoiled his property, and bore off his children, are either confounded by that worthy chronicler with the separate characters of the Ephialtes and Lamia; or the local creed of some particular spot had concentrated in his day the propensities of both in one personage. The numerous tales gathered by Prætorius observe the classical distinctions of antiquity; with them it is the Incubus or Alp, who causes those painful sensations during sleep, which the ancient physicians have so aptly termed the nocturnal epilepsy; and it is the same race of mis-shapen old hags with the Lamie of Gervase⁸⁸, who, like the ancient Lamia larvata, alternately terrify and carry away the infant from his cradle.

Sir Walter Scott, from whose Essay "on the Faeries of Popular Superstition" the preceding notice of the Lamie

⁸⁸ With this class must also be reckoned the Gyre-Carline, or mother-witch of Scotland, whose name is so expressive of her character (gyr-falcon, ger-bound, Trevisa).

Their dwelt ane grit Gyre-Carling, in
awid Betokis bour,

That levit upoun Christiane menis
fleache, and rewheids unleipit.

In this she becomes identified with the "Raw-head-and-bloody-bones" of the English nursery. In the fiction on which the beautiful ballad of Glenfinlas is founded, we have the poetic version of her character; and of which Vossius

has said: "Nam erunt Lamie spectra in formosarum mulierum figuram conformatæ, quæ adolescentes formosos voluptatibus deliniebant, dum eos devorarent."

Etymolog. S. Lat. in Lamia. Compare also Diodorus's account of the queen of Libya, l. xx. p. 754. Vossius has likewise shown that the same notion was current in Judæa. There is one circumstance in the history of the Gyre-Carline, which runs through all mythology:

Lang or Betok was born

Scho (the G. Carline) bred of an acorne.

recorded by Gervase has been taken, has also extracted from the *Physica Curiosa* of Schott, a Frisian account of the same destructive tribe, where a similar confusion appears to prevail, though with a different class of spirits. "In the time of the Emperor Lotharius, in 830, says Schott, many spectres infested Friesland, particularly the white nymphs of the ancients, which the moderns denominate *witte wiven*, who inhabited a subterraneous cavern, formed in a wonderful manner, without human art, on the top of a lofty mountain. These were accustomed to surprize benighted travellers, shepherds watching their herds and flocks, and women newly delivered, with their children; and convey them into their caverns, from which subterraneous murmurs, the cries of children, the groans and lamentations of men, and sometimes imperfect words and all kinds of musical sounds were heard to proceed." Divested of the colouring which seems to identify these spectres "with the fairies of popular opinion," a parallel fiction is related by Antonius Liberalis (c. 8.) in his account of Sybaris, to whom others gave the more appropriate title of Lamia; and, with a change of sex in the agent, the same idea is found in the curious narratives of Pausanias and Ælian, relative to the "dark dæmon" or hero of Temessa⁵⁷. The earliest memorial of

⁵⁷ Vid. Ælian. Hist. viii. c. 18. Pausanias, vi. 6. The people of Temessa having slain a companion of Ulysses, (who had violated the chastity of a virgin,) his spirit sought revenge, by carrying slaughter and destruction into every house and the whole country round. The Pythian oracle recommended the erection of a temple, the consecration of a grove, and an annual sacrifice of the fairest virgin in Temessa, as the only means of appeasing the angry spirit. This was done. On one of these occasions, an Olympian victor named Euthymus, inspired by mingled feelings of love and compassion for the beautiful victim, resolved on effecting her rescue; and having awaited the ar-

rival of the dæmon, a struggle ensued, from which the latter made his escape, and for ever, by sinking into the sea. The ravages of Grendel appear to have been prompted by the death of an uncle. Hrothgar (in whose palace the spirit's nightly incursions are made) and his council vainly implore the powers of hell (it is a Christian who thus denominates the gods of the heathen king) for the means of commuting the deadly feud. The intelligence reaches Beowulf, a champion who had acquired an extensive reputation by his victories over the nicors or nicers, a species of sea monster of which many fables are current at the present day in Iceland, and who, in the true spirit of a berserkr, un-

them in European fiction is preserved to us in the Anglo-Saxon poem of *Beowulf*. In this curious repository of genuine Northern tradition, by far the most interesting portion of the work is devoted to an account of the hero's combats with a male and female spirit, whose nightly ravages in the hall of Hrothgar are marked by all the atrocities of the Grecian fable.

Under the comprehensive name of Fairy, almost every member of the preceding catalogue has been indiscriminately mingled in the living recitals of the cottager's family circle, and the printed collections of our popular tales. A slight attention, however, to the distinctive marks established in the ancient world, will easily remedy the confusion; and few readers will require to be told, that the fairies who attend the birth and foretell the fortunes of a hero or heroine, who connect the destinies of some favoured object with the observance of a command or the preservation of an amulet, are the venerable *Parcæ* of antiquity. The same rule will hold good of the rest; and it therefore only remains to notice the Fairy of romance, and the Elf or Fairy of the mountain-heath. The former has been considered to have derived her origin from the same country which has supplied us with the name. For this hypothesis there is better reason than usually attaches itself to the solution of an antiquarian problem by the etymologist; and Warton has already shown that the titles of the most distinguished in European romance are borrowed almost to the letter from the fables of the East. The Persian *Mergian* and *Urganda* have unquestionably furnished Italian poetry with its *Morgana* and *Urganda*; and there is considerable plau-

dertakes the task of subduing Grendel from a pure love of glory. The result in both fables is the same. The dark demon is worsted and sinks into a lake, where he afterwards is found dead of his wounds. The female spirit is Grendel's mother's, who answers to the description of A.

Liberalis. It may be worth noticing that a picture preserved at Temessa, representing the combat of Euthymus, exhibited the demon clothed in a wolf-skin, and the name of the northern hero is *Beo-wulf*, the wolf-tamer.

sibility in the assertion⁸⁸, that the Peri of the former country has been transmitted through the medium of the Arabic. But uniformity of name, even admitting an identity of character, is insufficient to prove that the idea attached to the new appellation is of no older date in the country to which it has been transferred than the period when the stranger term was first introduced. The Pelasgic priesthood recommended the adoption of Ægyptian titles for the unnamed divinities of Hellenic worship, on discovering that their secret had been divulged; and the adoration of the Bætyli precedes the annals of authentic history in Greece, while the name is of foreign extraction, and evidently borrowed at a very late period. If therefore the English 'fairy,' or the French 'faërie,' have been imported from the East, the term itself must be of comparatively recent date; though the popular notion respecting the nature and attributes of the beings who bore it is wholly lost in the twilight of antiquity. There is no essential difference between the Persian Peri and the Grecian Nymph, however variedly the inventive genius of either country may have endowed them in points of minor consideration. They are both the common offspring of the same speculative opinion, which peopled the elements with a race of purer essences, as the connecting link between man and his Creator; and the modern Persian, in adopting those "who hover in the balmy clouds"⁸⁹, live in the colours of

⁸⁸ This guarded mode of expression must not be mistaken for a love of paradox; it has proceeded from doubts in the writer's mind, which at present he wants leisure to satisfy. The French term for our fairy or fay is *fée*; and, like the Italian *fata*, is said to be derived from *fatua*. "Faërie" was a general name for an illusion; a sense in which it is always used by Chaucer. As an appellation for the elfin-race, in this country, it is certainly of late date; and perhaps a mere corruption, a name given to the agent from his acts. It is certainly not of Northern origin. Some

of the earliest French tales of "faërie" acknowledge a Breton source; may not the term itself be Celtic? The "Ionic Pheres of Hesychius," which has been mentioned as an apparent synonym with the Persian Peri, is but a different aspiration of the Attic *Σῆς* (Germ. "thier"); and which, whether applied to centaurs or satyrs, could only have been given to mark their affinity with the animal race.

⁸⁹ These aerial nymphs were not foreign to the Grecian creed; at least the celestial nymphs of Mnesimachus can only be accounted for on this notion. Schol. in Apollon. Rhod. iv. v. 1412.

the rainbow, and exist on the odour of flowers," has only fixed his choice upon a different class from the ancient Greek. It will however be remembered, that in the particulars just enumerated, the Fairies of Italian romance bear no resemblance to the Peris of the East; and that, in almost every thing else except the name, they are, for the most part, only a reproduction of the Circe and Calypso of the *Odyssey*. The Fairies in the *Lays of Lanval and Graelent*, or in the romances of *Melusina* and *Partenopex de Blois*, have neither the gross propensities of the daughter of *Helios*, nor the power and exalted rank of the *Ogygian* enchantress. They approach nearer, both in character and fortunes, to the nymphs who sought the alliance or yielded to the importunities of *Daphnis* and *Rhœcus*^a, and, like their Grecian predecessors, were equally doomed to experience the hollow frailty of human engagements. The conditions imposed upon the heroes of Hellenic fable were the same in substance, though somewhat differing in form from those enjoined the knights of French romance, and were alike transgressed from motives of self-gratification, or a weak compliance with the solicitations of others. There is something more consolatory in the final catastrophe attached to the modern fictions; but this, as is well known, has been taken, in common with the general outline of the events, from the beautiful apologue of *Apuleius*. One of the earliest tales of faery in our own language, and perhaps the most important for the influence it seems to have had on later productions, is contained in the old romance of *Orfeo and Heurodis*^b. The leading incidents of this poem have been borrowed from the classical story of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, and Mr. Ritson has truly pronounced its character in saying, This lay or tale is a

^a For *Daphnis* see *Parthenius*, c. 18; for *Rhœcus* *Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. ii. v. 479*. See also the history of *Caucasus* in *Conon*, c. 2.; and of *Philammon*, *Ib. c. 7*.

^b It is to be regretted that Mr. Ritson chose to follow the Harleian MS. of this romance, which is so palpably inferior to the Auchinleck copy.

Gothic metamorphosis of the episode so beautifully related by Ovid. A later writer, from whose authority it is rarely safe to deviate, and to whose illustrations of popular fiction the present sketch is so much indebted, has rejected this opinion, and produced it as an example of "Gothic mythology engrafted on the fables of Greece^a." In support of this assertion, even Sir W. Scott's extensive knowledge of the subject might find it difficult to offer any thing like satisfactory proof.

The minor embellishments of the poem, the rank and quality of Orpheus, the picture of his court, the occupations of the Elfin king, and the fortunate issue of the harper's descent, are certainly foreign to the Grecian story, and have been either copied from the institutions of the minstrel's age, or are the ready suggestions of his own invention. But the whole machinery of the fable—the power of Pluto and his queen (for such Chaucer has instructed us to call the king of Faery), the brilliant description of Elfin land, its glorious abodes and delightful scenery, and the joyous revelry of those who had secured a residence in the regions of bliss, and the miseries

Of folke that were thidder ybrought,
And thought dead and were nought,—

are of legitimate Grecian origin, and may be read with little variety of style, though with less minuteness of detail, in the visions of Thespesius and Timarchus, recorded by Plutarch^b.

^a Essay on the Faeries &c. ut supra.

^b De Sera Num. Vind. c. 22. (where the text reads Soleus the Thespesian; but Wyttienbach has approved of Reiske's correction, which reverses the terms) and De Genio Socrat. c. 22. If to these the reader will add Pindar's description of the Elysian amusements (cited in Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. c. 35. and with some additions in his tract De Occulte Vivendo, c. vii.) and the narrative of the Socratic Æschines (Axiochus, § 90.) on the same subject, he will find a parallel for almost every peculi-

arity of these regions mentioned in the Auchinleck MS. of Orfeo. The popular view of the subject is discussed in his usual manner by Lucian in his several pieces, Ver. Hist. ii. Necyom. Catapl. and Philops., and a compound of esoteric and exoteric doctrines on the same point is to be found in the Frogs of Aristophanes. Sir W. Scott justly considers the yamp-tree, a tree consecrated to some daemon, rather than a grafted tree, as interpreted by Mr. Ritson. This point of popular superstition seems to be referred to by Socrates in

The history of such descents, whether professing to be made in person, or by a separation of "the intelligent soul" from its grosser fellow, and the body⁶, was a favourite topic in the ancient world; and many visions of the infernal regions which are made to figure in modern hagiology, from the narrative of Bede⁶ to the metrical legend of Owain Miles, have borrowed largely from these pagan sources. It is however obvious, that Chaucer's "Pluto king of Fayrie" and his "Queen Proserpina" have been derived from this or a similar source; and the confusion which has arisen between the Fairies of romance and the Elves of rural tradition, may in all probability be ascribed "to those poets who have adopted his phraseology." By Dunbar, Pluto is styled "an elricke incubus in a clothe of grene," the well-known elfin livery; and Montgomery confers upon the "king of Pharie" the same verdant garb, an elvish stature, and weds him to the Elf-queen.

"All grathed into green,

Some hobland on a hemp stalk, hovand to the hight,
The king of Pharie and his court, with the Elf-queen,
With many elfish incubus was ridand that night."

There is nothing in the "Marchaunt's Tale" to justify this diminution of King Pluto's fair proportions, or to identify Queen Proserpina with the Elf-queen. But in another of Chaucer's tales, the practices of the latter and her followers

the Phædrus, where, with his accustomed style of irony, he ascribes a sudden fit of nympholepsy to the vicinage of a plane-tree adorned with images, and dedicated to the Nymphs. (Phædr. 276.) But this idea of daemoniacal trees enters deeply into Northern and Oriental mythology. The lady Similt, while seated beneath a lindentree, is carried off by king Laurin in the same clandestine manner that the king of Faerie conveys away Heurodis. (See Weber's Illustrations of Northern Antiquities,

p. 150.) The rock of entrance to the fairy realm is the *λιονάδα πύργος* of the Odyssey, xxiv. 11.; and perhaps the lapis manalis of Latium.

⁶ See Wyttenbach's note to the vision of Theophrastus, concerning this division of the soul into *νοῦς* and *ψύχη*, and the sources from whence Plutarch obtained it.

⁶ Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. v. c. 13. Compare also the vision or trance of the Pamphylian Er in Plato's Rep. lib. x. in fine.

are called "faeries" or illusive visions; and it will easily be felt, that the use of a common name to denote their respective actions, might eventually lead to the notion of a community of character.

In olde dayes of the king Artour—
 All was this lond ful filled of *faerie*;
 The elf-quene with her joly compaynie,
 Danced ful oft in many a grene mede.
 But now can no man see non elves mo,
 For the grete charitee and prayeres
 Of limitoures, and other holy freres,
 That serchen euery land, and euery streme—
 This maketh that ther ben no *faeries*.
 For ther as wont to walken as an elf
 Ther walketh now the limitour himself.

WIFE OF BATH'S TALE.

However this may be, there can be little doubt that at one period the popular creed made the same distinctions between the queen of Faerie and the Elf-queen, that were observed in Grecian mythology, between their undoubted parallels, Artemis and Persephone. At present the traces of this division are only faintly discernible; and in the Scottish ballad of Tamlane, (*Minstrelsy*, vol. ii.) the hero, though "a wee wee man," declares himself a *fairy* both in "lyth and limb," a communication which leaves us at no loss to divine the size of the fairy queen who had "borrowed him." The beautiful ballad of Thomas the Rhymer^{as}, and even the burlesque

^{as} The editor has already sinned too deeply against the fame of true Thomas, (see vol. i. p. 181.) to make the concealment of his opinion respecting this mysterious personage a saving condition on which he might build a hope of forgiveness for his previous indiscretion. He will therefore further state that,

after contrasting the little we know of the real, with the fictitious history of "auld Rymer," he has arrived at that conviction, which is easier felt than accounted for, that the laird of Ercekloun has usurped the honours and reputation of some earlier seer, and gathered round his name the local tradition of his birth-

imitation of some forgotten romance by Chaucer in his "Rhyme of Sir Thopas," make the Elf-queen either joint or sole sovereign of fairy-land, while the locality, scenery and inhabitants of the country prove it to be the same district described in Sir Orfeo. In the former fiction she is represented, as only quitting the court of her grisly spouse, to chase the "wild fee" upon earth⁶⁷; her costume and attributes are of the same sylvan cast with those which distinguished the huntress-queen of antiquity; and the fame of her beauty inspires the lovelorn Sir Thopas with the same rash resolves which from a similar cause were said to have fired the bosom of Pirithous. In the remaining details of Thomas the Rhymer, she is clearly identified with the daughter of Demeter; and the description of the journey to Elf-land⁶⁸ will remind the reader of a story in Ælian respecting the fabled Anostos, or that country whose expressive name has been so aptly paraphrased,

The bourne from whence no traveller returns.

In the Grecian fiction, "the blude that's shed on earth" seems rather to have impregnated the atmosphere⁶⁹, than dyed "the springs of that countrie:" but the rivers that flowed around it,

place. The strong power of local association has been sufficiently manifested in the character acquired by a recent resident at Erceldoune. See preface to *Sir Tristram*.

⁶⁷ A very voracious gentleman in one of Lucian's dialogues, has borne testimony to the hunting propensities of the Queen of Hell, whom he calls Hecate. (*Philop.* c. 17.) The account of the elf-queen and her followers while engaged in the chase may be compared with *Od.* vii. 101. and Virgil's imitation of the same passage, *Æn.* i. 498.

⁶⁸ Three days they travel through darkness, up to their knees in water, and only hear the "swowying of the flode." In this we have the ocean stream and Cimmerian darkness, *Od.* xi. 13. The spot where Thomas laid his head in the

lady's lap, is the same cross-way in which Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, held their tribunal; one of whose roads led to the isles of the blest, and the other to Tartarus. *Plat. Gorg.* p. 524. The forbidden fruit, whose taste cut off all hope of return, is another version of the pomegranate-apple which figures so mysteriously in the history of Proserpine.

⁶⁹ See Ælian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 18. In Lucian's *Var. Hist.* ii. 3. (and which contains only exaggerated statements of popular opinion), one of the rivers encompassing his region of torment flows with blood. The bloody Acherousian rock in Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 474.) appears to be connected with a similar notion.

the waters of joy and grief, each produced a tree, whose fruits were as marvellous in their effects as the apple bestowed on "true Thomas." Nor is the prophetic power acquired by the Rhymer in consequence of his visit to this unearthly region, a novel feature in the history of such fictions. In one of Plutarch's tracts⁷⁰, a certain Cleombrotus entertains the company with an account of an eastern traveller, whose character and fortunes are still more remarkable than those of the Scottish seer. Of this man we are told, that he only appeared among his fellow mortals once a year. The rest of his time was spent in the society of the nymphs and demons, who had granted him an unusual share of personal beauty, had rendered him proof against disease, and supplied him with a fruit, which was to satisfy his hunger, and of which he partook only once a month. He was moreover endowed with a miraculous gift of tongues, his conversation resembled a spontaneous flow of verse, his knowledge was universal, and an annual visitation of prophetic fervor enabled him to unfold the hidden secrets of futurity.

The Elves and Fairies of rural tradition who "dance their ringlets to the whistling wind," and the traces of whose midnight revels are still detected on the sward, seem originally to have been distinguished from the Fairies of romance, by their diminutive stature and the use of a common livery. In the former circumstance popular fiction has only been faithful to the earliest creed of nations, respecting the size and form of their domestic and inferior deities; and of which examples are to be found in the household gods of Laban, the Pataeci of Phenicia, the Cabiri of Egypt and Samothrace, the Idæan Dactyli of Crete, the Anaces of Athens, the Dioscuri of Lacedæmon, the earth-god Tages of Etruria, and the Lares of La-

⁷⁰ De Defectu Oraculorum, c. 21. Lucian plays upon the supposed knowledge of future events gained by a visit to the infernal regions, in his Ver-

Hist. ii. and Philops. For the use made of it by modern poets see Heyne's fourteenth Excursus to the sixth book of the Æneid.

tum. It would be out of place to enter here upon the probable causes which have led to this community of opinions as to the stature of these subordinate divinities; and it will be sufficient to remark, that the practice of romance in elevating them to the standard of "human mortals⁷," has only followed an ancient precedent already noticed in speaking of the dwarfs. There is even reason to believe, that the occasional adoption of a larger form, was not wholly inconsistent with the popular belief on the subject; since the fairy of Alice Pearson once appeared to her in "the guise of a lustie man," and the ballad of Tamlane admits a change of shape to be a leading characteristic of the whole fairy race:

Our shape and size we can convert
To either large or small;
An old nutshell's the same to us
As is the lofty hall.⁸

But the stature of the Elves and Fairies who presided over the mountain-heath, will find a parallel in a kindred race, the rural Lars of Italy; while their attributes, their habitations, their length of life, and even their name, will establish their affinity with the Grecian Nymphs. "Their drinking-cup or horn," which was "to prove a cornucopia of good fortune to him who had the courage to seize it⁹," is the sacred chalice of the Nymphs, whose inexhaustible resources

⁷ A distinction used by Titania in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii. Sc. 2.

⁸ The minor details of this ballad wear too modern an aspect to make it of authority, unless supported by other testimony. The story however is indisputably ancient. The same power has been already noticed in the Russian Leechies, and is also ascribed to king Laurin in the *Little Garden of Roses*, p. 153.

Little was king Laurin, but from many a precious gem
His wondrous strength and power and his bold courage came;
Tall at times his stature grew, with spells of grammar,
Then to the noblest princes fellow might he be.

⁹ See the *Essay on the Fairies*, &c. where mention is made of the goblet preserved in Eden-hall in Cumberland, on which the prosperity of the Musgrave

are so frequently noticed in Grecian fable, and to which we shall again have occasion to refer. The places of their abode,—the interior of green hills, or the islands of a mountain-lake, with all the gorgeous decorations of their dwellings,—are but a repetition of the Dionysic and Nymphæic caves described by Plutarch and Diodorus⁷⁵; and their term of life, like the existence of the daughters of Ocean, though extending to an immeasurable length⁷⁶ when compared with that of the human race, had still its prescribed and settled limits. To this it may be added, that the different appellations assigned them in Hellas and Northern Europe, appear to have arisen from a common idea of their nature; and that in the respective languages of these countries the words *elf* and *nymph*⁷⁷ convey a similar meaning.

After this brief review of a most important subdivision of the elements of popular fiction, it will not be too much to affirm, that if their introduction into Europe, and their application to the embellishment of romantic poetry, had been dependent upon foreign agency, the national creed of Greece has the fairest claim to be considered as the parent source. But in this, as in so many other points of public faith com-

family depended. Prætorius informs us, that a member of the house of Alvensleben received a ring from a Nixe, to which the future fortunes of his descendants were said to be attached. *Anthropodæmus Plutonicus*, i. p. 113. Another German family, the Ransaus, held their prosperity by the tenure of a fairy spindle. *Ib.* p. 115. The Scholiast to Lucian's *Rhet. Præcept.* says, that every prosperous person was supposed to have Amalthæa's horn in his possession.

⁷⁵ See Plutarch de Sera Num. Vind., and Diod. Sic. lib. iii. c. 68.

⁷⁶ For the lives of the fairies, see Mr. Reed's note to the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in the variorum edition of Shakespeare; for that of the Nymphs (which Hesiod makes equal to nine

thousand seven hundred and twenty years), Plutarch *De Defectu Oraculorum*. c. xi. Pindar gives the Dryads a much shorter term, or a life equivalent to that of the trees they inhabit. *Ib.*

⁷⁷ In the Northern languages *elf* means a stream of running water, and hence the name of the river Elbe. The Grecian *νύμφη* has the same import with the Latin *lymphæ*, an idea which is also preserved in the Roman name for the disease called *Nympholepsy*. "Vulgo autem memorie proditum est, quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est, effigiem nymphæ viderint, fu- rendi non fecisse finem, quos Græci νυμφοληπτες, Latini lymphatos appell- lant." Festus, ap. Salm. Exercit. Plin. 765.

mon to the Greek and the Barbarian, it is impossible not to perceive the fragments of a belief brought from some earlier seat of empire, and which neither could have been imported into Hellas and Western Europe by a new dynasty of kings, nor communicated by a band of roving minstrels. In the illustrations they have received during the long course of their preservation, and under circumstances so varying as all the public and private events that fill the histories of these countries, there will of course be many particulars exhibiting little affinity with each other, and which taken separately may seem to deny this community of their origin. But even these, when carefully examined, will be mostly found to resolve themselves into distinctions arising from a difference of national character, or corruptions produced by some later change in national institutions; and the most discordant will hardly afford a stronger contrast in their lineaments, than the physical differences displayed in the conformation of the human frame, upon the shores of the *Ægean* Sea and the banks of the Frozen Ocean. In Greece, like every thing else which has been exposed to the refining taste of that extraordinary people, they will all be found submitted to the same plastic norm which fitted the bard's "thick-coming fancies" for the studies of the sculptor: and in modern Europe, a new religion, in attempting to curtail their influence or obliterate the remembrance of them, has more or less corrupted the memorials of their attributes. It is to the latter that we must more particularly look for an explanation of those anomalies, which not only appear to contradict our recollections of antiquity, but occasionally to exhibit the popular faith as being at variance with itself. It will scarcely need remark, that the introduction of Christianity among the nations of the West, must speedily have effected a change in general opinion, as to the right, and the degree, in which these imaginary divinities were commissioned

to exert a power over the destinies of man. But so gradual were the successes of the triumphant faith over this particular branch of the ancient creed, that although the memory of "Thunaer, Wodan, and Saxnote", (?) is scarcely distinguishable among the documents of several centuries, a continued belief in the agency of their subordinate associates still maintains its sway over every sequestered district of Northern Europe. Perhaps the sweeping clause which was to embrace the whole of this fraternity, and who were far too numerous to

"Such are the names of the three divinities mentioned in the Francic profession of faith published by Eccard. *Francia Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 440. Ek feraccho. . . Thunaer ende Woden, ende Saxnote, end allem them unholdum the hira genotas sint. I renounce (forsake) Thunaer and Wodan and Saxnote, and all those impious (spirits) that are their associates. The name of Saxnote has been a stumbling-block to the critics, and appears likely to remain so. In its present condition the word has certainly no intelligible meaning, and, if correct, refers to a deity of whom no other trace exists. The usual interpretation, Saxon Odin, is a mere conjecture, and certainly not a happy one. The same may be said of Mr. A. W. Schlegel's emendation (*Indische Bibliothek*, p. 256.) of Saxnote or assembly of the Saxons, at which they celebrated heathen festivals, and which is as objectionable on the score of grammar as the decried Saxnote. One remarkable circumstance in the present text is, that Thunaer and Wodan are not inflected, while the conjunction has gained the very addition in which they are defective. It is to be regretted that no one has consulted the original document since the publication of the first transcript.—It is difficult to understand why this formulary should be made the foundation of a theory, that Wodan and Odin are distinct personages. The well-known practice of the Scandinavian dialects, which suppresses the aspirate in all those words that in the cognate tongues begin with a *w*, will sufficiently

account for the difference of orthography. That they occupied the same rank in the respective mythologies of the two great Teutonic stocks, is confirmed by the days named after them. In England we have had successively Wodnes-dag and Wednesday (proust Wensday). In Denmark it has been Odins-dagr and Oens-dag. It was from this circumstance, in all probability, coupled with the notion of Wodan's or Odin's psychopompic duties, that the Romans were induced to consider him as the same deity with their own Mercury. In an Etruscan patera published by Winkelman and afterwards by Lanzi, this god is seen weighing the souls of Memnon and Achilles; which would afford another reason for the supposed affinity. But the worship of Odin as supreme God, like that of Dionysus in his mysteries, and perhaps of Osiris (see Zoega *De Usu Obeliscorum*), appears to have been a comparatively recent feature in the Northern creed. Thunaer, Thor, was the Thunderer, and held the same precedence in Norway, the last refuge of his worship, that he does in the Francic renunciation. The day consecrated by his name was also the Northern sabbath. There is so much affinity between some parts of the history of Odin, Dionysus, and Osiris, that the name of either might be substituted in the respective accounts of Snorro, and the several writers on Greek and Egyptian mythology, without violating the general truth of the recital.

be specifically named, either admitted of an accommodating latitude in the interpretation, or was taken with considerable mental reservation. However this may be, we shall have no difficulty in believing that the expounders of the new religion were rarely free from those impressions which, imbibed in early infancy, the reason vainly struggles to eradicate in after life, and of which it may be said, that however little they generally appear to govern our external conduct, they always maintain their ground in the recesses of the mind. Few could have been bold enough to assert that the memorials of the past, and the alleged experience of the present, had no better foundation than the terrors and caprice of an over-heated imagination, or those illusions of the sense which owe their existence to disease or defective organization. Many must have retained a lurking conviction of the truth of their former belief; and even where this was not the case, the weapon which had been so successfully wielded in crushing the rule of Wodan, could only be exerted with diminished effect; since the same day which heard the proofs of *his* identity with the Evil One, also witnessed the suppression of that ceremonial which alone ensured the permanency of the public faith. On the other hand, the superstitions of the forest, the mountain, or the domestic hearth, were attended with but few rites, and those of such a nature as to be easily concealed from the general eye. The divinities addressed were mostly local, either attached to particular places, persons, or things, and only petitioned or deprecated in matters of private interest. And however forcibly it might be urged that their interference in human affairs was only prompted by the machinations of Satan; yet as this was nothing better than a change of name in the cause, without denying the effect, and no equivalent agency was made to supply its place, these arguments only tended to corrupt without extirpating the obnoxious opinions. The consequence of such a

temporizing system,—but which, with reference to the state of society that it was called upon to influence, contains more practical wisdom than it has usually received credit for,—was a gradual amalgamation of the ancient and established faith. In those documents approaching nearest to the sera of a nation's conversion; such as the oldest Icelandic Sagas, we find the mention of these domestic deities attended with no diminution of their power, or derogation from their former rank. In later periods they are chiefly noticed to mark the malignancy of their disposition, or to ridicule their impotent pretensions, and occasionally they are brought forward to bear their reluctant testimony to the superiority of the dominant faith. From this source have emanated those recitals which exhibit to us either dwarfs or fairies expressing a desire of procuring the baptismal rite for their infant offspring; and those corruptions of a still later age, which represent their condition as only seemingly felicitous, and the joys and marvels of their subterranean abodes, as the mere varnished exterior of misery and filth². It is true, where the stream of tradition has continued pure, we still find them spoken of as the beneficent friends and protectors of mankind; as still in the enjoyment of their attributes and pleasures, their gardens of ever-blooming verdure, their adamantine palaces, their feasts, their revelry, their super-earthly and entrancing music. The Gael indeed has condemned his *Daoine Shi'* to the hollow mockery of these delights; but the Cymry, more faithful to the tenets of his ancestors, believes his *Tylwyth Têg* to be in the continuance of their former rights and happiness, which the folly

² Perhaps to these ought to be added "the paying the kane to hell;" but if, as it is believed, the whole fairy system be but another name for the ancient demonology, the fine may be explained upon other principles. The same argument will then apply to the declaration

of the Northumbrian dwarf, who hoped for an ultimate though remote salvation. See notes to the *Lady of the Lake*. The better portion of the ancient demons were souls in a progressive advancement towards perfection, and on their return to their celestial birth-place.

alone of the human race has deprived the present generation from sharing in²⁹.

There will be no necessity for entering minutely into those embellishments of popular fiction, which owe their existence to a general belief in the powers of magic, sortilege, and divination³⁰. The conformity of practice between the ancient and modern world in their application of these several arts has been generally acknowledged, and no exclusive theory has obtained to account for the mode of their transmission. Warton indeed has observed, that "the Runic (Northern) magic is more like that of Canidia in Horace, the Romantic resembles that of Armida in Tasso:" but this is an artificial distinction, which had no existence in the popular creed, however much it may seem to be authorized by the documents to which he has referred. The magic of the North (like the poetry in which it is found) may in a great degree be considered as only a genial reflex of the practices of daily life; since many of the records preserving it were written at a period when the

²⁹ See Grahame's Sketches, &c. quoted in the notes to the *Lady of the Lake*, and Davies's *Celtic Mythology*, p. 156.

³⁰ It may be right to caution the reader against a very common error, in which the motives that gave rise to the practice of magic and divination have been confounded with the criminal abuses that sprang from their use in later times. Poor human nature has frailties enough to answer for, without ascribing to its "malignity" the invention of magic rites and ceremonies. Nothing can be more clear in this important chapter of the history of the human mind, than that the invocation and the charm have regularly descended from the exploded liturgies of the temple; and that the discarded mantle of infant science has "rested on" the wizard and the crone. The beldame who mutters the spell over the bruise or the wound, only practises the same honourable "craft" which proved the divine descent of the Asclepiades; and

the cattle-slayer of Finland publicly chaunts the Runic rhyme, at the present day, with the same assurance of its efficacy with which the *epode* was sung by the priests of Pergamus and Epidaureus. Comp. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 91. These arts, like their names, bore once a sacred character; and however much they may have been made to minister to the follies and vices of the multitude, in their decried and degraded state, they are clearly referable in their *origin* to one of the most exalted principles of our nature, or (to use the language of Prometheus) were first resorted to *δαίμονος ἐπέχρησάντο* (*Æsch.* P. V. v. 494.). Their history may tend to confirm the axiom, —that the religious usages of one age often become the superstition of a succeeding one: but it will also teach the more consolatory doctrine, that the impulses of the human heart may be founded in error, without necessarily involving either malignity or crime.

charms to produce the surprising effects noticed by Warton might more or less be procured at every wizard's cell. The magic of romance with "the sublime solemnity of its necromantic machinery" was obviously a matter of only traditional belief. A few vain pretenders to superior intelligence in the art, could alone have professed to accomplish its marvels^a, or some equally silly boasters to have witnessed them; and having sprung from the busy workings of the fancy in decorating the tamer elements of the popular faith, could have no other existence than in its own fictitious memorials. On this account it is of necessity wanting in all those poems which, like the early Icelandic songs, make the slightest pretensions to historical worth; and can only abound in such productions as either treat of subjects professedly mythological, or are the manifest creation of the writer's invention. An injudicious comparison of these very opposite kinds of composition, has clearly led to the erroneous opinion offered by Warton; and it will be sufficient to remark, that the legitimate spell of "grammerye" is to be found in the *Odyssey*, the *Edda*, and the popular tale^a, as well as in those romances which suggested the use of it to Tasso. If more frequently resorted to in later compositions than in the earlier fictions, we must rather attribute this circumstance to the spirit of the times in which they were written, than to any want of faith in the auditors of a ruder age: the extravagant events of *Beowulf's* life might make

^a Among these may be reckoned the mysterious personage, who in the sixteenth century availed himself of a widely circulated tradition to excite the public attention, and to invest himself with the title *Faustus junior*: Sic enim titulum sibi convenientem formavit magister Georgius Sabellicus *Faustus junior, fons necromanticorum, astrologus, magus secundus, chiromanticus, agromanticus, pyromanticus, et in hydra arte secundus*. Mr. Görres has given this passage from a letter of Trithemius,

dated August 20, 1507. The venerable Abbot, after noticing several of his idle boasts, proceeds: *In ultima quoque hujus anni quadragesima venit Stauronesum (Creutznach), et simili stultitia gloriosus de se pollicebatur ingentis, dicens se in Alchemia omnium qui fuerint unquam esse perfectissimum, et scire atque posse quicquid homines optaverint*. See Görres *Volks-bücher*, p. 242.

^a See the *Odys.* xiii. 190. Thor's adventures at Utgarda, *Dæmæaga*, 41. and Chaucer's *Fraserkelein's Tale*.

many a bold romancer blush for the poverty of his imagination.

In referring to those various objects of inanimate nature whose marvellous attributes are usually classed among the chief attractions of romance, it will be equally unnecessary to enter largely into the question of their origin, as the recent labours of abler antiquaries⁸³ have clearly proved that we are not indebted to the middle age for their first appearance in popular poetry. For every purpose of the present inquiry, it will be sufficient to enumerate a few of the most important points of coincidence between the fictions of the ancient and modern world; and, in noticing some of the disguises under which a common idea has been made to pass from one narrative to another, to evince the fondness of popular taste for a constant recurrence of its favourite types. MM. Grimm have already shown that the fatal garment of Dejanira,—and which by Euripides has been connected with a later fable,—still lives in the German tale of Faithful John; and that no image is more common, or assumes a greater variety of forms, in the current fictions of their native country, than the insidious present sent by Vulcan to his mother Juno⁸⁴.

Another favourite symbol, and entering deeply into the decorations of romance, is the talisman of virtue, by which the frailties of either sex were exposed to public detection; and which Mr. Dunlop, with his accustomed accuracy, has referred to the trial at the Stygian fountain, and traced through the Greek romances of the Empire to the romances of chivalry and the pages of Ariosto. In the prose romance of Tristram, whence the poet of Ferrara most probably borrowed it, the ordeal consists in quaffing the beverage of a drinking-horn,

⁸³ See the preface and notes to the *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* of MM. Grimm; and a valuable essay on the same subject contained in the *Quarterly*

Review, No. xxxvii.

⁸⁴ *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, vol. iii. p. 19 and 149.

which no sooner approaches the culprit's lips, than the contents are wasted over his person. In Perceforest and in Amadis, a garland and rose, which "bloom on the head of her who is faithful, and fade upon the brow of the inconstant," are the proofs of the appellant's purity: and in the ballad published by Dr. Percy, of the Boy and the Mantle, where the same test is introduced, the minstrel poet has adhered to the traditions of Wales, which attribute a similar power to the mantle, the knife, and the goblet of Tegan Euroron, the chaste and lovely bride of Caradoc with the strong arm⁵⁵. From hence it may have been transferred to the girdle of Florimel, in the Fairy Queen; while Albertus Magnus, in affirming that "a magnet placed beneath the pillow of an incontinent woman will infallibly eject her from her bed," has preserved to us the vulgar, and perhaps the earliest, belief on the subject⁵⁶. The glass of Agrippa, which, till our own times, played a distinguished part in the history of the gallant Surry, has been recently made familiar to the reader's acquaintance by the German story of Snow-drop⁵⁷. But this, in all probability, has only descended to us from a mirror preserved near the temple of Ceres at Patras; or one less artificially constructed, though more miraculously gifted, a well near the oracle of Apollo Thurius, in Lycia⁵⁸. The zone of Hippolyte⁵⁹, which gave a supernatural vigour to

⁵⁵ Jones's Bardic Museum, p. 60; from whence all the subsequent notices of British marvel have been taken.

⁵⁶ This power is given to the magnet, in the Orphic poem on Stones, v. 314, &c.

⁵⁷ See the German Tales from the Kinder- und Haus-Märchen of MM. Grimm, p. 133. It is to be hoped that the ingenious translators of this collection will continue their labours. The nature of their plan seems to have excluded many of the tales most interesting to an antiquary; but a supplementary volume, containing some of these, accompanied with that illustration which the translators appear so well-able to

supply, would greatly increase our obligation to them.

⁵⁸ See Pausanias, vii. 21. The former only exhibited the person and condition of health of the party inquired after;—the latter displayed whatever was desired.

⁵⁹ Εἶχε δὲ ἱσχυρότητα ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ζωστήρα, σήματι τοῦ πρωτεύοντος Ἀπολλῶν. Apollod. Bibl. ii. 5. 9. In Parsee lore the girdle was a symbol of power over Ahriman. In the Little Rose-garden, the belt of Thor has descended to king Laurin. Weber, p. 153. The ring given by the lady Similt to her brother Dietlieb, also ensured victory to him who wore it. Ib. p. 164.

the "thaws and limbs" of the wearer, is not to be distinguished from the girdle of the Norwegian Thor; and there can be little doubt, that the brisingamen of Freyia, which graced the person of the same pugnacious deity on his visit to Thrymheim⁶⁰, is the cestus of Venus under another name and form. Without possessing either the *egis-hialmr* of the Edda, or the *segis* of Minerva, it might be dangerous to assert that these petrifying objects are verbally identical; since nothing short of their terrific power would be a sufficient protection against the host of Hellenic philologists, whom such a declaration would infallibly call to arms⁶¹. In obedience, therefore, to the dictates of "the better part of valour," it will be most prudent to remark, that they strikingly agree in their appalling attributes, and that the thunderer of Norway was as efficiently armed for combat as his brother of Olympus. This *egis-hialmr* is affirmed to have been the crafty workmanship of the dwarfs, the reputed authors of every "cunning instrument" in Northern fiction; and who manufactured for An the Bow-swing and Orvar Odd those highly-tempered arrows which, like the fabled dart of Procris, never missed their object; and having inflicted a mortal wound, returned to the bowstring which had emitted them⁶². Another specimen of

⁶⁰ See Sæmund's Edda, Thryms-Quida.

⁶¹ *Αἰγίς* may have meant a breastplate or helmet made of goat-skin, just as *κνίς* meant a skull-cap or helmet made of dog-skin; but the fable on which the Greek grammarians have accounted for the application of the term to the armour of Jupiter and his daughter, is an idle fabrication. The qualities of this weapon undoubtedly had some connexion with its name:

ἄμφ' ὅας ἄμεσση βάλισ' αἰγίδα θυγατέριον

ἄνδρ', ἢ ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΝΘ' ὈΒΟΖ ΕΤΕΦΑΝΟΤΟ. Il. v. 738.

The verb *ἀίρειν*, from whence this term takes its derivation, meant—to move ra-

pidly, to be violently agitated; and hence *αἰγίς*, the tempestuous wind, and *ἀἰγίς*, the appellation given to the stormy Capella, or the star whose rising was productive of hurricanes. The *egis*-bearing Jupiter of Virgil is the cloud-compeller—nimbo-susque ceteris, *Æn.* viii. 854. For the same reason, and not from his goatish form, we may be assured the god of Arcadia, the author of the Panic terror, was called *Ægipan*. In Icelandic "*ægir*" means the stormy sea; and in Anglo-Saxon we have "*eggian*" to excite, "*eg-stream*" a torrent, "*eg*" fear, and "*egesian*" to scare.

⁶² Compare Muller's *Saga-Bibliothek*, p. 532-41, with Hyginus, ed. Staveren, p. 189.

their ingenuity is the ship of Freyr, called *Skidbladnir*, which though sufficiently spacious to contain the whole tribe of the *Asæ*, with their arms and equipments, was yet so artfully contrived, that it might be folded like a handkerchief and carried about in the pocket⁹³. The sails of this extraordinary vessel were no sooner hoisted than a favourable wind sprang up; an attribute which has descended to another ornament of Icelandic fable, the bark *Ellide*: but this, like the first, and oftenest sung, of ancient ships, was also gifted with the power of understanding human speech⁹⁴. Homer, however, has told us, that the fleets of *Alcinous* combined the advantage of the favouring gale with an intelligence which enabled them to divine the wishes of those they bore, and that they also had the power of reaching their destined port without the assistance of a helmsman or a guide.

So shalt thou instant reach the realm assign'd,
 In wondrous ships, self-moved, instinct with mind:
 No helm secures their course, no pilot guides,
 Like men intelligent, they plough the tides;
 Conscious of every coast and every bay
 That lies beneath the sun's alluring ray.

In other fictions common to the ancient and modern world, this idea has been improved on, and applied to a vast variety of objects for conveying the person from place to place. Herodotus, with his characteristic love of the marvellous, (tempered as this passion was by an unrivalled perception of the truth,) found it impossible to pass unnoticed the fable of *Abaris* and his dart⁹⁵. He has, however, only mentioned the common tradition of his day, that it transported the Hyperborean philosopher wherever he wished, and left to *Jamblichus* the further particulars of its history. From the Pythago-

⁹³ Edda of Snorro, *Dæmesaga* 37. p. 459 and 592.

⁹⁴ Muller's *Saga-Bibliothek*, vol. ii. ⁹⁵ *Melpom.* c. 36.

rean romance of this writer we learn, that Abaris had procured it in the temple of the Hyperborean Apollo; and that in addition to the services it had rendered him in his several journeys "by flood and field," it had assisted him in performing lustrations, expelling pestilences, and allaying the fury of the winds⁶⁶. The place of its deposit clearly shows it to have been the same miraculous weapon employed by the Delian god in destroying the Cyclops; for another authority informs us, he buried this fatal dart in an Hyperborean mountain, and that when banished from Olympus, it was daily borne to him on the winds, laden with all the fruits of the season⁶⁷. In this latter attribute it becomes identified with the horn of Amalthæa, and serves to explain the mystery overlooked by Jamblichus, how Abaris, like another Epimenides, might devote his time to the service of the gods, and yet never be seen to eat or drink. In the traditions of Wales, this dart has been accommodated to the more stately fashions of later times; and one of the thirteen marvellous productions of Britain is the car of Morgan, which carried the possessor to whatever district he desired. But here again we have only another form for the *talaria* of the Nymphs, with which Perseus winged his way to the residence of Medusa; or the ring in the German tale, *The King of the Golden Mountain*,—while in the popular story of *Fortunatus* it assumes the humbler guise of a wishing-cap, and in the relations of the Kurds, and the history of *Tom Thumb*, it has descended to the lowly shape of a pair of seven-leagued boots. Another object enumerated among the thirteen marvellous productions of Britain, is the veil or mask of Arthur, which had the power of rendering the wearer's person invisible, without interrupting his view of the things around him. In other fables of the same country, this property is also given to the ring of *Eluned*⁶⁸, the *Lunet* of the old English romance

⁶⁶ Jamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* c. 19. 28.

⁶⁷ Hyginus, *Astron.* c. 15.

⁶⁸ Mr. Jones calls *Eluned* the lover of *Owain*; which if correct, would justify

of Ywaine and Gawaine: and in several German tales the hero is made to conceal himself from the "ken" of his companions by the assistance of an enchanted cloak. The romance of king Laurin, and the far-famed Nibelungen-lied, follow the general traditions of the North, which confine this mysterious attribute to a nebel-kappe, or fog-cap. But however varied the objects to which this quality has been assigned, we cannot fail to recognise the same common property which distinguished the helm of Pluto, worn by Perseus in his combat with Medusa, or the equally notorious ring of Gyges, whose history has been recorded by Plato⁹⁰. Without detaining the reader to trace the lyre of Hellenic fable through the hands of its several possessors, from Mercury to Amphion—

Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis

Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda

Ducere quo vellet—

HOR. *Ar. Poet.* v. 393.

we may proceed to remark, that the earliest notice of its occurrence in Northern fiction is to be found in the mythology of Finland. Wäinämöinen, the supreme god of the Finnish Olympus, was the inventor of a stringed instrument called the kandeale, which, resembling a kit in its construction, is still played as a guitar. "When this beneficent deity presented the result of his labours to mankind, no mortal hand possessed the skill to awake its harmonies, till the god himself

a conclusion, that the Welsh and English romances follow a different tradition. In the Heldenbuch this ring is given to Otait by his mother. Weber, p. 49.

⁹⁰ De Repub. iii. p. 359. Plato has most vexatiously dismissed a part of the history of this ring with a *καὶ . . . ἀλλὰ τὴ δὲ μυθολογίᾳ*, little thinking that the modern antiquary would have been more beholden to him for information on this head, than for all the subtleties of the Cratylus, or the speculations of

the Parmenides. Eucrates, in Lucian's Philopseudes, unblushingly affirms that he had one of these rings in his possession, and had used it on a very trying occasion. The ancients explained the helm of Pluto to be an impervious cloud surrounding the person of the wearer (such no doubt as is described in the Little Garden of Roses): but the passage in which this illustration is given, cannot be more specifically referred to than by citing the Scholia to Pluto published by Rühnken.

touching the strings, and accompanying its notes with his voice, caused the birds in the air, the beasts of the field, and the fishes of the sea to listen attentively to the strain; and even Wäinämöinen was moved to tears, which fell like pearls adown his robe¹⁰⁰." This account, which is literally copied from Finnish tradition, will lose nothing by a comparison with the Grecian fable of Orpheus, and will recall to the reader's memory the celebrated gem representing Pan, the Grecian Wäinämöinen, playing upon his pipe in the centre of the ecliptic. The fictions of our own country, or more correctly speaking those of Scotland and Wales, have substituted the harp, as a more decidedly national instrument, for the lyre and kandeale, and bestowed it upon two native musicians, Glaskyrion and Glenkindie, if indeed we are justified in separating these persons¹⁰¹. The former is the hero of a well-known ballad in *Dr. Percy's Reliques*, (vol. iii. p. 84,) and is placed by Chaucer in the same rank of eminence with the son of Calliope:

There herde I play on a harpe,
That sowned both well and sharpe,
Hym Orpheus full craftily;
And on this side fast by,

¹⁰⁰ Mone's continuation of Creutzer, i. p. 54. But this tradition appears to have found its way into Scotland. In a singular composition, published by Sir Walter Scott, "An Interlude on the laying of a Gaist," we find the following allusion to it:

And sune mareit the gaist the fie,
And cround him king of *Kandetic*;
And they gat them betwene,
Orpheus king and Elpha quene.
Minstrelsy, vol. i. p. 164.

¹⁰¹ Mr. Jamieson seems to consider Glenkindie a corruption of some local name, which has been substituted for Glaskyrion. There can be no doubt but the ballad published by him, as well as that in *Dr. Percy's* collection, refers to

the same personage; but who this celebrated harper may have been, whether a native of Wales, Scotland, or any other country, is not so clear. The same rationale will also apply to the name.—It is to be regretted that a gentleman so eminently qualified as Mr. Jamieson to illustrate the popular antiquities of his native country, should have abandoned a career in which he has already attained so much distinction, and might have acquired still greater. His name must ever be held in estimation by the friends of Warton's fame, for the spirited manner in which he shook off the trammels of the Ritsonian school, in his first publication, and vindicated the tasteful labours of Warton and *Dr. Percy*.

Sate the harper Orion (Amphion?)
 And Eacides, Chirion,
 And other harpers many one,
 And the Briton Glaskyrion. *House of Fame.*

The powers of Glenkindie's harp exceed all that has been said of its rival instruments:

He'd harpit a fish out o saut water,
 Or water out o' a stane,
 Or milk out o' a maiden's breast,
 That bairn had never nane¹⁰².

From hence the transition to the horn of Oberon, "which if softly sounded would make every one dance who was not of an irreproachable character;" or the harp of Sigurd¹⁰³, which caused inanimate objects to caper in the wildest confusion, was but an easy step. In popular story the same qualities have been conferred upon the fiddle of the German tale *The Jew in the Bush*, and the pipe of Jack in *The mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye*, and have thus developed the opposite and contrasting elements contained in this as in every other fable, and without which no mythos seems to be complete.

A still more favourite ornament of popular fiction is the highly-gifted object, of whatever form or name, which is to supply the fortunate owner with the gratification of some particular wish, or to furnish him with the golden means of satisfying every want. In British fable this property has been given to the dish or napkin of Rhydderch the Scholar, which like the table, or table-cloth, introduced into a variety of German tales, no sooner received its master's commands, than it became

¹⁰² Jamieson's *Scottish Ballads*, vol. i. p. 83.

¹⁰³ *Herraud of Bosa's Saga*, p. 49-51. The pipes of Dorco and Daphnis, in the pastoral romance of Longus, seem to

have had much the same effect upon their respective flocks. See pp. 25. 111. 112. (ed. Villoison.) The pipe of Pan, in the same romance, equals any thing recorded of its modern parallels.

covered with a sumptuous banquet. The counterpart of Rhyderch's dish is to be found in another British marvel, the horn of Bran, which spontaneously produced whatever liquor was called for: and a repetition of the same idea occurs in the goblet given by Oberon to Huon of Bourdeaux, which in the hands of a good man became filled with the most costly wine. In *Fortunatus*, and those tales which are either imitations of his adventures or copied from a common original, an inexhaustible purse is made to meet the demands of every occasion; while in others a bird, a tree, and even the human person, are made to generate in the same miraculous manner a daily provision of gold¹⁰⁴. A modification of the same idea is also found in the basket of *Gwyddno*, which no sooner received a deposit of food for one, than the gift became multiplied into a supply for a hundred; or in those stories where the charity bestowed upon the houseless wanderer, is rewarded by an endless stock of some requisite article of subsistence¹⁰⁵. In Hellenic fable, we have already seen the dart of *Apollo* enabling *Abaris* to live without appearing to partake of sustenance; and the narrative of *Cleombrotus*, also noticed before, seems to imply some similar resource on the part of his Eastern traveller. Another mysterious personage of early Grecian fable, and whose goetic practices, like those of *Abaris*, have secured for him a dubious fame, is *Epimenides the Cretan*. Of him we are also told that he was never known to eat, but that he allayed his hunger by occasionally tasting a precious edible bestowed upon him by the *Nymphs*; and which he carefully kept preserved in an

¹⁰⁴ Mr. Görres has observed, in speaking of *Fortunatus*, that the story of the goose which laid a golden egg is only a variation of this prolific subject; and that the history of the world contains little more than a kind of Argonautic expedition after the same golden fleece. For the other particulars referred to in the text, see *Kinder-und Haus-Märchen*, No. 60. 122. 130.

¹⁰⁵ See *Der Arme und der Reiche*, in *MM. Grimm's* collection. The note on this story contains references to the same idea in the fictions of Greece, China, and India. It seems to have escaped these learned German antiquaries, that a much earlier notice of the same miraculous agency is to be found in the "widow's cruse" of the Old Testament, 2 Kings, chap. iv.

ox's hoof¹⁰⁵. The popular creed of Attica, which seems to have delighted in investing the Theban Hercules with much the same absurdities that Northern fable has gathered round the person of Thor, had recourse to a similar invention as the only appropriate means of appeasing this divinity's ravenous appetites. It has accordingly conferred upon him the horn of Amalthæa, the fruit of his victory over the river-god Achelous; and of which the earliest tradition on record has given the popular view of its powers, that it never failed to produce a constant store of food¹⁰⁷. As such, it becomes identified with the Æthiopian table of the sun, mentioned by Herodotus¹⁰⁸; but in later fictions this idea has been refined into a horn, containing every possible delicacy of the vegetable kingdom, overflowing with all earthly good, and conferring wealth and prosperity upon every one who might chance to possess it¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁵ See Diogenes Laertius, ed. Menage, vol. i. p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ See Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 433. and Pherecydes in Apollod. Bibl. ii. 7. 5.

¹⁰⁸ See Herod. iii. 18. Mela, c. 10. (*quæ passim apposita sunt, affirmant innasci subinde divinitus*): and Solinus, c. 30.

¹⁰⁹ See the Scholiast to Lucian's Rhet. Præcept., and Eustathius, as before. The "Navigium" of the same writer contains some curious allusions to different points of popular belief, and which may be compared with the subjects treated of in the text. One of the parties wishes for a set of rings to endow him with the following qualities and advantages: a never-failing store of health; a person invulnerable, invisible, of irresistible charms, and having the concentrated strength of 10,000 men; a power of flying through the air, of entering every dwelling-house strongly secured, and of casting a deep sleep upon whom he chose. Another person in the same piece asks for the wand of Mercury, which is to ensure him an inexhaustible supply

of gold. For this wand of wealth and luck, see the Homeric Hymn to Mercury, v. 529; and compare Epict. ap. Arrian. Diss. iii. 20. p. 435. ed. Schweigh., where it is said to convert every thing it touched into gold. This idea of its power found an early circulation in the North; for one of the Glossaries published by Professor Nyerup, in his Symbol. Teut., and certainly not of a later date than the tenth century, translates *caduceuma, wunshiligarta*. The *Vilkinsa Saga* mentions a ring which is to excite affection in the wearer towards the donor, (Müller, p. 233.) and the love-stone of Helen is well-known. Servius (ad Æn. iii. 279.) notices an ointment, prepared by Venus, which had similar powers. The Horny Siegfried becomes invulnerable by bathing in the blood of a slaughtered dragon; and Medea gave Jason an ointment producing the same effect for the space of four-and-twenty hours. (Apollod. Bibl. i. 9. 23.) Orvar Odd had a kirtel which was to preserve him against death by fire or water, hunger or the sword, so long as he never turned his back upon a foe. Müller, 593.

This necessarily brings us to the history of the holy Graal¹⁰, or a sacred cup, which in the house of king Pecheur "appeared daily at the hour of repast, in the hands of a lady, who carried it three times round the table, which was immediately replenished with all the delicacies the guests could desire." The origin of this miraculous vessel, and the manner of its transmission to Europe, are thus related by Robert Borron¹¹.

¹⁰ The connexion between these symbols, a horn and a cup, will be apparent, on recollecting that the former was the most ancient species of drinking-vessel both among Greeks and Barbarians. See Athen. xi. c. 51. Xenophon also notices the application of horns to the same purpose among the Thracians. Anab. vii. 2. 23: and it will be needless to offer any examples from the well-known customs of Western Europe. It will also be evident why both these utensils should be chosen as the types of fecundity, abundance, and vivification, when we remember that both were the receptacles of that element, which was either the symbol of life, (*Ζώνη ἐν ὑγρῶν κύπελλον*, Proclus in Timæum, p. 318,) or the principal cooperating power in generation (*ἐννεπὶ γὰρ γένεσις . . . ἐν κύπελλῳ*, Porphyrius de Antro Nymph. c. 17.) Hence the cornucopia was bestowed upon all those deities who presided over fertility or human prosperity; upon Achelous and the Nile, Bonus Eventus and Annona, from their share in fostering the fruits of the earth; upon Tyche or Fortuna, the Agatho-dæmon, the tutelary Genii of towns or persons, (such as the Roman emperors,) the Lares, &c. from their beneficial aid in the direction of human affairs. A cornucopia of good fortune has already been noticed in the possession of the Northern Elves or Fays; and one of the Nymphs in the celebrated relief of Callimachus leads the way with this identical symbol. On the same principle, we meet with a Demeter Poteriophorus, and a Rhea Craterophorus, the Bonæ Dæ and Magnæ Matres of the ancient world; and the modius of Serapis, the giver and the receiver, is clearly referable to the same source. (Serapidis capiti mo-

dus superpositus, quia indicet vitam mortalibus frugum largitate præberi. Rufinus Hist. Eccles. ii. 23.) For further illustration of this copious subject, see Mr. Creuzer's Dionysus, sive Commentationes Academicæ de Rerum Bacchicarum Orphicarumque Originibus et Causis; Heidelbergæ 1808.

¹¹ Mr. Ritson has declared Robert Borron to be "a man of straw." But as he has offered no authority for such an assertion, the mere *ad hoc ipse* of this critic is not likely to have much weight beyond his school. The Vatican manuscript, No. 1687, commences with these words, "Mesir Robert de Boron, qui cheste estore translata de Latin en Romance, par le commandement de sainte eglise:" and no one can for a moment doubt the influence of the Romish priesthood, in the peculiar colouring given to the narrative. Mr. Ritson has also been a strenuous opponent of all such declarations as claim a Latin, Greek, or Arabic original for the subject-matter recorded. There may be occasional grounds for scepticism on this point; but the sweeping incredulity which rejects every assertion of the kind, is equally prejudicial to a right knowledge of the subject, with the easy faith it affects to despise. We know the mutations inflicted upon the "Seven Wise Masters" prior to its receiving an English dress; a variety of Italian tales and French fabliaux are of Arabic or Oriental origin; Greek fable must have been the immediate source of Alexander's story; the expedition of Attila, and Amis and Amillion still exist in Latin verse; and "Walther [of Aquitain's] and Hildegund's flight from Attila, was sung in Latin hexameters, on the model of Virgil and Lucan, by Eckhart, a priest of St. Galle

"The day on which the Saviour of the world suffered, death was destroyed, and our life restored: on that day there were few who believed on him; but there was a knight named Joseph of Arimathea, (a fine city in the land of Aromat). In this city Joseph was born, but had come to Jerusalem seven years before our Lord was crucified, and had embraced the Christian faith; but did not dare to profess it for fear of the wicked Jews. He was full of wisdom, free from envy and pride, and charitable to the poor. This Joseph was at Jerusalem with his wife and son, who was also named Joseph. His father's family crossed the sea to that place which is now called England, but was then called Great Britain; and crossed it '*sans aviron au pan de sa chemise*.'" Joseph had been in the house where Jesus Christ took his last supper with his apostles; he there found the plate off which the Son of God had eaten; he possessed himself of it, carried it home, and made use of it to collect the blood which flowed from his side, and his other wounds; and this plate is called the Saint Graal." This, however, is only the Breton or British account of the Saint Graal. The German romancers have followed a different version of its history, and derive their knowledge of the subject, though

(An. 973)." The Anglo-Saxon fragment of Judith was not taken directly from the Apocryphal narrative. The variations indeed from this document are, generally speaking, of such a kind as any translator might be supposed to indulge in, without our having recourse to another original. But in one passage we meet with a very distinct mention of a mosquito-net; an article of furniture not specified in the Book of Judith, which could not have been in use in these Northern realms, and of which the account must have travelled from the countries situated on the Mediterranean Sea. The original legend or romance must hence have been composed in a Southern dialect: and those who remember the alleged proficiency of the Anglo-Saxon

monks in Greek, may be induced to fix their election on that language. The immediate source from whence the Scop derived his narrative, is of course beyond our inquiry; but such a fact will teach us circumspection in forming any general theory as to the transmission of romantic fictions. Apollonius of Tyre, another Greek romance, also exists in Anglo-Saxon prose.

¹² This account has been extracted from a version of Borron's prologue, in the British Bibliographer, vol. i. The translator has there rendered "*sans aviron,—without oars.*" The original has been given in the text from Roquefort's Glossary: it contains no verbal obscurity, but the allusion is not intelligible to the writer of this note.

indirectly, from an Oriental source. The *Titirel* and *Parcifal* of Wolfram von Eschenbach¹³³ are respectively devoted to the discovery and the quest of this miraculous vessel: and in both we find a similar account of its powers to that given in the narrative of Robert Borron. The circumstances, however, and the agents which have been connected with it, are wholly different from those contained in the rival version. The name of Arthur is more sparingly introduced than in the Western fiction; and the theatre of its most important events is laid in either Asia or Africa. The immediate source of Eschenbach's poem was a Provençal romance written by one Kyot or Guiot. Of this writer nothing further appears to be known, than the memorial of his labours preserved in the *Parcifal* of his German translator, and a notice of his strictures upon Chretien de Troyes¹³⁴, who, like most of the Norman *troveurs*, seems to have drawn his materials from an Armorican source. From Wolfram's poem we gather, that Master Kyot obtained his first knowledge of the *Graal* from a manuscript he discovered at Toledo. This volume was written in a heathen character, of which the troubadour was compelled to make himself master; and the baptismal rite enabled him to accomplish this arduous task without the aid of necromancy. The author of this mysterious record was a certain heathen astronomer, *Flegetanis* by name, who on the mother's side traced up his genealogy to king Solomon; but having a Saracen father, he had adhered to his paternal faith, and worshiped a calf. *Flegetanis* was deeply versed in all the motions of the heavenly bodies; and

¹³³ These notices of Eschenbach's poems have been collected from Mr. Görres' preface to *Lohengrin*, an old German romance, founded on the same fiction as the *Chevalere Assigne*. (See vol. ii. 151.)

¹³⁴ The language of Eschenbach is thus given by Mr. Görres from the printed edition of the *Parcifal*:

Ob von Troys meister Christian,
Diesem Maere hat Unrecht getan,
Das (des) mach wohl surnen Kyot,
Der uns die rechten Maere esibot.

i. e. Since Master Christian of Troyes has done this tale an injustice, Kyot may well be angry, who has presented us with the right narrative.

in the hallowed volume deposited at Toledo, he had carefully inscribed the result of his nocturnal studies. But the book contained nothing more than the astronomer had really read most mysteriously depicted in the skies¹⁵. Even the name of the Graal was there emblazoned, together with the important fact, that a band of spirits had left it behind them upon earth, as they winged their way to their celestial abodes.

The acquisition of this knowledge stimulated Kyot to further inquiries; and he proceeded to search in Latin books for the name of that people which had been considered worthy of guarding the Graal. He perused the chronicles of Brittany, France and Ireland, without much success; but in the annals of Anjou he found the whole story recounted: he there read a complete history of Mazadan and his race, how Titurel brought the Graal to Amfortas, whose sister Herzelunde became the wife of Gamuret and the mother of Parcifal. This is clearly borrowed from the proeme of Kyot. Divested of its extraordinary colouring, we may receive it as amounting to this: that Kyot was indebted to an Arabic original for some of his details, and that the rest were collected from European records of the same fiction. The truth of this is supported by the internal evidence. The scene for the most part is not only laid in the East, but a large proportion of the names are of decidedly Oriental origin. The Saracens are always spoken of with consideration; Christian knights unhesitatingly enroll themselves under the banner of the Caliph; no trace of religious animosities is to be found between the followers of the Crescent and the Cross; and the Arabic appellations of the seven planets are thus distinctly enumerated: Zwal (Zuhael),

¹⁵ In the work already referred to, Mr. Görres has endeavoured to prove that Flegétanis must have had a Greek original before him. Of this, or at least of the adoption of Greek traditions, there is the most convincing proof in

what is said of the *aspis Ecciadamon* and the fish *Galeotes*. The latter is intimately connected with the Northern fiction relative to the *Nicors*, so frequently mentioned in *Beowulf*.

Saturn; Musteri, Jupiter; Muret (Meryt), Mars; Samsi (Shems), the Sun; Alligasir (the brilliant), Venus; Kitir (Kedr, the obscure), Mercury; Kamer (Kæmer), the Moon. Whether the name of Parcifal be taken from the Arabic Parsé or Parseh Fal, the pure or the poor dummling, as conjectured by Mr. Görres, must be left to the decision of the Oriental scholar: but the narrative already given affords a strong corroboration of his opinion, that Flegetanis is a corruption of Felek-daneh, an astronomer.

The Breton and Provençal fictions, as we have seen, unite in bringing this mysterious vessel from the East, a quarter of the globe whose earliest records present us with a marvellous cup, as extraordinary in its powers as any thing attributed to the Graal. Such a cup is well known to have occupied a conspicuous place among the traditions of the Jews, and from the Patriarch Joseph¹⁶, the chaste and provident minister of Pharaoh, to have descended to the great object of Hebrew veneration and glory, the illustrious king Solomon¹⁷. It will, therefore, be no matter of surprise to those who remember the ta-

¹⁶ Is not this it in which my lord drinketh? And whereby indeed he divineth? Gen. xlv. 5. In Norden's time the custom of divining by a cup was still continued. "Je sais," dit Baram Cashef de Derri au Juif, qui servoit d'entremetteur aux voyageurs Européens, "quelles gens vous êtes; j'ai consulté ma coupe, et j'y ai trouvé, que vous étiez ceux, dont un de nos prophètes a dit, qu'il viendrait des Francs travestis, qui feraient enfin venir un grand nombre d'autres Francs, qui feroient la conquête du pays, et examineroient tout." Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie, iii. 68. The lecanomancy of the Greeks is well known.

¹⁷ The Clavicula Salomonis contains a singular variation of this fiction. The supernatural knowledge of Solomon was recorded in a volume, which Rehoboam inclosed in an ivory ewer, and deposited in his father's tomb. On repairing the royal sepulchre, some wise men of Baby-

lon discovered the cup, and having extracted the volume, an angel revealed the key to its mysterious writing to one Troes a Greek: and hence the stream of occult science, which has so beneficially unfolded the destinies of the West. A parallel fable is found in Messenian story. When the Lacedæmonians stormed the fortress on mount Ira, Aristomenes, warned by the Delphic oracle, secreted in the earth some unknown article, which was to be a future talisman of security to his unfortunate countrymen. After the battle of Leuctra, the Argive commander Epiteles was directed in a dream to exhume this mysterious deposit. It was then discovered to be a brazen ewer, containing a roll of finely beaten tin, on which were inscribed the mysteries of the great divinities (ὡς μυστήτων θεῶν . . . ἡ τιλίσκη. Paus. iv. c. 30. 26.)

hismanic effect of a name in the general history of fiction, that a descendant of this distinguished sovereign should be found to write its history; or that another Joseph should be made the instrument of conveying it to the kingdoms of Western Europe. In Persian fable, the same miraculous vessel has been bestowed upon the great Jemshid¹¹⁸, the pattern of perfect kings, in whose reign the golden age was realized in Iran, and under whose mild and beneficent sway it became a land of undisturbed felicity. On digging the foundations of Estakhar (Persepolis), this favourite of Ormuzd, and his legitimate representative upon earth, discovered the goblet of the Sun; and hence the cause of all those blessings which attended his prosperous reign, and his unbounded knowledge of both terrestrial and celestial affairs. From the founder of the Persian monarchy it passed into the hands of Alexander the Great¹¹⁹, the hero of all later Oriental fiction; and Ferdusi introduces the Macedonian conqueror addressing this sacred cup as "the ruling prince of the heavenly bodies, and as the auspicious emblem of his victorious career." By other Eastern poets it has been referred to as a symbol of the world, and the fecundating powers of Nature; while others again have considered it as the source of all true divination and augury, of the

¹¹⁸ "Giam en Perse signifie un coupe ou verre à boire et un miroir. Les Orientaux, qui fabriquent cette espèce de vases ou ustensiles de toutes sortes des métaux aussi bien que de verre ou de crystal, et en plusieurs figures différentes, mais qui approchent toutes de sphérique, donnent aussi ce nom à un globe celeste. Ils disent, que l'ancien roi Gianschid, qui est le Salomon des Persees, et Alexandre le Grand, avoient de ces coupes, globes, ou miroirs, par le moyen desquels ils connoissoient toutes les choses naturels, et quelquefois même les surnaturelles. La coupe qui servoit à Joseph le Patriarche pour deviner, et celle de Nestor dans Homère, où toute la nature étoit représentée symboliquement,

ont pu fournir aux Orientaux le sujet de cette fiction. Un poete Turc dit, Lorsque j'aurai été éclairé des lumières du ciel, mon ame deviendra le miroir du monde, dans lequel je decouvrirai les secrets les plus cachés." Herbelot Bibliothèque Orient. s. v. Giam.

¹¹⁹ "Quum Alexander pervenisset in palatium suum, gyranter exierunt Græci locis suis, et læti non viderunt noctem regis, (viderunt autem) quatuor pocula. Gyranter ita locutus est (Alexander): Salvi estote, letamini hoc fausto omine nostro, hic enim scyphus in pagna est salus nostra, princeps siderum est in potestate nostra." *Shahnameh*, as quoted in Wilkins's *Persian Chrestomathia*, p. 171, and Creuser's *Dionysius*, p. 62.

mysterious arts of chemistry, and the genuine philosopher's stone¹²⁰. A goblet of the Sun also forms a favourite object in Grecian fable¹²¹. On approaching the shores of the Western Ocean, this divinity was supposed to abandon his chariot, and, placing himself in a cup, to be borne through the centre of the earth. Having visited (according to Steasichorus) his mother, wife and children, he then proceeded to the opposite point of the hemisphere, where another car awaited his arrival, with which he resumed his diurnal course. The Theban Hercules, the original type of all erratic champions, once ventured to attack the son of Hyperion; but on being reproved for his temerity he withheld his hand, and received as a reward for his obedience the golden chalice of the god. This he now ascended; and during a furious storm, excited for the purpose of putting his courage to the test, he traversed the ocean in it till he reached the western island of Erythræa¹²². The Pla-

¹²⁰ In the article already referred to, Herbelot says, The Persian poets make of this cup, "tantot le symbole de la nature et du monde, tantot celui du vin, quelquefois celui de la divination et des augures, et enfin de la chymie, et de la pierre philosophale."

¹²¹ See the fragments of this mythos, as variously related in Athenæus, lib. xi. p. 469-70. Minnermus calls it the couch of the Sun, in allusion, as Athenæus observes, to the concave form of the cup. This seems to have been a common metonymy; for in the passage already cited from Pausanias, the brazen ewer deposited by Aristomenes, is termed a brazen bed by the old man who appeared to Epitêtes in his dream.

¹²² From the Grecian terminology of their drinking-vessels, it is clear that a cup and a ship were originally correlative ideas; and the catalogue of Athenæus (lib. xi.) recites several words indiscriminately implying either the one or the other. The twofold import of these terms will tend to explain an apparent deviation on the part of the Greeks and Romans, from the general type adopted by other nations in the form of their re-

ceptacles for the dead. The vase or urn of the former, the larnax of Egypt, the ship or boat of Western Europe, and the canoe of the American savage, are all connected with the same primitive idea expressed in the Welsh apophthegm: "Pawb a ddaw i'r Ddavar Long—Every one will come into the ship of the earth." By whatever steps the Greek proceeded from his simple bowl or boat, to all the luxury of form displayed in his cinereal urns, the larnax, ship, or coffin, of other nations was by no means a needful accommodation to the doctrine, which forbade the incremation of the dead. The ashes of Balldur (Damesaga, c. 43.) were deposited in the ship Hringhorne, the body of Scyld (Beowulf, c. 1.) in a bark laden with arms and raiment, and committed to the guidance of the ocean. The varying language of the Iliad seems to countenance a similar distinction between Greek and Phrygian rites. The ashes of Patroclus are consigned to a golden cup (ἡ χρυσίῳ φιάλῃ, xxiii. 253); those of Hector to a golden ark or cofin (χρυσίῳ ἡ λάρνακα, xxiv. 795. Compare Thucydides ii. 34); for it is by no means clear, that the latter term ever

tonists have dwelt at large upon Hercules thus completing his labours in the West; and connecting this circumstance with the fancied position of the islands of the blest, have implied that it was here he overcame the vain illusions of a terrestrial life, and that henceforth he resided in the realms of truth and eternal light. With them, as in the school from whence their leading dogmas were derived—the mysteries of Paganism—a cup is the constant symbol of “vivific power;” and this goblet of the Sun becomes the same type of regeneration and a return to a better life, with the Graal of romantic fiction. Another version of the contest between Hercules and the Sun, or Apollo, transfers the scene of action to Delphi, and makes the object of strife between these heaven-born kinsmen the celebrated tripod of the oracle. But in the symbolical language of Greece, a tripod and a goblet (crater) were synonymous terms¹³²: and the grammarians have informed us, that from this combat between the brothers, and their subsequent reconciliation, arose the prophetic powers of Hercules. It will however be remembered, that the translators of the Septuagint, in their version of the Hebrew text, have rendered the divining cup of Joseph by the Greek term “Condy.” Of this vessel Athenæus has preserved the following account from Nicomachus. The name of this cup is Persian. It originally meant the celestial lantern of Hermes, which in form resem-

implied an urn, however much such an interpretation might be justified by analogy. We are not, however, to infer, that either of these utensils was the emblem of death or annihilation, or that this application to funereal purposes was in any way at variance with the Platonic doctrine of the text. For as the cup or vase was the symbol of vivific power, of generation, or an earthly existence, so also it was the type of regeneration, or a continued life in a happier and more exalted state. The savage is buried in his canoe, that he may be conveyed to the residence of departed souls; the

Greek was taught in the mysteries, that the Dionysic vase would be a passport to the Elysian fields; and the religion of Egypt enjoined, that every worshipper of Osiris should appear before his subterranean judge in the same kind of receptacle as that which had inclosed the mortal frame of this divinity. It only remains to observe, that a boat of glass was the symbol of initiation into the Druidical mysteries. Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 211.

¹³² Καὶ τὸ κωνικὸν ἐν Διονύσει, ἐστὶν οὗτος . . . διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἐστῆσαι τοῦ Διονύσου, οὗ ἀνατρεῖται. Athenæus ii. 143.

bled the world, and was at once the source of the divine marvels, and all the fruits that abound upon earth. On this account it is used in libations¹²⁴." The reader of Plato will have no difficulty in connecting this mundane cup with the first crater, in which the Demiurgus of the universe mixed the materials of his future creation; in which the soul of the world was tempered to its due consistency, and from whence the souls that animate corporeal substances were dispersed among the stars¹²⁵. The mention of this primary bowl gave rise among the Platonists to a second or distributive cup of souls, which they bestowed upon Dionysus, as lord of the sensitive universe; and hence the Nymphs, as ministrants and followers of this divinity, as the authorized inspectors of generation, were said to be supplied with the same symbol. According to some authorities, these goblets are placed at opposite points of the firmament, and are respectively the types of generation, or the soul's descent into this realm of sensual pleasure, and of palingenesis, or the soul's return to those celestial regions from whence it sprang¹²⁶. The former stands between the signs of Cancer and Leo, immediately before the human portal; and a draught of the oblivious beverage it contains occasions forgetfulness of those pure delights in which the soul had previously lived, and excites a turbulent propensity towards a material and earthly existence¹²⁷. The latter is placed at one

¹²⁴ Athenæus xi. 478. The present version is founded on the correction of Mr. Creuser, who has at length rendered this passage intelligible by reading *'Equis Juvæ*, where both Casaubon and Schweighäuser have *"Equisvæ"*. The latter critic has acknowledged the advantage of this emendation. See Dionysus, &c. p. 26 et seq. Nicomachus has used the term applied by Plato (*Leg. i. 644.*) to the whole animal creation, *τὸν Σῆν τὰ Σῆματα*.

¹²⁵ Timæus, 41, 42.

¹²⁶ See Mr. Creuser's *Symbolik*, &c. vol. iii. 410, &c. who has collected the

scattered notices of Proclus and Plotinus on the subject. Compare also Porphyry's interesting tract *De Antro Nympharum*, and Macrobius's *Somnium Scipionis*.

¹²⁷ See Macrobius *S. Scip. i. c. 12*. The cauldron of Ceridwen, if founded on a genuine record, appears to occupy the same place in Celtic mythology. (See the Hanes Taliessin in Mr. Davies's *Celtic Mythology*.) Ceridwen, we are told, was "the goddess of various seeds," from whose cauldron was derived every thing sacred, pure and primitive. Gwyon the Little sits watch-

extremity of the table of the gods (the milky way). It is held by Ganymede or Aquarius, the guardian of the southern fishes (king Pecheur?); and it is only by a favourable lot from this urn of destiny, that the soul is enabled to find a passage through the portal of the gods (Capricorn) to the circle of eternal felicity.

The sacred vessel of modern fiction is no less distinguished for its attributes. The seat reserved for it at the Round Table, was called "the siege perilous," of which a hermit had declared: "There shall never none sit in that siege but one, but if he be destroyed," [and that one] "shall win the Sancgreall¹²⁸." On the day this seat was to receive its ap-

ing the cauldron of inspiration, till three drops of the precious compound alight on his finger. On tasting these, every event of futurity becomes unfolded to his view. This appears to be the "novum potum materialis alluvionis," the intoxicating draught which inspires the soul with an irresistible propensity to a corporeal existence. "Hæc est autem hyle, quæ omne corpus mundi quod ubicumque cernimus ideis impressa formavit." (Macrob. i. 12.) It is this which protrudes the soul into Leo, and furnishes it with a prescience of its future career, ("cum vero ad Leonem labendo pervenerint, illic conditionis futuræ auspicantur exordium." Ib.) Gwyon is now pursued by Ceridwen, and transforms himself successively into a hare, a fish, and a bird, while the goddess becomes a greyhound-bitch, an otter, and a sparrow-hawk. Despairing of escape he assumes the form of a grain of wheat, and is swallowed by Ceridwen in the shape of a black high-crested hen. Ceridwen becomes pregnant, and at the expiration of nine months brings forth Taliessin, whom she exposes in a boat or coracle. In this we appear to have the soul's progression through the various elements which supply it with the vehicles necessary for incorporation. "Tertius vero elementorum ordo, ita ad nos conversus, habetur, ut terram ultimam faciat, et cæteris in medium reductis in

terram desinat, tam ima quam summa postremitas: igitur sphaera Martis ignis habetur, aer Jovis, Saturni aqua, terra vero Aplanes, in qua Elysios campos esse parvis animis deputatos antiquitas nobis intelligendum reliquit: de his campis anima, cum in corpus emittitur, per tres elementorum ordines, trina morte, ad corpus usque descendit." (Ib.) The *mer-nai* of Ceridwen would then be a personification of that necessity, by which souls are compelled to descend, in order that the economy of the universe may be sustained. "For the sensitive life suffers from the external bodies of fire and air, earth and water falling upon it; and considering all the passions as mighty through the vileness of its life, is the cause of tumult to the soul." Procl. in Tim. as cited by Mr. Taylor, ii. p. 513. Another favourite figure of the same school is, that the soul is hurled like seed into the realms of generation. Ib. 510. The remainder of the tale is a piece of common mythology. Mr. Davies admits that the bardic lore was a compound of Pagan and Christian dogmas; and it therefore becomes a question, whether this Paganism was purely Druidical, or that syncretic system adopted by Pelagius from the Platonizing fathers of the Eastern church. The theological tenets of the triads (Williams's Poems, vol. ii.) are obviously derived from this source.

¹²⁸ Morte Arthur, P. iii. c. 1.

pointed tenant, two inscriptions were found miraculously traced upon it: "Four hundred winters and four and fifty accomplished after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ ought the siege to be fulfilled:" and, "This is the siege of Sir Galahad the good knight." The healing virtues of the Graal are exemplified on the wounded persons of Sir Bors and Sir Percival²³, two of the knights destined to accomplish the Quest. A cripple of ten years suffering is restored to health by touching the table on which it is borne; and a nameless knight of perfect and unspotted life is admitted to kiss it, and finds an instantaneous cure for his maladies. But the courage, prowess and chivalric accomplishments of Sir Launcelot are rendered unavailing in the Quest, by his guilty commerce with Queen Guenever. He is permitted to see its marvellous effects upon the knight already mentioned, and who, less worthy than himself in earthly endowments, is yet uncontaminated by mortal sin; and once indeed he is suffered to approach the chamber containing it. But a voice forbids his penetrating to the interior of the sanctuary: yet, having rashly disregarded the admonition, he falls a victim to his fatal curiosity, and con-

²³ On this occasion Sir Percival "had a glimmering of that vessel, and of the maiden that bore it; for he was perfect and clone." (M. Arth. c. 14.) And again: "I wot welc what it is. It is an holy vessel that is borne by a maiden, and thereon is a part of the holy blood of our blessed Saviour." Ib. There is no clue in the romance to the genealogy of this damsel. But Mr. Creuser has shown that "a perfect and clean maiden" who bore a holy vessel, was a well known character in Grecian story. Amyclone, the *blameless* daughter of Danaus, was exempt from the punishment inflicted upon her father's children, because she had resisted the solicitations of a Satyr (sensual love). Hence she was permitted to draw the cooling reviving draught of consolation and bliss in a perfect vase. Her sisters who had yielded to temptation, who had

resigned themselves to Desire, were doomed to spend their time in fruitless attempts to fill a bottomless or broken vase, or a perforated sieve; and to become the standing types of the uninitiated, or souls wallowing in the mire of material existence. (The story of the murder was unknown to Homer and Apollodorus, and was doubtlessly a later fiction.) The Greeks also placed a vase upon the graves of the unmarried persons, as a symbol of celibacy; a practice that seems to illustrate the language of Joseph of Arimathy, to Sir Percival: "And wotest thou wherefore [our Lord] hath sent me more than other? for thou hast resembled me in two things; one is, that thou hast seen the Sancgreall, and the other is that thou hast been a *clone maiden* as I am." c. 103.

tinues in an almost lifeless condition for four-and-thirty days. A similar punishment is inflicted upon king Evelake, who having "nighed so nigh" to the holy vessel "that our Lord was displeased with him," he became "blasted with excess of light," and remained "almost blind" the rest of his life¹²⁰. The most solemn instance of its agency in the presence of a profane assembly, occurs on the day of Sir Galahad's assuming the siege perillous: "Then anon they heard cracking and crying of thunder, that hem thought the place should all to-ri-ve. In the midst of the blast, entered a sunbeam, more clear by seven times than ever they saw day; and all they were alighted of the grace of the holy ghost¹²¹. Then there entered

¹²⁰ The punishment here inflicted upon Sir Lancelot and king Evelake, is founded upon an idea, which seems to have pervaded the mythology of most nations, that the person of the Deity is too effulgent for mortal sight, and that any attempt at a direct inspection, is sure to be punished with a loss of vision or the senses. Hence the stories of Tiresias and Actæon, of Herse and Aglauros, (Paus. i. 18.) of Eurypylus (Ib. vii. 19.) and Maneros, (Plut. de Isid. et Osirid. c. 17.) and the explanation given to the disease called nym-
pholepsy is clearly referable to the same opinion. "Vulgo autem memoris proditum est, quicumque speciem quamdam e fonte, id est, effigiem nymphæ viderint, furendi non fecisse finem, quos Græci *νυμφοληπτες*, Latini *lymphatos* appellant." Festus. Hence also the eyes were averted on meeting a hero or heroical demon; and an Heroon was passed in silence. Schol. in Aristoph. Aves, 1490-3. The same opinion appears to have been current among the Germanic tribes who worshiped the goddess Hertha. Her annual circuit was made in a veiled car; but the servants who washed the body of the goddess on her return, and who consequently must have gazed upon her person, were reported to have been "swallowed up quick" by the earth. When Hercules demanded an epiphany of

the god Ammon, we are told this divinity assumed a ram's vizor, a fiction which seems to be connected with the same common opinion. (Herod. ii. 42.) The numerous veiled statues seen by Pausanias in his tour through Greece, the veiled goblet carried in the Dionysiac procession at Alexandria (Athen. lib. v. 268.), and the general introduction of the Graal (wherein was "a part of the holy blood of our blessed Saviour") covered with samyte, may be considered as further illustrations.

¹²¹ In the ancient world a cup or goblet was not only considered as the most suitable kind of vessel for libations, but it was also regarded as an appropriate type of the Deity. This no doubt arose from the widely extended dogma, that the Demiurgus of the universe framed the world in his own image. The illustrations of this opinion, as exemplified in votive offerings, in the form of an egg, a globe, sphere, hemisphere, cup, dish, &c. would fill a volume; and happily Mr. Creuser by his "*Dionysus*" has rendered further proof on the subject unnecessary. In Egyptian processions a vase led the way as an image of Osiris (Plut. 496); a small urn was the effigy of Isis (Apuleius *Metamorph.* xi. p. 693); a bowl or goblet was borne on a chariot, as the emblem of Dionysus, in the festival described by Calixenus (Athe-

into the hall, the holy Grail covered with white samite; but there was none that might see it, nor who bare it; and then was all the hall full filled with good odours; and every knight had such meat and drink as he best loved in this world; and when the holy Grail had been borne through the hall, then the holy vessel departed suddenly, that they wist not where it became." (c. 35.) But these are the mere secular benefits in the power of the sacred cup to bestow. To those allowed to share in its spiritual advantages, who by a life of purity and blameless conduct had capacitated themselves for a more intimate communion with it, it became a cup of eternal life and salvation. On its first epiphany to Sir Galahad and his fellows, the great mystery of the Romish church is visibly demonstrated

næus, v. 268); and hence the long catalogue of craters, tripods, &c. so common in the furniture of ancient temples. That the same symbol was acknowledged in other countries previously to any general intercourse with the Roman powers, is more than probable. Herodotus has stated of the Issedones, that they decorated the skulls of the departed with gold, reserving them as images (see Salmas. in Solin. p. 192.) of their ancestors, when they performed those annual rites which the Greeks called *γένημα*. From this we may infer that the Issedones entertained the same notions of the dead, that we find prevailing in almost every ancient and modern nation in a Pagan state; and that they enrolled their deceased relatives among those domestic deities, who by a general system of euhemy have been called *Διὶ χενοῖσι*, Dii Manes, Götchen and Guid Neighbours. As the guardians of the family hearth, and the household gods of their descendants, the same class of spirits was also termed by the Greeks and Romans *Διὶ πατρῷσι*, Lares, *παισῶν Διὶ*, and Dii Penates. (See Salmasius Exercit. Plin. p. 46.) Now the images shown at Lavinium, as the identical statues of the Penates brought to Italy by Æneas, consisted of *ἀνέμια οἰδῆα* &

χαλκᾶ, ἃ πείραμον Τρωϊνῶν. (Dion. Hal. i. 67.) With the true or fictitious history of Æneas we are not concerned; it is sufficient to know the form of those symbols which were acknowledged in Italy as suitable representations of the Penates. For an explanation of the caduceal figures we may refer to Servius: "Nullus enim locus sine *Genio* est, qui per *anguem* plerumque ostenditur." The Trojan bowl and Issedonian skull will illustrate each other. Livy has also said: "*Galli Boii caput ducis* (Postumii) *præcisum ovantes templo*—intulere: *purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvum auro cælavere: idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo solennibus libarent: poculumque idem sacerdoti esse ac templi antistitibus*." It will be remembered that according to the Edda the skull of Ymir was converted into the canopy of heaven (Dæmesaga). Something is said on this subject at page xxxiv. below, which, though written without the passages above cited being in the Editor's recollection, he by no means wishes to retract, so far as the *moderns* are concerned. Through inadvertency the authorities for that note have been omitted, viz. Bartholin for the facts, and the "Transactions of the Scandinavian Society," page 323. 1813, for the correction.

before them. The transubstantiation of the sacred wafer is effected in their presence, palpably and sensibly; the hallowed "bread become flesh" is deposited in the cup; and the Redeemer of the world emerges from it to administer to his "knights servants and true children, which [were] come out of deadly life into spiritual life, the high meat which [they] had so much desired." Still they "did not see that which they most desired to see, so openly as they were to behold it in the city of Sarra in the spiritual place." Here Sir Galahad's vision of the transcendent attributes of the Graal is perfected; his participation in its hallowed contents is consummated to the full extent of his wishes; he has now obtained the only meed for which this life is worth enduring—a certainty of passing to a better: his earthly travails close, "his soul departs unto Christ, and a great multitude of angels" is seen to "bear it up to heaven. Also his two fellows saw come from heaven a hand, but they saw not the body; and then it came right to the vessel and took it and so bare it up to heaven. Sithence was there never no man so hardy for to say that he had seen the Sangreall."

In the Arabic version the holy vessel is delivered by an angel to Titurel, at whose birth another minister of heaven attended, and foretold the infant hero's future glory, by declaring that he was destined to wear the crown of Paradise. By him a temple is built for its preservation upon Montsalvaez, "a sacred mountain, which stands in Salvatierra¹², a district of Arragon, and lying adjacent to the valley of Roncevalles and upon the high road from France to Compostella." The materials for this structure are of the most costly and imperishable description: they are all produced in their appro-

¹² This Montsalvaez in Salvatierra is in all probability the Salisberi of the Norman Romancers; the Mons salutis (Sawles-byrig?) of the Christian world.

This would account for the castle of Luces Sieur de Gast being "pres de Salisberi," or adjoining the sanctuary in which the Graal was preserved

priate forms and connection by the miraculous power of the Graal; and the outline of the building is unexpectedly discovered upon a rock of onyx, which the day before had been cleansed of the weeds and herbage that encumbered it. The access to the sanctuary is rendered invisible to all, except the chosen few, by an impervious forest of cedar, cypress and ebony surrounding it. By the daily contemplation of the Graal, Titarel's life is prolonged to "more than five hundred years:" just as the glorious career of Jemshid was extended to nearly seven centuries from a similar cause; and he only sinks to the sleep of death, from omitting to visit it during the space of ten days. In Lohengrin, Montsalvaez assumes the place of the isle of Avalon in British romance¹²³; and forms the fabled place of retreat of Arthur and his followers. It is here that the British monarch awaits the hour of his re-appearance upon earth¹²⁴; but far from remaining insensible to those chivalric

¹²³ The retreat of Arthur to the isle of Avalon forms an exact parallel to what Hesiod has sung of the heroes who fell in the Trojan war, &c. (Op. et Dies, 140.) The skolon of Callistratus relative to Harmodius and Aristogeiton shows how late this beautiful fiction continued to be a favourite with the Athenians. In the Islands of the Blest we hear of Semele being married to Rhadamanthus, and Helen to Achilles. The offspring of this latter union was a winged boy, Euphorion, who was destroyed by Jupiter in the island of Melos. (Ptolem. Hephest. c. 4.) Mr. Owen has said of "Arthur the son of Uthyr Bendragon, that he was a mythological and probably allegorical personage, and the Arcturus or Great Bear" of the celestial sphere. It is to be regretted that the Welsh antiquaries have told us so little of this mythic Arthur. The Fins, one of the oldest European tribes, and whose destinies have been even more evil-starred than those of the Celts, retain the following article of their ancient faith:—When the soul is permitted to ascend the shoulders of Ursa Major, it passes

into the highest heaven, and the last stage of felicity. (Mone, ubi supra, 62.) Something of this kind is absolutely necessary to make many parts of the Morte Arthur intelligible; for that in this we have to do with the mythological Arthur, would be clear even to those who had no knowledge of an historical British prince. Not that the compilers of these fictions were at all aware of the ground they were treading, any more than Homer when he described the contest between Vulcan and the Scamander, believed himself "to be philosophizing. Orphically," to speak with Philostratus. (Heroic. p. 100. ed. Boissonnade.) The writers of romance, like the great Mæonian (si licet componere, &c.), appear to have poured forth in song the sacred lore of an earlier period, but which having already received a secular or historical cast, was uttered as such by them with the most unsuspecting good faith.

¹²⁴ The doctrine of the metempsychosis, which formed so conspicuous an article of the Celtic creed, would be sufficient to account for the Breton tradition relative to Arthur's re-appear-

duties which rendered his court an asylum for injured beauty and distressed sovereigns, he still holds a communication with the world, and occasionally dispatches a faithful champion to grant assistance in cases of momentous need¹²⁸. Here also the Graal maintains the sanctity of its character; and becomes at once the register of human grievances and necessities, and the interpreter of the will of Heaven as to the best mode of redressing them¹²⁹. But even here its transcendent purity requires a similar degree of unblemished worth in those who consult its dictates: the attendant knights in Arthur's train are too corrupt and sensual to approach the hallowed fane; and the infant children of Perceval and Lancelot, and the daughter of the courteous Gawaine are alone considered fit to

ance upon earth. A similar belief was entertained respecting Ogier le Danois, whose identity with Helgi, a hero of Sæmund's Edda, has been already noticed. At the close of the song "Helgi and Svava" it is stated: that these persons were born again; and at the end of the second song concerning Helgi Hundings-bane, we have: It was believed in the olden time that men might be born again. Helgi and Sigrunr are said to have been regenerated. *He* was then called Helgi Haddingia-skate; but *she*, Kara Halfdens daughter." The compiler of this collection does not fail to add, that in his time this opinion was regarded as an old-wives' tale. The French Romances however have perpetuated the tradition.

¹²⁸ The author of Lohengrin makes Eschenbach assert, that his information respecting Arthur's "residence in the mountain, the manner in which the British monarch and his hundred followers were provided with food, raiment, horses and armour, and the names of the champions whom he had dispatched to aid the Christian world," was obtained from St. Brandan. Lohengrin or the "Chevelere Assigne" was one of these heroes. In this Arthur assumes the duty allotted to Proserpine, who according to Pindar, "having cleansed

the soul of its impurities, re-dispatches it to the upper sun, where it becomes distinguished for its wisdom or its power, and in after-time is ranked among the heroes of public veneration." See Plato's Meno 81. and Hermann's disposition of this fragment in the 3rd volume of Heyne's Pindar. In Germany this tradition respecting the Graal became localized: Four miles from Dann, St. Barbara's hill is seen to rise conically from the centre of a plain. By many infatuated Germans this hill is called the *Graal*, who also believe that it contains numerous living persons, whose lives will be prolonged till the day of judgement, and who pass their time there in a round of continued revelry and pleasure. Theodoric a Niem. lib. ii. de Schismat. c. 20. as cited by Prætorius, i. 395.

¹²⁹ The distress of Elsam von Brabant is made known to Arthur by her ringing a bell, a subject upon which there is no space to dilate. But the reader will not fail to remember that a brazen vessel (or bell) is sounded when Simætha invokes Hecate (Theocritus, ii. 36.), and that a similar rite was observed at Athens when the Hierophant invoked the same Goddess as Coré or Proserpine. See Apollodorus, as cited by the Scholiast to Theocritus, and compare the preceding note.

step within the sacred shrine. Perhaps this would be the place to connect these scattered fragments of general tradition, and to offer a few remarks upon the import of a symbol which has thus found its way into the popular creed of so many distant nations. But a history of romantic fiction forms no part of the present attempt, nor an exposition of those esoteric doctrines which, taught in the heathen temple and perpetuated in the early stages of the Romish church, have descended to the multitude in a less impressive but more attractive guise.

There is, however, one point upon which it may be necessary to make a more explicit avowal, lest the general tendency of the preceding remarks should be construed into an acquiescence with opinions wholly disclaimed. Though the marvels of popular fiction, both in the ancient and modern world, have thus been referred to the same common origin, it is by no means intended to affirm, that the elements of fictitious narrative in Greek and Roman literature are no where to be found embodied in the productions of the middle age¹⁷. Such an assertion would be at variance with the most limited experience of the subject, and might be refuted by a simple reference to the German tales of MM. Grimm. In the story of the "Serpent-leaf," the principal incident accords with the account of Glaucus and Polyidus, as related by Apollodorus¹⁸;

¹⁷ Mr. Ritson has said, "Nothing seems more probable than that the composers of romance were well acquainted with the ancient Greek and Latin poets." (*Met. Rom.* iii. p. 324.) But here his own favourite figure in dialectic might certainly have been retorted upon him: Is it so nominated in the bond?

¹⁸ Compare Grimm's *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, No. 16, with Apollod. *Biblioth.* iii. 3. 1. There is perhaps no fable that has obtained a more extensive circulation than this. Another version of the story attributes the cure of Glaucus to Æsculapius (*Hyg. Astron.* 14.); and according to Xanthus, as cited by

Pliny (*Hist. Nat. lib.* xxv. c. 5.), it formed a piece of Lydian history. A recent number of the *Quarterly Review* No. 58.) has cited the following illustration of it from Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus*: "At Paris there was lately a sage, who sought out the serpent's nest, and selecting one of the reptiles, he cut it into small pieces, leaving only as much undissected membrane, as was sufficient to prevent the fragments from falling asunder. The dying serpent crawled as well as it could until it found a leaf, whose touch immediately united the severed body; and the sage, thus guided by the creature whom he had mangled,

the cranes of Ibycus figure under another form in the tale of the "Jew and the Skinker"¹³³; and the slipper of Cinderella finds a parallel, though somewhat sobered, in the history of the celebrated Rhodope¹⁴⁰. In another story of the same collection we meet with the fabled punishment of Regulus, inflicted on the persons of two culprits¹⁴¹; Ovid's Baucis and Philemon may be said to have furnished the basis of the Poor and the Rich Man¹⁴²: the Gaudief and his Master contains the history of the Thessalian Erisichthon¹⁴³; the Boeotian Sphinx exerts her agency in a variety of forms¹⁴⁴; and the descent of Rhampsinitus, and his dicing with Demeter, is shadowed forth in a series of narratives¹⁴⁵. Another of Ovid's fables, the history of Picus and Circe, is in strict analogy with a considerable portion of the "Two Brothers;" other incidents may be said

was taught to gather a plant of inestimable virtue." While this sheet was passing through the press, a similar story was related to the Editor, of an old crone practising leech-craft in Glamorganshire at the present day. The ancient name of this valuable herb was *balis* or *ballis*. (Comp. Pliny with the Etymol. Magnum.) In the *Lai d'Eliduc*, two weasels are substituted for the serpents of the ancient fiction.

¹³³ Grimm, No. 115. Cic. Tusc. 4. c. 48.

¹⁴⁰ Grimm, No. 21. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 32.

¹⁴¹ Grimm, No. 13. Appian in Libycis. In the note to the "Three Mannikins in the Wood," it is stated from the Great Chronicle of Holland, that this punishment was inflicted on Gerhard van Velzen, for the murder of Count Florence V. of Holland (1296). After being rolled in the cask for three days, he was asked how he felt, when he intrepidly replied:

Ich ben noch dezelve man,
Die Graaf Floris zyn leven nam.

I am still the self-same man, who took away the life of Count Florence! The same punishment is also mentioned in

the Swedish popular ballads published by Geyer and Afzelius, i. No. 3: the Danish *Klempe Viser*, No. 165: in Perrault's *Fairy Tale* "Les Fées," and the *Pentamerone* iii. 10. (Grimm.)

¹⁴² Grimm, No. 87. Ovid. Met. viii. 679, where the presence of a divinity is manifested by a miracle running through the fictions of every country:

Interea, quoties haustum cratera, repleti
Sponte sua, per seque vident succrescere
vina,

Attoniti, &c.

Compare note 105. p. (67) above.

¹⁴³ Grimm, No. 68. Ovid. Met. viii. 738. and Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 28.

¹⁴⁴ The popular view of this subject in the ancient world is given by Pausanias, ix. c. 26. who represents the Sphinx as a natural daughter of Laius, intrusted with a secret delivered to Cadmus by the oracle at Delphi. The rightful heir to the throne was in possession of the solution to this mystery; the illegitimate pretenders were detected by their ignorance of it, and suffered the penalty due to their deceit.

¹⁴⁵ Grimm, No. 82, and the note containing the several variations of the tale. Herodotus ii. 122.

to have been borrowed from the account of the same enchantress in the *Odyssey*: the annual sacrifice of a virgin to the destructive dragon, forms a pendant to the story in Pausanias concerning the dark demon of Temessa; and the test of the hero's success, the production of the dragon's tongue, which also occurs in the romances of *Wolf-dietrich* and *Tristram*, is to be met with in the local history of Megara¹⁴⁶. The mysterious cave of "Gaffer Death" receives its chief importance from its resemblance to a similar scene in the vision of *Timarchus*¹⁴⁷; and the most interesting tale in the whole collection—whether we speak with reference to its contents, or the admirable style of the narrative—the *Machandel Boom*¹⁴⁸—is but

¹⁴⁶ Grimm, No. 60. Ovid. *Met.* xiv. 327. Od. x. 230-335. Comp. Ovid. xiv. 270. Pausanias vi. c. 6. (See note 57. p. (42) above.) Weber's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 123. Sir *Tristram*, fyfte 2. st. 37. The scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius relates, on the authority of the Megarica, that Alcaethous the son of Pelops, having slain Chryseippus, fled from Megara, and settled in some other town. The Megarian territory being afterwards ravaged by a lion, persons were dispatched to destroy it; but Alcaethous meeting the monster, slew it, and cut out the tongue, with which he returned to Megara. The party sent to perform the exploit also returned, averring the success of their enterprise; when Alcaethous advanced, and produced the lion's tongue, to the confusion of his adversaries. Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. i. v. 517.

¹⁴⁷ Grimm, No. 44. "Gaffer Death... now led the physician into a subterranean cavern, containing an endless number of many thousand thousand lighted candles. Some were long, others half-burnt, and others again almost out. Every instant some of these candles became extinguished, and others lighted anew; and the flame was seen to move from one part of the cave to another. Look here! (said Death to his companion,) these are the vital sparks of human existence." In Plutarch's tract "De Genio Socratis," Timarchus is

made to address his mysterious guide thus: "But I see nothing except a number of stars shooting about the chasm, some of which are plunging into it, and others shining brilliantly and rising out of it." These are said to be the intellectual portions of the soul (Nous), or demoniacal intelligences, and the ascending stars souls upon their return from earth; the others, souls descending into life. c. 22. In this we receive the key to the attribute bestowed upon the ancient divinities who presided over generation and childbirth, such as Lucina, Artemis-Phosphorus, &c. and hence also the analogy between the stories of *Meleager* and *Norna-Gest* may be explained from a common point of popular faith.

¹⁴⁸ This extraordinary tale will be found in the second volume of the *German Stories*, now on the eve of publication. To this the reader is referred, who will feel grateful that no garbled abstract of it is here attempted. The points of coincidence may be thus briefly stated. In the Cretan fable, the destruction of *Zagreus* is attributed to the jealousy of his step-mother *Juno*; and the Titans (those telluric powers who were created to avenge their mother's connubial wrongs) are the instruments of her cruelty. The infant god is allured to an inner chamber, by a present of toys and fruit (among these an *apple*),

a popular view of the same mythos upon which the Platonists have expended so much commentary—the history of the Cretan Bacchus or Zagreus. In Sweden, the story of Hero and Leander has become localized, and forms the subject of an interesting national ballad; the fate of Midas is to be found incorporated as an *undoubted* point of Irish history¹⁴⁹; and the treasury of Rhampsinitus has passed from Egypt to Greece, and from Mycenæ to Venice¹⁵⁰. The youthful history of Theseus bears a strong resemblance to many parts of Sir Degoré; the white and black sails, the emblems of his success or failure, are attached to the history of Tristram and fair Ysode; the ball of silk given him by Ariadne, has passed into the hands of the Russian witch Jaga-Baba; and the heroic feat which was to establish the proof of his descent, has been inserted in the lives of Arthur, and the Northern Sigurdr¹⁵¹. The talis-

and is forthwith murdered. The dismembered body is now placed in a kettle, for the repast of his destroyers; but the vapour ascending to heaven, the deed is detected, and the perpetrators struck dead by the lightning of Jove. Apollo collects the bones of his deceased brother, and buries them at Delphi, where the palingenesis of Bacchus was celebrated periodically by the Hosii and Thyades. (Compare Clemens Alex. Protrept. p. 15. ed. Potter; Nonnus Dionys. vi. 174, &c. and Plutarch de Isid. et Osirid. c. 35. et De Eux Carnium, i. c. vii.) But this again is only another version of the Egyptian mythos relative to Osiris, which will supply us with the chest, the tree, the sisterly affection, and perhaps the bird (though the last may be explained on other grounds). (Plut. de Isid. &c. c. 13. et seqq.) Mr. Grimm wishes to consider the "Mandel-Boom" the juniper-tree; and not the "Mandel," or almond-tree. It will be remembered, that the latter was believed by the ancient world to possess very important properties. The fruit of one species, the Amygdala, impregnated the daughter of the river Sangarius with the Phrygian Attys (Paus. vii.

17); and another, the Persea, was the sacred plant of Isis, so conspicuous on Egyptian monuments. (For this interpretation of the Persea, see S. de Sacy's Abd-allatif Relation de l'Egypte, p. 47-72, and the Christian and Mahomedan fictions there cited.) This story of dressing and eating a child is historically related of Atreus, Tantalus, Procne, Harpalice (Hyginus ed. Staveren, 206), and Astyages (Herod. i. 119); and is obviously a piece of traditional scandal borrowed from ancient mythology. The Platonistic exposition of it will be found in Mr. Taylor's tract upon the Bacchic Mysteries, (Pamphleteer, No. 15.)

¹⁴⁹ Keating's Hist. of Ireland, as cited by M.M. Grimm, iii. 391.

¹⁵⁰ Compare Herod. ii. c. 121. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. 508. and the notes to Childe Harold, canto iv.

¹⁵¹ Compare Plutarch's Life of Theseus with Sir Degoré, as published in the "Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry;" Scott's Sir Tristram, p. 199; Prince Wladimir and his Round Table, a collection of early Russian Heroic Songs, Leipzig 1819, 8vo. as cited by Mone 130; the Morte Arthur, P. I. c. 4; and the Volsunga Saga, Müller, p. 31.

man of Meleager—"Althæa's firebrand"—has been conferred upon the aged Norna-Gest, a follower of king Olaf¹⁵²; the artifice of Jack the Giant-killer, in throwing a stone among his enemies, occurs in the histories of Cadmus and Jason¹⁵³; and the perilous labour of Alcmene is circumstantially related in the Scottish ballad of Willie's Lady¹⁵⁴. Among the marvellous tales with which the traveller Pytheas chose to enliven the narrative of his voyage, at the risk of sacrificing his character for discernment and veracity, the following has been preserved by the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius. "Vulcan appears to have taken up his abode in the islands of Lipara and Strongyle.....and it was formerly said, that whoever chose to carry there a piece of unwrought iron, and at the same time deposited the value of the labour, might on the following morning come and have a sword, or whatever else he wished, for it¹⁵⁵." This fiction has a double claim upon our attention, both from the manner in which it became localized at a very early period in England, and from the interest it has recently excited, by its reception into one of those unrivalled produc-

¹⁵² Apollod. Biblioth. i. c. 8. 1. "At length Gest told them the reason of his being called Norna-Gest. Three Völar cast his nativity; the two first spæed every thing that was good, but the last became displeased, and said the child should not live longer than the candle lasted which was then burning. Upon this the two Völar seized the light, and bade his mother preserve it, saying, it was not to be lighted till the day of his death." *Norna-Gest's Saga*, Müller 113. Gest was more fortunate in his family connexions than the Grecian hero; for on the day king Olaf recommended him to try the experiment of lighting the candle, he was 300 years old. *Ib.*

¹⁵³ Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1178.

¹⁵⁴ *Minstrelsy of the Border*, vol. ii. Sir Walter Scott has observed, that the billie-blind, who detects the mother's charm in this ballad, was a species of domestic spirit or Brownie. The Thebans appear

to have held a similar opinion relative to Galinthias, whom they considered a ministrant of Hecate, and to whom the first sacrifice was performed during the festival of Hercules. (*Anton. Lib. c. 29.*) They were hence reputed to worship a weasel (*Ælian. Hist. Nat. xii. v.*), an animal of an exceedingly ominous character in the ancient world. (*Theophrastus Charact. 17.*) In the reputed house of AmphiTryon, Pausanias (*ix. 11.*) saw a relieve representing the Sorceresses (*Pharmacides*) sent by Juno to obstruct Alcmene's labour. According to him (and he gathered the account at Thebes), they were defeated by *Historis*, a daughter of *Tiresias*; which again confirms the analogy between the ancient and modern fiction, for *Tiresias* and his family move in Theban story with all the importance of tutelary divinities.

¹⁵⁵ Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 761.

tions, which have given a new character to the literature of the day. In a letter written by Francis Wise to Dr. Mead, "concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly the White Horse," an account is given of a remarkable pile of stones, to which the following notice is attached: "All the account which the country people are able to give of it is: At this place lived formerly an invisible smith; and if a traveller's horse had left a shoe upon the road, he had no more to do than to bring the horse to this place with a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time, he might come again, and find the money gone, but the horse new shod. The stones standing upon the Rudgeway, as it is called, I suppose gave occasion to the whole being called Wayland-Smith; which is the name it was always known by, to the country-people." The reader will have no difficulty in detecting here the previous recital of Pytheas, or in recognising in this simple tradition the germ of a more recent fiction, as it has been unfolded in the novel of Kenilworth. But he may not be equally aware, that the personage whose abilities it has so unostentatiously transmitted, is a very important character in early Northern poetry; and that the fame of "Wayland-Smith," though less widely extended than it now promises to become, was once the theme of general admiration, from the banks of the Bosphorus¹²⁶ to the Atlantic and Frozen oceans. The first historical song in the Edda of Sæmund—if it be lawful to give this name to a composition containing such a strong admixture of mythological matter—is devoted to the fortunes of a celebrated smith called Völundr. The *Vilkina-Saga*, a production of the fourteenth century, enters more fully into his

¹²⁶ In the *Vilkina-Saga* he is called Velent: but the author adds, he bore the name of Völundr among the Varingar. These *Bæþyyar* were mercenaries in the service of the Greek emperors. See Anna Comn., Codrin., &c. and Ducange v. *Barangii*. In the eleventh century,

the Northern portion of this body-guard amounted to 300, according to the *Flate Codex*, c. 507-8, which makes a distinction between them and the French and Flemings in the Imperial service. Müller 149.

history; and he is spoken of by various writers between the ninth and fourteenth centuries¹²⁷ as the fabricator of every curious weapon, or unusual piece of art. In the outline of his story there is a very strong analogy with the events that shine so marvellously in the life of Dædalus. The flight of Völundr from his native country, like that of the Athenian artist, is attributed to an act of violence upon the persons of two rival craftsmen. His first reception at the court of Nidung is attended by every demonstration of kindness and attention; but an accidental offence occasions the seizure and mutilation of his person, and he is compelled to labour incessantly in the duties of the forge for his tyrannical host. The double cruelties inflicted on him, in the loss of liberty and his bodily injuries, inspire him with sentiments of revenge: the infant sons of his persecutor fall the victims of his artifice; their sister is seduced and publicly disgraced; and the triumphant artist, having attached wings to his person, takes his way through the air to seek a more friendly employer¹²⁸. It is not a little remarkable, that the only term in the Icelandic language to designate a labyrinth is Völundar-hus—a Weland's house¹²⁹.

¹²⁷ Some of these have been already noticed. (See Alfred's Boethius, and the poem of Beowulf, and note' p. liv. below.) The following may be added from Müller's *Saga-Bibliothek*: "Et nisi duratis Vuelandia fabrica giris obstaret . . ." from a Latin poem of the ninth century, entitled "De prima Expeditione Attilæ regis Hunnorum in Gallia, ac de rebus gestis Waltharii Aquitanorum principis." Lipsiæ 1780. In Labbe's *Bibliotheca MSS. Nova*, tom. ii., the following notice occurs: "Gillesmus Sector Ferri hoc nomen sortitus est, quia cum Normannis conficiens venire solito conflictu deluctans, ense cotto vel acorto durissimo, quem Valandus faber condiderat, per medium corpus loricatorum secavit una percussione." *Historia Pontificum et Comitum Engolismensium* incerto auctore, (but who

was living in 1159,) p. 252. See also the romance of Horn-child and Maiden Ríminild, in Ritson's *Met. Rom.* vol. iii. p. 295.

¹²⁸ These circumstances are taken from the recital given in the *Vilkina-Saga*. (Müller 154.) The Eddaic song makes no mention of Völundr's flight to the court of Nithuthur (Nidung), nor of his killing his instructors the Dwarfs: a deed of mere self-defence according to the *Vilkina-Saga*, since, his rapid improvement having excited their envy, they were devising a plan for destroying him.

¹²⁹ The name of Völundr became a general name in the North for any distinguished artist, whether working in stone or iron. The same may be said of Dædalus in Greece (*δαίδαλιον, δαίδαλα*), whose labours are found to run through a

The resemblances here detailed are obviously too intimate to have been the result of accident, or a common development of circumstances possessing some general affinity. The majority, on investigation, will be found to have been derived, however indirectly, from sources of classical antiquity; and their existence in this dismembered state forcibly illustrates a remark of Mr. Campbell's, which is equally distinguished for its truth and beauty: "that fiction travels on still lighter wings [than science], and scatters the seeds of her wild flowers imperceptibly over the world, till they surprise us by springing up with similarity, in regions the most remotely divided¹⁰⁰." But while these resemblances tend to establish the fact, that popular fiction is in its nature *traditive*¹⁰¹, they necessarily direct our attention to another important question—the degree of antiquity to be ascribed to the great national fables relative to Arthur, Theoderic, and Charlemagne. It will be almost needless to remark, that the admixture of genuine occurrences in all these romances, is so disproportionate to the fictitious materials by which it is surrounded, that without the influence of particular names, and the locality given to the action, we should never connect the events detailed with personages of authentic history. The deeds ascribed to Charlemagne, by a mere change of scene, become as "germane" to the life of the most illustrious of the Gothic kings as any of the circumstances advanced in his own veracious *Vilkina-Saga*. A similar

succession of ages; and who, in addition to his numerous inventions, constructed such enormous works in Egypt, Sicily and Crete. In the former country he received divine honours (Diod. Sic. i. p. 109.); the mythologic character of *Völundr* is clear from the *Edda*; and *Prætorius* speaks of *Spirits Volands* and *Water-Nixen* as synonymous terms. If we allow the daughter of *Nidung* to take the place of *Pasiphaë*, the Athenian proverb will be

fully substantiated: *ἡ ταντι μύθη καὶ τὸ Δαίδαλον μῦθος*. *Suidas*, i. p. 752.

¹⁰⁰ Essay on English Poetry, p. 30. To this may be added the doctrine of an ancient aphorism cited by *Demosthenes* (*De falsa legatione*):

[πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι δ' οὐ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀπέλλονται, ἀντὶ τὰς ἀποφαινομένης. οἷός τις ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῆς.]

¹⁰¹ Suppose we on things *traditive* divide, And both appeal to Scripture to decide.—*DRYDEN*.

transference might be effected, in the "most antient and famous history of Prince Arthur," without violating the probability or disturbing the accuracy of the account: and the same process might be applied, with equal success, to almost every other romance laying claim to an historical character. But though all parties may be agreed, that the sub-structure of these recitals is essentially fabulous, the great point to be investigated, is the æra when each fable first obtained a circulation. Are the fictitious memorials thus united to the names of these several European kings, the sole invention of an age posterior to their respective reigns? or the accumulated traditions of a long succession of centuries, both antecedent and subsequent to the period in which the events are placed? It cannot be expected that such an extensive subject will receive the discussion it merits, on the present occasion; but as some of the preceding remarks are founded on an assumption that the latter position is demonstrable, the general question may be illustrated by one example out of many, of the mode in which this amalgamation has been effected in Northern Romance.

The life of Theoderic of Berne, the mirror of German chivalry, has been connected in later romance with the adventures of Siegfried, the hero of the Nibelungen Lied. The authentic history of this latter prince is wholly beyond the hope of recovery; but under the more decidedly Northern name of Sigurdr, he has been allowed the same distinction in Icelandic fiction, that attends him in the fables of Germany. In Sæmund's Edda his achievements are recorded in a series of simple narrative songs; and the Volsunga-Saga is wholly devoted to the fortunes of his family. The ground-work of Siegfried's story is indisputably the fatal treasure, originally the property of Andvar the dwarf; but which extorted from him by violence, as a ransom for three captive deities,

receives a doom from the injured Duergr, which involves every after-possessor in the same inevitable ruin as the necklace of Eriphyle in Grecian story. In the Nibelungen Lied the previous history of the "hoard" is wholly overlooked; and its acquisition by Siegfried, notwithstanding the important part assigned it in the subsequent stages of the recital, forms only a subsidiary argument. The Edda dwells with a spirit of eager yet mournful pleasure, upon the successive acts of iniquity, by which the threat of Andvar is substantiated; and the iron mask of destiny obtrudes itself at every step, with the same appalling rigour as in the tragic theatre of Greece. But in either narrative the hero of the tale, whether Sigurdr or Siegfried, is spoken of as the son of Sigmund; and to him are attributed the destruction of the dragon, and the consequent spoliation of the treasure. A document nearer home, but which has evidently wandered to these shores from the North, the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, gives a different version of the story. In this interesting record of early Danish fable, the discomfiture of Grendel gives occasion for the introduction of a Scop, or bard, who, like Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, entertains the warriors at Hrothgar's table with an account of deeds of earlier adventure. In compliment to Beowulf, he selects the most distinguished event in Northern history; and the subject of his song is the slaughter of the dragon, and the seizure of the treasure by *Sigmund the Wælsing*¹⁰⁸. We are not to consider this as an accidental variation, either intentionally or ignorantly supplied by the Christian translator or renovator of the poem; the celebrity of Sigmund is supported by the

¹⁰⁸ The present text as printed by Thorkelin reads,

Thæt he framsige
Munde secgan &c. p. 68.

The manuscript,

Thæt he fram Sigemunde
Secgan hyrde.

Mr. Grundtvig, a Danish poet, has the merit of first *making known* the connection between this song and the Edda, by a communication inserted in the "*Kjöbenhavns Skilderi*." (Müller, p. 381.) It was detected in the first sheets sent to this country as a specimen of the forthcoming publication.

mention of his name in other Northern documents. In the *Hyndlu-Lioth* he is connected with *Hermod*¹⁰³ as a favourite of the Gods, upon whom Odin had bestowed a sword as a mark of his approval. And in the celebrated *Drapr* upon the death of *Eric Blodoxe*, who was slain in a descent upon the English coast during the tenth century, and which is perhaps the oldest Icelandic poem having reference to a contemporary historical event, *Sigmund* is summoned by Odin, as the most distinguished member of *Valhalla*, to advance and receive the Norwegian king. But independently of this collateral testimony, the song of the Anglo-Saxon scop contains internal evidence of its fidelity to the genuine tradition. The *Edda* and the *Volsunga-Saga* make *Sigmund* the son of a king *Volsungr*, whom they place at the head of the genealogic line; and consider as the founder of the *Volsunga* dynasty. It is however certain, that this *Volsungr* is a mere fictitious personage; since, on every principle of analogy, the *Volsunga* race must have derived their family appellative from an ancestor of the name of *Vols*, just as the *Skioldings* obtained theirs from *Skiold*, the *Skilfings* from *Skilf*, and the *Hildings* from *Hildir*. Now this is the genealogy observed by the Anglo-Saxon scop; who first speaks generally of the *Wælsing* race, and then specifically of *Sigmund* the offspring of *Wæls*¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰³ *Gaf han Hermothi
Hialm æ brynju,
En Sigmundi
Sverth at thiggia.*

*Dedit Hermodo
Galeam et lorica,
At Sigmundo
Ensem accipere (ferre, habere).*

This is clearly the *Sigmund* of the Anglo-Saxon scop, who immediately passes to the history of *Hermod*. The same may be said of the *Sigmund* mentioned in *King Eric's drapr*, where he is conjoined with his son *Sinfotli*. (Compare *Sinfotla-lok* in *Sæmund's Edda*.)

¹⁰⁵ *Wælsinges gewin*—*Wælses eafra*, ed. *Thorkelin*, p. 68, 69. Of the Icelandic *Völundr*, the Anglo-Saxons made *Weland*, as they have made *Wæls* of *Völs*.—Any objection that might be raised to the antiquity of the *Edda* from this circumstance would only apply to the Introduction to the song, which is confessedly of a more recent date. It will hence be clear, that at the time when these poems were collected, the fiction was of such antiquity that it had become corrupted at the source. The authenticity of the *Edda* certainly does not stand in need of the additional support here given; but it must be gratifying to those who have favoured the integrity of

From this it will be clear that Sigurdr or Siegfried in the great event of his history has been made to assume the place of his father Sigmund, upon the same arbitrary principle that the Theban Hercules has gathered round his name the achievements of so many earlier heroes. Nor is this perhaps the only mutation to which the Northern fiction has been subjected. The catastrophe of the fable, as we have already seen, is wholly dependent upon the treasure of Andvar; and the founder of the Wælsing dynasty bears a name, which in the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon language is nearly synonymous with wealth or riches¹⁶⁵.

The great length to which the preceding remarks have been carried, will make it necessary to be less excursive in considering the second of Mr. Ritson's objections; and fortunately the previous labours of Mr. Ellis¹⁶⁷ have rendered

these Songs, to find their opinions confirmed by such conclusive and unimpeachable testimony. Mr. Müller, in the interesting volume so repeatedly referred to in various parts of this preface, has satisfactorily accounted for the silence of Saxo Grammaticus upon this branch of fabulous Northern history. In his day the fiction had become localized on the Rhine, and was received by him as a portion of authentic German story. (*Saga-Bibliothek*, ii. p. 401.)

¹⁶⁵ Upon a future occasion the Editor will offer his reasons for believing that the present song has been transposed from its proper place, to make way for an episode upon the exploits of Hengest, inserted at p. 82, ed. Thorkelin. The subject of this latter document is evidently taken from a larger poem, of which a fragment has been published by Hickes; and is known under the name of the *Battle of Finsburgh*. In *Beowulf* the actors are Fin, Hnæf, Hengest, Guthlaf and Oslaf; in the fragment the same names occur, with the substitution of Ordlaf for Oslaf. The scene in either piece is Finnes-ham, or Finnesburgh, the residence of the before-mentioned Fin. That in these we have an allusion to the founder of the kingdom

of Kent, and not to a purely fabulous personage of the same name, will be rendered probable, on recollecting that the events recorded contain no admixture of marvellous matter. Both productions are clearly of the same historical class, and written in the same sober spirit, with the fragment of *Brythnoth*; for the *Eotena-cyn* of *Beowulf*, over whom Fin is said to reign, is a general term in Northern poetry for any hostile nation not of the Teutonic stock. From hence it is desired to make two deductions: First, that the events alluded to are anterior to the close of the fifth century; and Secondly, that the introduction of this episode into the present poem was not likely to be made after the year 723, when Egbert expelled the last monarch of Kent and dissolved the heptarchy. For this last deduction more explicit reasons will be given as before stated on another occasion. It only remains to observe, that the Hengest mentioned in *Beowulf* was a native of Friesland, and to ask whether Fin was a Celt? and can the Gaelic antiquaries connect him with any Erse sovereign bearing this name?

¹⁶⁷ See *Metrical Romances*, vol. i. Introduction.

any discussion of the subject almost superfluous. The fidelity of Geoffrey of Monmouth in the execution of his labours—at least his scrupulous exactness in preparing the reader's mind for any important deviations from, or suppression of, his original—has been so satisfactorily established, that we might cite his example as an instance of good faith that would have done honour to a more critical age, and shining conspicuously amid the general laxity of his own¹²⁵. The licences he has allowed himself, in the shape of amplification, are to all appearance nothing more than a common rhetorical exercise, inherited by the middle ages from the best days of antiquity: and the letters and speeches introduced, admitting them to be of his own composition, are the necessary appendage of the school in which he was disciplined. To charge him with "imposture and forgery" for pursuing such a course, is as just as it would be to doubt the general probity of Livy, for a similar practice in the Roman History: and to question his veracity, because the subject of his translation is a record of incredible events, is a degree of hypercriticism which could only have been resorted to by a mind eager to escape con-

¹²⁵ Mr. Sharon Turner (in a recent work) has persevered in his objections to Geoffrey's fidelity: "Several of Jeffery's interspersed observations imply, that he has rather made a book of his own, than merely translated an author. If he merely translated, why should he decline to handle particular points of the history, because Gildas had already told them, or told them better? He assumes here a right of shaping his work as he pleased, as he does also when he declares his intention of relating elsewhere the Armorican emigration." *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 448. It is difficult to understand why Geoffrey was more or less a "mere" translator for these omissions, or how such a practice could make him an original writer.—The editor has to apologize for not having referred to this interesting work of Mr. Turner's in the early portion of

Warton's History: but an absence from his native country at the period of its publication, and for some years afterwards, caused him to be unacquainted with its contents. It will be needless to add, how much he might have been benefited personally by an earlier knowledge of its existence, and the trouble he might have been spared in travelling over much of the same ground Mr. Turner has now so agreeably shortened to every future inquirer. While thus reading his confession, the editor will also express his regret at being unacquainted (from the same cause) with a most valuable Essay on the Popular Mythology of the Middle Ages contained in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1820, and to which his attention was directed by a general reference in a foreign publication, Grimm's *Kinder-Märchen*.

viction. But in this, as in almost every thing else which was exposed to the reprobation of Mr. Ritson, there was a secondary design in the back-ground, of more importance than the original proposition; and an unqualified denial of Geoffrey's Armorican original was an indispensable step towards advancing a favourite theory of his own. The substance of this theory may be given in the language of its author: "That the English acquired the art of romance-writing from the French seems clear and certain, as most of the specimens of that art in the former language are palpable and manifest translations of those in the other: and this too may serve to account for the origin of romance in Italy, Spain, Germany and Scandinavia. But the French romances are too ancient to be indebted for their existence to more barbarous nations¹⁶⁹." With the truth or fallacy of this hypothesis we are not at present concerned. But it will be obvious that its success must at any time have depended upon the degree of credit assigned to the repeated declarations of Geoffrey, and the claims possessed by Armorica to an original property in the British Chronicle¹⁷⁰. A sweeping contradiction therefore, without the

¹⁶⁹ Metrical Romances, i. p. c. It may be as well to subjoin the succeeding paragraph in Mr. Ritson's dissertation, for the benefit of those who can reconcile the contradiction it contains, to the doctrine avowed in the passage cited above: "It is, therefore, a vain and futile endeavour to seek for the *origin of romance*: in all ages and countrys, where literature has been cultivated, and genius and taste have inspire'd, whether in India, Persia, Greece, Italy or France, the earliest product of that cultivation, and that genius and taste, has been poetry and romance, with reciprocal obligations, perhaps, between one country and another. The Arabians, the Persians, the Turks, and, in short, almost every nation in the globe abound in romances of their own invention." *Ib. ci.*

¹⁷⁰ There are those who will say, If

the Norman minstrels could thus descend to poach upon Armorican ground, they might also have gleaned their intelligence relative to Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick on an English soil. But this again would destroy the sneer against the "historian of English Poetry," who has called these redoubted champions "English heroes."—"Wis" is a genuine Saxon name occurring in the Chronicle, and Beo-wis might be formed on the analogy of Beo-wulf. That the Norman minstrels, like their brothers of Germany and Scandinavia, should have sought in every direction for subjects of romantic adventure, will be considered no disparagement to their genius, except by that gentle band of critics who believe that the dramatist who borrows his plot is inferior to the play-wright who invents one.

shadow of proof—as if proof in such a case would have been an insult to the reader's understanding—was to destroy every belief in the former; while a constant call for proof, a most vehement “iteration” for the original documents, and an unmeaning speculation upon the physical inabilities of the whole Armorican nation, from the ruggedness of their language, to cultivate poetry, was to silence every pretension of the latter. A more candid spirit of criticism has at length conceded, that a general charge of imposture unsupported by testimony, or even a showing of some adequate motive for the concealment of the truth, is not to overrule the repeated affirmations of a writer no ways interested in maintaining a false plea; and that, however much the tortuous propensities of one man's mind might incline him to prefer the crooked policy of fraud to the more simple path of plain-dealing, the contagion of such a disease was not likely to extend itself to a long list of authorities, all of whom must have been injured rather than benefited by the confession, who could have had no common motives with the first propounder of the deceit, and who were divided both by time and situation from any connexion with him, and generally speaking from any intercourse with each other. The concurrent testimony of the French romancers is now admitted to have proved the existence of a large body of fiction relative to Arthur in the province of Brittany: and while they confirm the assertions of Geoffrey in this single particular, it is equally clear they have neither echoed his language, nor borrowed his materials. Every further investigation of the subject only tends to support the opinion pronounced by Mr. Douce; that “the tales of Arthur and his knights which have appeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the *St. Graal*, *Tristan de Leonnois*, *Lancelot du Lac*, &c. were not immediately borrowed from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but from his Armorican originals¹⁷.”

¹⁷ See below, p. xvi.

The great evil with which this long-contested question appears to be threatened at the present day, is an extreme equally dangerous with the incredulity of Mr. Ritson—a disposition to receive as authentic history, under a slightly fabulous colouring, every incident recorded in the British Chronicle. An allegorical interpretation is now inflicted upon all the marvellous circumstances; a forced construction imposed upon the less glaring deviations from probability; and the usual subterfuge of baffled research,—erroneous readings, and etymological sophistry,—is made to reduce every stubborn and intractable text to something like the consistency required. It might have been expected that the notorious failures of Dionysius and Plutarch in Roman history would have prevented the repetition of an error, which neither learning nor ingenuity can render palatable; and that the havoc and deadly ruin effected by these ancient writers (in other respects so valuable) in one of the most beautiful and interesting monuments of traditional story, would have acted as a sufficient corrective on all future aspirants. The favourers of this system might at least have been instructed by the philosophic example of Livy,—if it be lawful to ascribe to philosophy a line of conduct which perhaps was prompted by a powerful sense of poetic beauty,—that traditional record can only gain in the hands of the future historian, by one attractive aid, the grandeur and lofty graces of that incomparable style in which the first Decade is written; and that the best duty towards antiquity, and the most agreeable one towards posterity, is to transmit the narrative received as an unsophisticated tradition, in all the plenitude of its marvels, and the awful dignity of its supernatural agency. For however largely we may concede that real events have supplied the substance of any traditive story, yet the amount of absolute facts, and the *manner* of those facts, the period of their occurrence, the names of the agents, and the locality given to the scene—are all combined upon principles so wholly

beyond our knowledge, that it becomes impossible to fix with certainty upon any single point better authenticated than its fellow. Probability in such decisions will often prove the most fallacious guide we can follow; for, independently of the acknowledged historical axiom, that "le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable," innumerable instances might be adduced, where tradition has had recourse to this very probability, to confer a plausible sanction upon her most fictitious and romantic incidents¹². It will be a much more useful labour, wherever it can be effected, to trace the progress of this traditional story in the country where it has become located, by a reference to those natural or artificial monuments which are the unvarying sources of fictitious events¹³; and, by a strict

¹² The story of the doves at Dodona and the origin of the oracle there, is too well known to require a repetition. There is a connexion and propriety in the solution given by Herodotus, which on a first perusal carries conviction to the reader's mind. Yet nothing can be more questionable than the whole recital. The honours of the sacred oak were shared in common with Jupiter, by Dione, whose symbol, a golden dove, like the golden swallows on the brazen roof of Apollo at Delphi, (Pind. Frag. vol. iii. p. 54.) was seen suspended from the branches of the venerable tree. (Philostrat. Icon. ii. 34. p. 858-9.) Hence the tradition. The explanation of the Egyptian priesthood is rendered intelligible by a passage in the Horapollo (ii. 32.), where it is stated that a black dove was the sacred symbol, under which these people expressed a woman maintaining her widowhood till death. That this obvious source of the Dodonian fable should have yielded to the improbable dictum of the Theban priesthood, will not appear remarkable, when we remember that the same class of men had told Solon, "You Greeks are always children" (Plato Tim. p. 22.): and that the Greeks, who believed every tale these artful foreigners chose to impose upon them, were proverbial for their admiration of the wondrous out of their

own country. (Vid. Paus. ix. c. 36.) This strong predilection for Egyptian marvels did not escape the notice of Heliodorus. *Διόδοτος γὰρ ἄκουσμα καὶ διήγημα πῶς, Ἑλληνῶν ἁπλοῦς ἱστορίαν.* Lib. ii. p. 92. ed. Coray. A desire of tracing every thing to an Egyptian origin is as conspicuous in the whole body of Grecian story, as the propensity of the middle ages to trace their institutions and genealogic stock to king Priam. According to Sir Stamford Raffles, the Malays universally attempt to trace their descent from Alexander and his followers. Pamphleteer, vol. 8.

¹³ Higden will inform us how busily tradition works in this way: "There is a nother sygne and token before y^e Popes palays, an horse of bras, and a man syttyng thereon, and holdeth his right honde as though he spake to the peple, and holdeth his brydell in his lyfte honde, and hath a cucko bytween his hors heres. And a seke dwelf under his feet. Pylgryms callen that man Theodericus. And the comyns call him Constantinus; but clerkes of the courte calle hym Marcus and Quintus Curtius. . . . They that calle hym Marcus, telle this reson and skyll. There was a dwelf of the kynred of Messenis, his craft was Nygromancye. Whan he had subdued kynges that dwelled nyghe hym, and made hem subgette to

comparison of its details with the analogous memorials of other nations, to separate those elements which are obviously of native growth, from the occurrences bearing the impress of a foreign origin¹⁷⁴. We shall gain little perhaps by such a course for the history of human events; but it will be an important accession to our stock of knowledge on the history of the human mind. It will infallibly display, as in the analysis of every similar record, the operation of that refining principle which is ever obliterating the monotonous deeds of violence that fill the chronicle of a nation's early career; and exhibit the brightest attribute in the catalogue of man's intellectual endowments—a glowing and vigorous imagination, —bestowing upon all the impulses of the mind a splendour and virtuous dignity, which, however fallacious historically considered, are never without a powerfully redeeming good, the ethical tendency of all their lessons.

The character of the specimens interspersed throughout

hym, thenne he wente to Rome, to warre with the Romayns. And with his craft he benam the Romayns power and might for to smyte, and beseged hem longe tyme iclosed within the cyte. This dwerf went every day tofore the sonne ryeing in to the felde for to do his crafte. When the Romayns had espyed that maner doynge of the dwerf, they spake to Marcus, a noble knyght, and behyght hym lordshyp of the cyte, and a memoryall in mynde for evermore, yf he wolde defende hem and save the cyte. Thenne Marcus made an hole through the walle, longe er it were daye, for to abyde his crafte to ceeche this dwerf. And when it was tyme, the cucko sange, and warned hym of the daye. Thenne Marcus reysed to, and bycause he myght not hytte the dwerf with wepen, he caught hym with his honde, and bare hym into the cyte. And for drede lest he sholde helpe hymselfe with his craft yf he myght speke, he threwe hym undir the hors feet, and the horse al to-trade hym. And therfor that ymage was made in remem-

braunce of this dede." Then follows the account of those who called it Q. Curtius. Trevisa's Translation, p. 94.

¹⁷⁴ The manner in which national fable swelled its mass of incident in the ancient world, by having recourse to this practice, has been already noticed at page (29). With the Greeks and Romans, every hero whom they found celebrated in a foreign soil for his prowess against wild beasts, robbers or tyrants, was their own divinity Hercules; and every traveller who had touched on a distant coast, Ulysses. This system of appropriating the native traditions of their neighbours was not confined to the ancients. The followers of King Sigurd Iorlafar, who visited Constantinople in the year 1111, on their return from the holy land, brought an account to Norway, that they had seen the images of their early kings the Asæ, the Volsungæ, and the Giukings erected in the Hippodrome of the Imperial city. *Heimskringla*, vol. iii. p. 245.

Warton's History, is a subject of more immediate moment, as it is intimately connected with a question which must be previously adjusted, before we can hope to see any advances towards a history of the English language. The most zealous friend of his fame will readily admit, that his extracts from our early poetry have not been made with that attention to the orthography of his manuscripts, which the example and authority of Mr. Ritson have since established as an indispensable law. There are occasional instances also, where inadvertency has produced some confusion of the sense, by erroneous readings of his text; and a few errors involving the same results, from indistinctness in the manuscript, or the difficulty of decyphering correctly some unusual or obsolete term. For the last of these deficiencies no further justification will be offered, than that they are of a kind which every publisher of early poetry must be more or less exposed to; that they are neither so important nor so numerous as they are usually considered; and that some allowance is due to the lax opinions entertained upon the subject when Warton's History made its appearance. The former will require a more minute investigation, both from the obloquy cast upon his reputation for omitting to observe it, and the importance it has been made to assume in the labours of every subsequent antiquary. The golden rule of Mr. Ritson, enforced by the precept and example of twenty years, and scrupulously adhered to by his disciples, is "integrity to the original text." The genius of the language, the qualifications of the transcriber, and the power of oral delivery upon the original writer, have been considered so subsidiary to this primary and elemental point, that they are scarcely noticed, or wholly omitted, in the discussion of the question. Every thing written has had conferred upon it the authority of an explicit statute, and fidelity to the letter of a manuscript is only to be infringed under certain ob-

vious limitations. There might have been something to colour the rigid course thus prescribed, if it had been either proved or found that there was a general consistency observed in any single manuscript with itself, or that the various modes of writing the same word in one document were countenanced by a systematic mode of deviation in another. But so far is this from being the case, that a single line often exhibits a change in the component letters of the same word (and which may have been written in the previous pages with every variety it is capable of); and no diligence or ingenuity can establish a rule, which will reconcile the orthography of one manuscript to that of its fellow, upon any principle of order or grammatical analogy. There is, however, nothing singular in this state of our early English texts, or of a nature not to admit of a comparatively easy solution. By far the greater number of these discrepancies may be fairly ascribed to the inattention of transcribers, a class of men whose heedless blunders have cast a proverbial stigma upon their labours, and who, to pass over the charges left against them by the ancient world, have been successively exposed to the anathemas of Orm and the censures of Chaucer. For the rest, we must refer to the circumstances under which the original documents were written, or the autographs as they were dismissed from the hands of their respective authors.

At whatever age we assume the subject, subsequent to the Norman conquest, and previous to the invention of printing, the very absence of this most important of human arts might of itself assure us, that the forms of orthography would be more or less fluctuating, from the total want of any considerable number of copies following one general principle in the composition of their words. There never could have been, as at the present day, any multiplied exemplars of the same work, the literal fac-similes of each other,—and consequently

the reciprocal guarantees of their respective integrity and fidelity to the original text; nor any acknowledged standard of appeal which was to direct the mind in cases of dubious issue. Hence every writer would of course adopt the general style acquired during his school instruction; and where this chanced to be defective, he would naturally fly to analogy as the best arbitrator of his doubts. Now, though nothing is more certain than that the existing laws of our language are the consequences of some antecedent ones, and that all are governed by an analogy systematic in its constitution; yet nothing also is more clear, than that unless we pursue this analogy according to its governing principle, it will lead us to the most erroneous and indefensible conclusions. Let any one for example assume some particular letters, as the unvarying representatives of any determinate sound; and having applied them in conjunction with the remaining symbols making up the different words in which this sound recurs, compare his novel mode of association, with that generally received: The result will give him a language strongly resembling the written compositions of all our early manuscripts, with one grand distinction,—that though this kind of analogy has been chiefly followed, it was never systematically adhered to; and that the exceptions to the rule have been hardly less numerous, than the cases in which it has been applied. This we may readily conceive to have arisen from the influence of the style acquired enforcing one kind of analogy, and the unbiassed judgement of the writer,—unbiassed except by the natural power of oral delivery,—giving direction to another. The latter indeed must have been the universal guide in all cases of uncertainty; and, for the reason before given, both a varying and unsatisfactory one. In addition to these difficulties, there was another co-operating cause, which will of itself explain a large body of minor variations. The study of the English

language, in common with that of every vernacular dialect in Europe, was the offspring of comparatively recent ages; and of the component parts which fill the measure of this study, orthography was nearly the last to occupy public attention. That it would have followed in the order of time, without the invention of printing, is clear from the attention bestowed upon it by the ancient world¹⁷⁵. But it never could have demanded any share of serious notice, until the literature of the country had been to a certain degree matured; until grammar as a science had become sedulously pursued; and the labours of grammarians had established certain rules of orthoëpy, which every writer would have willingly followed. From a combination of these causes, therefore, the unsettled state of early orthography is easily deducible. The confusion it has originated will be evident on the perusal of a single page in Mr. Ritson's *Romances*: but the corollary which has been drawn from it,—that the manuscripts exhibit a text whose integrity ought invariably to be preserved,—can only be admitted under a presumption that the enunciation of those who wrote them was as fluctuating as their graphic forms. The latter proposition is an inevitable consequence of the previous inference; and is a position in itself so unwarrantable and incredible, that it needs only to be considered with reference to its practicability, to receive the condemnation it merits.

It is true, a great deal of traditionary opinion might be cited in favour of such an hypothesis, and several distinguished writers of our own day have been found to lend it the countenance of their names. Mr. Mitford has declared, that the *Brut* of Layamon displays “all the appearance of a language thrown into confusion by the circumstances of those who spoke it¹⁷⁶,” and Mr. Sharon Turner has observed of our lan-

¹⁷⁵ The state of our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and the labours of Ælfric alone might be cited in proof of these positions.

¹⁷⁶ See Mr. Mitford's *Harmony of Language*. The expressions in the text have been taken from Mr. Camp-

guage, in a still earlier stage: "the Saxon anomalies of grammar seem to have been so capricious, and so confused, that their meaning must have been often rather conjectured, than understood; and hence it is, that their poetry, especially in *Beowulf*, is often so unintelligible to us. There is no settled grammar to guarantee the meaning; we cannot guess so well nor so rapidly as they, who, talking every day in the same phrases, were familiar with their own absurdities. Or perhaps when the harper recited, they often caught his meaning from his gesticulation, felt it when they did not understand it, and thought obscurity to be the result of superior ability^m." It will be no disparagement to the talents of these distinguished historians, that a subject unconnected with the general tenor of their studies, and only incidentally brought before them, should have eluded their penetration; or that a plausible theory, rather extensively accredited, should have surprised them into an acquiescence in its doctrines. But when it is asserted, under the authority of a name so deservedly

bell's citation, in his *Essay on English Poetry*, p. 38: where the reader will also find an able refutation of Mr. Ellis's opinions upon the progress of the English language.—It is impossible that Mr. Campbell should not at all times be awake to the spirit of genuine poetry, however disguised by the rust of antiquity. And if some of the criticisms in this genial *Essay* prove rather startling to the zealous admirer of our early literature, he will rather attribute them to the same cause which during an age of romantic poetry makes the effusions of Mr. Campbell's muse appear an echo of the chaste simplicity and measured energy of Attic song.

^m *History of England*, vol. i. p. 564.

All opinions of this kind are evidently founded upon the belief, that language is the product of man's invention; and that the succession of time alone has perfected the first crude conceptions of his mind. To such a belief we may apply the argument opposed to those,

who conceive the human race to have grown out of the earth like so many cabbages. Bring forward your proof that this phenomenon had a real existence, and your reasons for its discontinuance. Both propositions are equally defensible, and entitled to the same degree of credence. It is a common piece of address with the favourers of this theory, to refer us to the language of some savage Indian tribe, of whom we know as much as the traveller has been pleased to inform us. The personal qualifications of the latter to speak upon the question we have no means of deciding. In a parallel case, Dr. Johnson justly charged Montesquieu with want of fairness, for deducing a general principle from some observance obtaining in Mexico or Japan, it might be, for which he could adduce no better authority than the vague account of some traveller whom accident had taken there.

esteemed as Mr. Mitford's, that political disturbances have produced a corresponding confusion in the structure of a nation's language, and that a disjointed time has been found to subvert the whole economy of a dialect, we are in justice bound to inquire, by what law of our nature these singular results ensue, and in what degree the example given will warrant such a conclusion. We may readily grant the learned advocate of this hypothesis any state of civil confusion he chooses to assume, in the ages immediately following upon the Norman conquest; and still, with every advantage of this concession, the position he has adopted must preserve all the native nakedness of its character. For, until it shall be shown that political commotions have a decided tendency to derange the intellectual and physical powers, in the same degree that they disorganize civil society; and that, under the influence of troubled times, men are prone to forget the natural means of communicating their ideas, to falter in their speech, and recur to the babble of their infancy,—we certainly have not advanced beyond the threshold of the argument. That such effects have ever occurred from the cause alleged, in any previous age, remains yet to be *demonstrated*; that they do not occur in the existing state of society,—that they are not therefore the necessary results of any acknowledged law of our nature,—the experience of the last thirty years of European warfare and political change may at least serve as a testimony.

An influx of foreigners, or a constant intercourse with and dependence upon them, may corrupt the idiom of a dialect to a limited extent, or charge it with a large accumulation of exotic terms; but this change in the external relation of the people speaking the dialect, will neither *confound* the original elements of which it is composed, nor destroy the previous character of its grammar. The *lingua franca* as it is called, of

the shores washed by the Mediterranean sea, contains an admixture of words requiring all the powers of an erudite linguist to trace the several ingredients to their parent sources; yet with all the corruptions and innovations to which this oddly assorted dialect has been subjected, it invariably acknowledges the laws of Italian grammar. A similar inundation of foreign terms is to be found in the German writers of the seventeenth century, where the mass of Latin, Greek and French expressions almost exceeds the number of vernacular words: yet here again the stranger matter has been made to accommodate itself to the same inflections and modal changes as those which govern the native stock. In considering the language of Layamon, however, there is no necessity for having recourse to this line of argument. In the specimen published by Mr. Ellis, not a Gallicism is to be found, nor even a Norman term: and so far from exhibiting any "appearance of a language thrown into confusion by the circumstances of those who spoke it," nearly every important form of Anglo-Saxon grammar is rigidly adhered to; and so little was the language altered at this advanced period of Norman influence, that a few slight variations might convert it into genuine Anglo-Saxon. That some change had taken place in the style of composition and general structure of the language, since the days of Alfred, is a matter beyond dispute; but that these mutations were a consequence of the Norman invasion, or were even accelerated by that event, is wholly incapable of proof; and nothing is supported upon a firmer principle of rational induction, than that the same effects would have ensued if William and his followers had remained in their native soil. The substance of the change is admitted on all hands to consist in the suppression of those grammatical intricacies, occasioned by the inflection of nouns, the seemingly arbitrary distinctions of gender, the government of prepositions, &c.

How far this may be considered as the result of an innate law of the language, or some general law in the organization of those who spoke it, we may leave for the present undecided: but that it was no way dependent upon external circumstances, upon foreign influence or political disturbances, is established by this undeniable fact,—that every branch of the Low German stock, from whence the Anglo-Saxon sprang, displays the same simplification of its grammar. In all these languages, there has been a constant tendency to relieve themselves of that precision which chooses a fresh symbol for every shade of meaning, to lessen the amount of nice distinctions, and detect as it were a royal road to the interchange of opinion. Yet in thus diminishing their grammatical forms and simplifying their rules, in this common effort to evince a striking contrast to the usual effects of civilization, all confusion has been prevented by the very manner in which the operation has been conducted: for the revolution produced has been so gradual in its progress, that it is only to be discovered on a comparison of the respective languages at periods of a considerable interval.

The opinions of Mr. Turner¹²⁸ upon the character of the

¹²⁸ It would take a much greater space, to offer a detailed refutation of Mr. Turner's opinions, than is occupied in the original recital of them. But in a future publication, when examining Mr. Tyrwhitt's *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer*, the editor pledges himself to substantiate by the most irrefragable proofs all that he has advanced. In the present state of the question, he can only appeal to the common sense and daily experience of the reader, coupled with an assurance that the counsel and practice of Junius and Hickes are directly opposed to this novel theory. It may be as well perhaps to offer one instance out of a thousand, in proof of the assistance to be gained by a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon grammar. The following passage, as it stands in our present text,

is false in its grammatical construction and defective in alliteration:

Gif thu Grendles dearest
Night longne
Fyrstne anbidan.

Mr. Turner's translation:

If thou darrest the Grendel
The space of a long night
Awaits thee.

Restore the grammar, and we obtain the alliteration, without changing a letter of the text.

Gif thu Grendles dearest
Night-longne fyrst
Neon bidan.

If thou darrest Grendles (encounter,
getting, of the context)

(A) night long space
Near abide.

Anglo-Saxon language might be safely left to the decision of the practical inquirer, who, without allowing himself to be dazzled by the brilliancy of an abstract speculation, or to be swayed by the influence of a long-established prejudice, considers every theory with reference to man in society. To him we might appeal for the solution of our doubts, as to the possibility of conducting the commonest concerns of life, with these imperfect means of communicating our wants; or how the Babel-like confusion attendant upon a people, who had "no settled grammar to guarantee their meaning, who were compelled to guess the import of their mutual absurdities," was not to involve a second dissolution of the social compact, and another separation of the families of the earth so visited. But fortunately Mr. Turner, in the same spirit of candour that attends all his investigations, has supplied us with the proofs upon which his conclusions are grounded; and in so doing has afforded us the most satisfactory means of producing a refutation of his opinions. It may appear surprising, but it is nevertheless true, that of the numerous specimens adduced in support of the "capricious anomalies" to be found in Saxon grammar, not a single instance occurs which is not rigidly in unison with the laws of that grammar: and so strikingly consistent is the obedience they display to the rules there enforced, that any future historian of the language might select the same examples in proof of a contrary position. He would only have to apprise the reader of some peculiarities in those laws, which Mr. Turner seems to have misunderstood, or not to have been acquainted with; and to inform him that the simple rule observed in our own times respecting the genders of nouns, was not acknowledged in Saxon grammar; and consequently, that in this department there was a greater degree of complexity; that the inflection of nouns was governed by no single norm, but varied as in

the languages of the ancient world ; that every class embraced in this same part of speech, was not alike perfectly inflected ; that some exhibit a change of termination in almost every case, while others approach the simplicity of our present forms, having only a change in the genitive ; that a difference in the sense produced a change in the government of the prepositions¹⁷⁹ ; and lastly, that the adjective was differently inflected, as it was used in conjunction with the definite or indefinite article. With these observances, a reader unacquainted with a single line of Anglo-Saxon, and only assisted by the paradigm of declensions contained in any grammar, might reduce Mr. Turner's anomalies to their original order ; and collect from the regularity with which they conform to the standards given, the general spirit of uniformity that obtained throughout the language. Indeed there is nothing more striking, or more interesting to the ardent philologist, than the order and regularity preserved in Anglo-Saxon composition, the variety of expression, the innate richness, and plastic power with which the language is endowed ; and there are few things more keenly felt by the student of Northern literature, or a mind strongly alive to the same qualities as they are retained in the language of Germany, than that all these excellencies should have disappeared in our own. But it will be better to remain silent on a subject of such vain regret, and to avail ourselves of the only advantage to be derived from the knowledge of it. It is capable of demonstration, that in the golden days of Anglo-Saxon literature, the æra of Alfred, the language of *written* composition was stable in its character, and to all appearance continued so till the cultivation of it among the learned became no longer an object of emulation. The mutations that ensued, it has been already asserted, were not

¹⁷⁹ Mr. Turner has noticed this peculiarity, but then he has denied that it was systematically observed ; which is the point at issue.

the result of any capricious feeling, acknowledging no general principle of action; but a revolution effected upon certain and determinate laws, which, however undefined in their origin, are sufficiently evident in their consequences. The general result has been, a language whose grammatical rules have been long ascertained, at least in every particular bearing upon the present subject; and we are thus supplied with two unvarying standards of appeal at the extremes of the inquiry. Now, in such a state of the question, it will be obvious that every word which has retained to our own times the orthography bestowed upon it by the Anglo-Saxons, must during the intervening periods have preserved in the enunciation a general similarity of sound; and that however differently it may be written, or whatever additional letters or variations of them may have been conferred upon it by transcribers, there could have been only one legitimate form of its orthography. The changes introduced could only have been caused by an attempt to reconcile the orthography with the sounds emitted in delivery; and ought not to be considered as in any degree indicative of a fluctuation in the mode of pronouncing them. In another numerous class of words, it is equally clear that a change of orthography from the Anglo-Saxon forms has arisen solely from the abolition of the accentual marks which distinguished the long and short syllables. As a substitute for the former, the Norman scribes, or at least the disciples of the Norman school of writing, had recourse to the analogy which governed the French language; and to avoid the confusion which would have sprung from observing the same form in writing a certain number of letters differently enounced and bearing a different meaning, they elongated the word, or attached as it were an accent instead of superscribing it. From hence has emanated an extensive list of terms, having final e's and duplicate consonants; and which were no more the representa-

tives of additional syllables, than the acute or grave accent in the Greek language is a mark of metrical quantity¹⁰⁰. Of those variations which arose from elision, a change in the enunciation, or from the adoption of a new combination of letters for the same sound, it is impossible to speak briefly; and a diligent comparison of our early texts, and a clear understanding of the analogies which have prevailed in the constitution of words, can alone enable us to speak decisively. But with this knowledge before us of the real state of the question, it is high time to relieve ourselves of the arbitrary restrictions imposed by a critic wholly ignorant of the first principles by which language is regulated; whose acquaintance with the fountain head of "English *undefled*" induced him to call it "a meagre and barren jargon which was incapable of discharging its functions," (though possessing all the natural copiousness and plastic power of the Greek); and whose love for the lore itself seems rather to have arisen from a blind admiration of those barbaric innovations which make it repulsive to the scholar and the man of taste, than from any feeling of the excellencies that adorn it¹⁰¹. The trammels of the Ritsonian school can only perpetuate error, by justifying the preconceived notions of "confusion and anomalies," from the very documents that ought to contain a refutation of such opinions; and we can never hope to obtain a legitimate series of specimens, duly illustrating the rise and progress of the language, till we recur to the same principles in establishing

¹⁰⁰ The converse of this can only be maintained, under an assumption that the Anglo-Saxon words of one syllable multiplied their numbers after the conquest, and in some succeeding century subsided into their primitive simplicity.

¹⁰¹ Mr. Ritson has thus spoken of Dr. Percy's corrections of the *Reliques of English Poetry*: "The purchasers and perusers of such a collection are

deceive'd and impose'd upon; the pleasure they receive is deriv'd from the idea of antiquity, which in fact is perfect illusion!" There is no parrying an objection of this kind, which, forcible as it may be, is not quite original. It is the language of that worthy gentleman M. la Rancune in the *Roman Comique*, troisième partie, c. 9.

our texts that have been observed by every editor of a Greek or Roman classic. With such a system for our guide, we may expect to see the natural order which prevailed in the enunciation of the language, restored to the pages recording it; and an effectual check imposed upon the "multiplying spawn" of reprints, which, in addition to all the errors preserved in the first impression from the manuscript, uniformly present us with the further mistakes of the typographer. Whether such a principle was felt by Warton, in the substitution he has made of more recent forms in his text, for the unsettled orthography of his manuscripts, must now be a fruitless inquiry; but we shall have no difficulty in convincing ourselves, that his specimens would have been more intelligible to the age in which they were written, if enounced by a modern, than the transcripts of Mr. Ritson with all their scrupulous fidelity.

The glossarial notes of Warton form so small a portion of his labours, that they would not have required a distinct enumeration, had they not been made the subject of Mr. Ritson's animadversion. That they constituted no essential part of his undertaking, that his general views of our early poetry, and his opinions upon the respective merits of our poets, would have been as accurate and perspicuous without subjoining a single glossarial illustration, or failing to thrice the extent in which he has committed himself, will be felt by any liberal critic who will take the trouble of examining how few of Warton's positions are affected by these deficiencies. The amount of obsolete terms in any early writer, bears so small a proportion to the general mass of his matter, that his genius might be appretiated, and his excellencies pourtrayed, by a person unable to refer to a single gloss on the text. The assistance thus acquired may develop particular beauties, or give a firmer comprehension of their effect; but the poetry which depends for its merit upon the felicity of single phrases,

whose import is only to be gathered from isolated terms, can scarcely suffer by our want of ability to detect its disjointed meaning. For every purpose of an historian, Warton's skill in glossography was certainly sufficient; and, if not co-extensive with the vaunted acquirements¹³² of his opponent, it will hardly rank him lower in the scale of such attainments than the place allotted his adversary. There are few men at the present day who have given their attention to this subject, that will think otherwise than lightly of the "utmost care observed in the glossary" to the Metrical Romances; and no one who has advanced to any proficiency in the study, who will not readily acknowledge the easy nature of such labours, how little of success is to be considered as the result of mental energy, the effort of genius rather than passive industry.

It now only remains to give an account of the plan upon which the present edition has been conducted. The text of Warton has been scrupulously preserved with the exception of a few unimportant corrections, of which notice is given by the interpolations being printed within brackets. The specimens of early poetry have been either collated with MSS. in the British Museum¹³³, or copied from editions of acknowledged fidelity¹³⁴; and the glossarial notes corrected wherever

¹³² Whenever Mr. Ritson felt disposed to read a lecture on glossography, Mr. Ellis was usually summoned before the magisterial chair. The following amusing specimen may be cited by way of example:

Then seyde the boy, Nys he but a wrecche?

What thar any man of hym recche?

Mister Ellis hath strangely misconceive'd this simple passage; supposing *wrecche* as it is there printed (i. e. in *Ways Fabliaux*) to be one word and the meaning "He is not without his revenge (i. e. *compensation*) whatever any man may think of him." The boy however manifestly intends our seedy

knight no compliment in the question he asks: "Is he aught," says he, "but a wretch (or begerly rascal?) What does anyone care for him?" Now *simple* as this passage may be, Mr. Ritson has contrived to "*misconceive*" it in two places: first by affixing a note of interrogation to *wrecche*; and secondly by overlooking the verb "*thar*" (need). This obsolete term occurs frequently in Mr. Ritson's volumes, but finds no place in his glossary.

¹³³ Mr. Park's collations of the Oxford MSS. will be found at the end of the respective volumes containing Warton's transcripts.

¹³⁴ The section on the Rowleian controversy forms an exception. It was

the editor's ability was equal to the task. But less attention has been directed to this latter subject than would otherwise have been bestowed upon it, from an intention long entertained of giving a general glossary to the whole work, which should embrace Warton's numerous omissions. The additional notes are such as appeared necessary, either for illustration or emendation of the subjects noticed: but the editor was early taught that the former would comprise a small part of his duties, since, however lavish Warton may appear in the communication of his matter, it will be obvious to any one who will trace him through his authorities, that he has been parsimonious rather than prodigal in the use of his resources. With such a hint, it was therefore considered incumbent to give no additional illustration which could by possibility have been within his knowledge. To the First Dissertation such notes have been added as could be conveniently introduced without interfering with Warton's theory; the second is so complete in itself, that the editor has been unable to detect in the more recent labours of Eichhorn, Heeren, Turner and Berrington, any omission which may not be considered as intentional. The third relates to a subject of which Warton has rather uncovered the surface than explored the depths, and which, notwithstanding the subsequent and important labours of Mr. Douce, still awaits a further investigation. In this edition, however, it has been made to follow those originally prefixed by Warton to his first volume, from a conviction that it will be found equally useful in preparing the reader's mind for the topics discussed in the succeeding pages.

But though thus compelled to speak of his own labours as

originally intended to throw this chapter into an appendix; but a new division of the volumes brought it to the close of the second. It has been faithfully reprinted from Warton's text with all the inaccuracies of the first transcripts (as

they were gathered at the time from periodical publications), that the reader interested in the subject might form an estimate of the state of the question when Warton pronounced his decision.

first in the order of time, and with reference to the disposition of the work, the editor has the pleasing task of communicating that the most important contributions to these volumes have flowed from other sources. Nearly the whole of Warton's first and second volume had been sent to the press when the publisher acquired by purchase the papers of Mr. Park, a gentleman whose general acquaintance with early English literature is too well known to need remark, and whose attention for many years has been directed to an improved edition of the History of English Poetry. Among the accessions thus obtained were found some valuable remarks by Mr. Ritson, Mr. Douce, and an extract of every thing worthy of notice in the copious notes of Dr. Ashby¹⁰⁵, and an extensive body of illustrations either collected or written by Mr. Park, of which it would be presumption in a person so little qualified as their present editor to offer an opinion. To have incorporated this newly acquired matter in the respective pages to which it refers was found impossible, without cancelling nearly the whole impression, and it has therefore been subjoined in the shape of additional notes at the close of each volume. Fortunately, however, the greater share of Mr. Park's commentary was directed to the contents of Warton's Third Volume, and was consequently obtained in time to be inserted beneath the original text. For this portion of the edition, indeed, Mr. Park may be considered responsible, as the editor's notes were withdrawn wherever they touched upon a common subject, and those remaining are too few to need any specific mention. It would have been more agreeable if such an opportunity had presented itself in an earlier stage of the work; but however much might have been gained by having the same information communicated in a more pleasing form, this was not thought sufficient

¹⁰⁵ The papers of Dr. Ashby were found to contain anything of consequence which had not been previously also purchased at the same time (at no small expense); but they were not used by Mr. Park.

to countervail the objection that might have been brought against the work for its extensive repetitions. Wherever therefore Mr. Park's remarks on the previous volumes referred to a common subject without supplying any further illustration of it, they have been suppressed: but this, with the exception of a few animadversions of a sectarian tendency, and one or two notes copied from other writers, and obviously inaccurate, forms the whole that has been withdrawn from the public eye.

In the progress of his duties, a variety of subjects presented themselves to the editor's mind, as requiring some further illustration than could be lawfully comprised within the limits of a note; and under this impression he more than once ventured to promise a further discussion of the points at issue, in some subsequent part of the work. But the materials connected with these topics have so grown under his hands, that he has been compelled to relinquish the intention, and to reserve for a separate and future undertaking the inquiries to which they relate. The promised account of the distinctions of dialect in the Anglo-Saxon language, and the state of their poetry¹⁰⁶, has been in part withheld for the same reasons; and partly from a knowledge subsequently obtained that the subject was in much better hands. A volume containing numerous specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman poetry, with translations and illustrations by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, is on the eve of publication.

NOTE omitted at p. (96.) l. 13.

For the same reason (want of space) it has been found necessary

¹⁰⁶ The Anglo-Saxon ode given at p. lxxvii. will be considered a substitute perhaps for this omission. One of the obscurities in that poem may be removed by a slight emendation of the text. If for "*werig wiges sæd*," we read "*werig and wiges sæd*," *weary, and sad of* (on account of, the) war, the present difficulty vanishes, and the expression may be justified by the "*hilde sædne*" of *Beowulf*, ed. Thorpe, p. 202.

to omit any examination of the general style of the romantic tale, and the tone and colouring of its events, as compared with similar productions of the ancient world. The latter indeed are only preserved to us in the meagre notices of the grammarians; but even these inadequate memorials contain the traces of all those lineaments which have been supposed to confer an original character upon the poetry of modern Europe. The same love of adventure, of heroic enterprise, and gallant daring; the same fondness for extraordinary incident and marvellous agency obtrudes itself at every step: and to take one example out of many, the Life of Perseus might be made to pass for the outline of an old romance or the story of a genuine chevalier preux. Let the reader only remember the illegitimate but royal descent of this hero, his exposure to almost certain death in infancy, his providential escape, the hospitality of Dictys, the criminal artifices of Polydectes, the gallant vow by which the unsuspecting stranger hopes to lessen his obligation to the royal house of Seriphus, the consequences of that vow, the aid he receives from a god and goddess, the stratagem by which he gains a power over the monstrous daughter of Phorcys—who alone can instruct him in the road which leads to the dwelling of the Nymphs—the gifts conferred upon him by the latter, the magic scrip (which is to conceal the Gorgon's head without undergoing petrification), the winged sandals (which are to transport him through the air), the helmet of Pluto (which is to render him invisible), the sword of Mercury, or according to other traditions of Vulcan, and the assistance given him by Minerva in his encounter with the terrific object of his pursuit,—let the reader only recall these circumstances to his memory, and he will instantly recognise the common details of early European romance. Again: his punishment of the inhospitable and wily Atlas, the rescue of Andromeda, and the slaughter of the monster

about to devour her; the rivalry and defeat of Phineus, the delivery of Danaë from the lust of Polydectes, and the ultimate succession of Perseus to the throne of Argos, which he forgoes that he may become the founder of another kingdom,—only complete the train of events, which make up the successful course of a modern hero's adventures. A mere change of names and places,—with the substitution of a dwarf for Mercury, and a fairy for Minerva, of a giantess for the Phorcydes, of a mild enchantress for the Nymphs, a magician for Atlas, and the terrific flash of the hero's eyes for the petrifying power of Medusa's head—an Icelandic romance would say "*at hafa ægishialmr i augom*,"—with a due admixture of all the pageantry of feudal manners, would give us a romance which, for variety of incident and the prolific use of supernatural agency, might vie with any popular production of the middle-age. The extraordinary properties of the sandals and helmet have already been shown to occupy a conspicuous rank among the wonders of modern romance; the sword of Mercury was called Harpé, as that of Arthur was named Excalibur; while to prove the affinity of this singular story with the genuine elements of popular fiction, all its incidents are to be found in the life of the Northern Sigurdr, or the Neapolitan tale of *Lo Dragone*. (*Pentamerone Giorn. iv. Nov. 35.*)

There is another point connected with the present subject, upon which a similar silence has been observed, and found exclusively in modern romance,—the tone of chivalric devotion to the commands and wishes of the softer sex, and the general spirit of gallantry, which without the influence of passion acknowledged their rights and privileges. On a future occasion it will be shown, that in considering this question, the expressions of Tacitus in his *Germany* have been too literally interpreted. There is little in this valuable tract, relative to the female sex, which does not find a parallel in the institu-

tions of other nations of the ancient world, wherever we find a notice of them, under a *similar degree of civilization*. The respect paid to female inspiration ought not to receive a more enlarged acceptation than is given to the remark of Pythagoras: "He farther observed, that the inventor of names . . . perceiving the genus of women is most adapted to piety, gave to each of their ages the appellation of some Deity. In conformity to which also, the oracles in Dodona and at Delphi are unfolded into light by a woman." (Iamb. Life of Pythagoras, c. xi. Taylor's Transl.) Indeed the customs of the Doric States have been wholly overlooked in settling this question, and the Attic or Ionic system of seclusion taken for the general practice of all Greece. Is there any thing in Tacitus more decidedly in favour of female rights, than the apophthegm of Gorgo preserved by Plutarch (and quoted from memory)? "Of all your sex in Greece," said a stranger, "you Lacedæmonian women alone govern the men." "True," replied Gorgo; "but then we alone are the mothers of men." The elder Cato met a similar charge by observing: "Omnes homines mulieribus imperant, nos omnibus hominibus, nobis mulieres." But here again it was insufficient to check those results so mournfully pourtrayed by Tacitus in his *Annals* and his *History*. If, however, this feeling were of Northern or Germanic origin, we might naturally expect that it would be most apparent among those nations who were last converted to Christianity, and who are known to have preserved so many of their ancient opinions. Now Mr. Müller, who has just risen from the perusal of all the Northern Sagas, assures us, that there is no trace of romantic gallantry in any of these productions: and it is clear from his analysis of many, that the Scandinavian women in early times were cuffed and buffeted with as little compunction as Amroo and Morfri castigate Ibla. (See *Antar.* i. 334. ii. 71.) We might with equal

propriety attempt to trace to the forests of Germany all the subtleties of the scholastic philosophy (and which arose in the same age as the courts of Love), as to claim for their inhabitants that reverence and adoration of the female sex which has descended to our own times. This deference to female rights and the establishment of an equality between the sexes have in their origin been wholly independent of love as a passion, (whose language in all ages and among all nations has been the same,) and are manifestly the offspring of that dispensation, which has purified religion of every sensual rite, and which, by spiritualizing all our hopes and wishes of a future existence, has shed the same refining influence on our present institutions: "L'amour de Dieu et des dames" was not a *mere* form.

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THREE DISSERTATIONS:

- 1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.**
- 2. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.**
- 3. ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.**



OF THE

ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION

IN EUROPE.

DISSERTATION I.

THAT peculiar and arbitrary species of Fiction which we commonly call Romantic, was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome*. It appears to have been imported into Europe by a people, whose modes of thinking, and habits of invention, are not natural to that country. It is generally supposed to have been borrowed from the Arabians†. But this

* ["It cannot be true," says Ritson, "that romance was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome; since, without considering the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Eneid*, &c. in that point of view, we have many ancient compositions, which clearly fall within that denomination: as the pastoral of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus; the *Æthiopicks* of *Heliodorus*; *Xenophon's Ephesian History*," &c. &c. (MS. note in Dr. Raine's copy of *Warton's History*, purchased from Ritson's library.) To these recollections, Mr. Douce has added the romance of *Apuleius*; the loves of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, by *Achilles Tatius*; and the very curious *Adventures of Rhodanes and Sinonis*, or the *Babylonian Romance*, of which an epitome is preserved by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*, Cod. xciv. "This," says Mr. D., "is perhaps the oldest work of the kind, being composed by one *Iamblicus*, who lived under *Marcus Aurelius*."

"The progress of romance and the state

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of learning in the middle ages (says *Gibbon*, *Decline and Fall*.) are illustrated by Mr. Thomas Warton with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian. I have derived much instruction from the two learned dissertations prefixed to the first volume of his *History of English Poetry*."—PARK.]

[This is a mere cavil of Mr. Ritson's, who could not believe a scholar of Warton's attainments to have been unacquainted with these erotic novels. Several of them are mentioned in vol. ii. p. 183. In the dissertation on *Romance* and *Minstrelsy*, Warton is even reproached for describing another—the loves of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*—as a "poetical novel of Greece." In fact, it is manifest from this expression, that Warton chose to exclude this and similar productions from the title of *romantic fictions*.—EDMR.]

† [See *Huet Traité de l'Origine des Romans*, who has discussed this opinion at large.—DOUCE.]

origin has not been hitherto perhaps examined or ascertained with a sufficient degree of accuracy. It is my present design, by a more distinct and extended inquiry than has yet been applied to the subject, to trace the manner and the period of its introduction into the popular belief, the oral poetry, and the literature, of the Europeans.

It is an established maxim of modern criticism, that the fictions of Arabian imagination were communicated to the western world by means of the Crusades. Undoubtedly those expeditions greatly contributed to propagate this mode of fabling in Europe. But it is evident, (although a circumstance which certainly makes no material difference as to the principles here established,) that these fancies were introduced at a much earlier period. The Saracens, or Arabians, having been for some time seated on the northern coasts of Africa, entered Spain about the beginning of the eighth century^a. Of this country they soon effected a complete conquest: and imposing their religion, language, and customs, upon the inhabitants, erected a royal seat in the capital city of Cordova*.

That by means of this establishment they first revived the sciences of Greece in Europe, will be proved at large in another place^b: and it is obvious to conclude, that at the same time they disseminated those extravagant inventions which were so peculiar to their romantic and creative genius. A manuscript cited by Du Cange acquaints us, that the Spaniards, soon after the irruption of the Saracens, entirely neglected the study of the Latin language; and, captivated with the novelty of the oriental books imported by these strangers, suddenly adopted an unusual pomp of style, and an affected elevation of

* See ALMAKIN, edit. Erpenius, p. 72.

* [The conquest of Spain by the Arabians becomes one of the most curious and important events recorded in history, when it is considered as having in a great degree contributed to the progress of civilization in Europe, and to the diffusion of science and art. (See this illustrated in the Arabian Antiquities of Spain, by

J. C. Murphy.) "But there is evidence, though not the most satisfactory," says Mr. Douce, "that the fabulous stories of Arthur and his Knights existed either among the French or English Britons, before the conquest of Spain by the Arabians."—PARK.]

^b See the second Dissertation.

diction^c. The ideal tales of these Eastern invaders, recommended by a brilliancy of description, a variety of imagery, and an exuberance of invention, hitherto unknown and unfamiliar to the cold and barren conceptions of a western climate, were eagerly caught up, and universally diffused. From Spain, by the communications of a constant commercial intercourse through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, they soon passed into France and Italy*.

In France, no province, or district, seems to have given these fictions of the Arabians a more welcome or a more early reception, than the inhabitants of Armorica† or Basse-Bretagne, now Britany‡; for no part of France can boast so great a number of antient romances^c. Many poems of high antiquity, composed by the Armorican bards, still remain^d, and

* "Arabico eloquio sublimati," &c. Du Cang. Gloss. Med. Inf. Latinitat. tom. i. Pref. p. xxvii. §. 31.

• [Ritson avers, that there is not one single French romance now extant, and but one mentioned by any ancient writer, which existed before the first Crusade, under Godfrey earl of Bologne, afterwards king of Jerusalem, in 1097.—PARK.]

† [From *Ar y-môr ucha*, i. e. on the upper sea. See Jones's Relicks of the Welsh Bards.—PARK.]

‡ ["The lays of this country," says Ritson, "were anciently very celebrated, although not one, nor even the smallest vestige of one, in its vernacular language (a dialect of the Britanno-Celtic) is known to exist. The Bretons have but one single poem, of any consequence, in their native idiom, ancient or modern: the predictions of a pretended prophet, named Gwingleff, the MS. whereof is dated 1450." Notes to Metric. Rom. iii. 329. Ritson afterwards expresses his belief, that by Bretagne and Bretons were meant the island and inhabitants of Great Britain. At the same time, it does not (he thinks) appear, that any such lays are preserved in Wales any more than in Basse-Bretagne, if, in fact, they ever existed in either country. Ibid.

p. 332. In his Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy (p. xxiv.) Ritson adds two other Armorican poems to the predictions of Gwingleff, viz. the life of Gwennolê, abbot of Landevenec, one of their fabulous saints; and a little dramatic piece on the taking of Jerusalem. Thus, our doughty critic, from being too positive and too peremptory, had cause to correct his own hallucinations as well as those of others.—PARK.]

• The reason on which this conclusion is founded, will appear hereafter. ["It is difficult," says Mr. Douce, "to conceive, that the people of Britany could have been influenced by the Arabians at any period."—PARK.]

• In the British Museum is a set of old French tales of chivalry in verse, written, as it seems, by the bards of Bretagne. MSS. Harl. 978. 107.

[These tales were not written by the bards of Bretagne, but by a poetess of the name of Marie de France, of whom nothing is known. In one of these *lais* she names herself; and says that most of her tales are borrowed from the old British *lais*. The scenes of several of these stories are laid in Bretagne, which appears sometimes to mean Britany in France, and sometimes Great Britain'.—Douce.] [Marie is not mentioned in Le Grand's

¹ See Note B. at the end of this Dissertation.

are frequently cited by Father Lobineau in his learned history of Basse-Bretagne*. This territory was, as it were, newly peopled in the fourth century by a colony or army of the Welsh, who migrated thither under the conduct of Maximus, a Roman

catalogue, though he has modernised and published her *Fables* in French, from king Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Æsop. That she had written *lays* seems not to have been known to him. M. de la Rue has given a list of her lays in *Archæol.* xiii. 42. They are twelve in number, and one of them contains 1184 verses. She also wrote a history or tale in French verse, of St. Patrick's Purgatory, two copies of which are in the British Museum. This was early translated into English under the title of Owayne Miles (Sir Owen). Mr. Ellis, in his *Specimens of early English metrical Romances*, has introduced an abstract or analysis of the lays of Marie, which he informs us that Ritson either neglected to read, or was unable to understand; since he denied their Armorican origin. See his observations, vol. i. p. 137. Mr. Way published an elegant version of the first of these lays (Guigemar) in his *Fabliaux*; and Mr. Ellis printed an early translation of the third (*Lai le Frene*) from the Auchinleck MS. in his *Romance Specimens*.—*PARK.*]
"TRISTRAM & WALES" is mentioned, f. 171. b.

Tristram ki bien saveit HARPER.

In the adventure of the knight ELIDUC, f. 172. b.

En Bretaine ot un chevalier
Fruz, è curteis, hardi, è fier.

Again, under the same champion, f. 173.

Il tient sun chemin tut avant.
A la mer vient, si est passes,
En Toteneis est arrives;
Plusurs réis ot en la tere,
Entr'eus eurent estrif è guere,
Vers Excestre en cel pais—

TOTENEIS is Totness in Devonshire.—
Under the knight MILUN, f. 166.

Milun fu de Suthwales nez.

He is celebrated for his exploits in Ireland, Norway, Gothland, Lotharîngia, Albany, &c.

Under LAUNVAL, f. 154. b.

En Bretun l'apelent Laval.

Under GUIGEMAR, f. 141.

La caumbre ert painte tut entour;
Venus le dieuesse d'amur,
Fu tres bien mis en la peinture,
Les traiz mustrez è la nature,
Cument hum deit amur tenir,
E léalment è bien servir.
Le livre Ovide il enseigne, &c.

This description of a chamber painted with Venus and the three mysteries of nature, and the allusion to Ovid, prove the tales before us to be of no very high antiquity. But they are undoubtedly taken from others much older, of the same country.

[Mr. Douce observes that Warton has totally misunderstood these lines, in which there is nothing about the mysteries of nature; and they mean no more than that the chamber exhibited the description and manner how a man should fall in love, &c. *Mustrez* is put for *monstre*.—*PARK.*]

At the end of ELIDUC's tale we have these lines, f. 181.

Del aventure de ces treis,
Li auncien BRETON curteis
Firent le lai pour remembrer
Que hum nel' deust pas oublier.
[EQUITAN?]

And under the tale of FRENE, f. 148.

Li BRETON en firent un lai.

At the conclusion of most of the tales it is said that these LAIS were made by the poets of Bretagne. Another of the tales is thus closed, f. 146.

D' cest conte k'ôl avez
Fu Gugemer le LAI troves
Qui hum dist en harpe è en rote
Bone en est à oïr la note.

* HISTOIRE DE BRETAGNE, ii. tom. fol.
[Mr. Ritson says he repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, examined Lobineau for these citations, and that Mr. Douce had equally failed in discovering them.—*ERR.*]

general in Britain¹, and Conau lord of Meiriadoc or Denbighland². The Armoric language now spoken in Britany is a dialect of the Welsh: and so strong a resemblance still subsists between the two languages, that in our late conquest of Belleisle (1756), such of our soldiers as were natives of Wales were understood by the peasantry*. Milton, whose imagination was much struck with the old British story, more than once alludes to the Welsh colony planted in Armorica by Maximus, and the prince of Meiriadoc.

Et tandem ARMORICOS Britonum sub lege colonos³.

And in the PARADISE LOST he mentions indiscriminately the knights of Wales and Armorica, as the customary retinue of king Arthur.

————— What resounds
In fable or romance, of Uther's son
Begirt with BRITISH and ARMORIC knights.⁴

This migration of the Welsh into Britany or Armorica, which during the distractions of the empire, (in consequence of the numerous armies of barbarians with which Rome was surrounded on every side,) had thrown off its dependence on the Romans, seems to have occasioned a close connexion between the two countries for many centuries⁵. Nor will it prove

¹ Maximus appears to have set up a separate interest in Britain, and to have engaged an army of the provincial Britons on his side against the Romans. Not succeeding in his designs, he was obliged to retire with his British troops to the continent, as in the text. He had a considerable interest in Wales, having married Ellena daughter of Eudda, a powerful chieftain of North Wales. She was born at Caernarvon, where her chapel is still shown. Mon. Antiq. p. 166. seq.

² See Hist. de Bretagne, par d'Argentre, p. 2. Powel's WALS, p. 1, 2. seq. and p. 6, edit. 1584. Lhuyd's Etymol. p. 32. col. 3. And Galfrid. Mon. Hist. Barr. lib. v. c. 12. vii. 3. ix. 2.

Compare Borlase, Antiq. Cornwall, b. i. ch. 10. p. 40.

* [Mr. Ellis further observes, that the Slavonian sailors, employed on board of Venetian ships in the Russian trade, never fail to recognise a kindred dialect on their arrival at St. Petersburg. Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language, i. 8.—PARK.]

³ MANSUA.

⁴ Parad. L. i. 579. Compare Pelloutier, Mém. sur la Langue Celt. fol. tom. i. 19.

⁵ This secession of the Welsh, at so critical a period, was extremely natural, into a neighbouring maritime country, with which they had constantly traffick-

less necessary to our purpose to observe, that the Cornish Britons, whose language was another dialect of the antient British, from the fourth or fifth century downwards, maintained a no less intimate correspondence with the natives of Armorica: intermarrying with them, and perpetually resorting thither for the education of their children, for advice, for procuring troops against the Saxons, for the purposes of traffick, and various other occasions. This connexion was so strongly kept up, that an ingenious French antiquary supposes, that the communications of the Armoricans with the Cornish had chiefly contributed to give a roughness or rather hardness to the romance or French language in some of the provinces, towards the eleventh century, which was not before discernible¹. And this intercourse will appear more natural, if we consider, that not only Armorica*, a maritime province of Gaul, never much frequented by the Romans, and now totally deserted by them, was still in some measure a Celtic nation; but that also the inhabitants of Cornwall, together with those of Devonshire and of the adjoining parts of Somersetshire, intermixing in a

ed, and which, like themselves, had disclaimed the Roman yoke.

[That the British soldiers, enrolled by Maximus, wandered into Armorica after his death, and new named it, seems to be unfounded. I cannot avoid agreeing with Du Bos, that quant aux tems ou la peuplade des Britons insulaires s'est établie dans les Gaules, it was not before the year 513. Hist. Crit. II. 470.—TUANER.]

It is not related in any Greek or Roman historian. But their silence is by no means a sufficient warrant for us to reject the numerous testimonies of the old British writers concerning this event. It is mentioned, in particular, by Llywarc Hen, a famous bard, who lived only one hundred and fifty years afterwards. Many of his poems are still extant, in which he celebrates his twenty-four sons who wore gold chains, and were all killed in battles against the Saxons.

[Eight of the Elegies of Llywarc-Hen, or Llywarc the Aged, were selected and translated by Richard Thomas, A. B. of

Jesus College, Oxford; but these translations being more distinguished by their elegance than fidelity, the learned Mr. Owen produced a literal version of the Heroic Elegies, and other pieces of this prince of the Cambrian Britons, which was published with the original text in 1792. It comprises the poem mentioned by Mr. Warton, which is marked by many poetic and pathetic passages. Llywarc flourished from about A. D. 520 to 630, at the period of Arthur and Cadwallon. See Owen's Cambrian Biography.—PARK.]

¹ M. l'Abbé Lebeuf. RECHERCHES, &c. Mem. de Litt. tom. xvii. p. 718. edit. 4to. "Je pense que cela dura jusqu'à ce que le commerce de ces provinces avec les peuples du Nord, et de l'Allemagne, et sur tout celui des MARITANS DE L'ARMORIQUE AVEC L'ANGLAIS, vers l'onzième siècle," &c.

* [Armorica was the north-west corner of Gaul, included between the Loire, the Seine, and the Atlantic.—PARK.]

very slight degree with the Romans, and having suffered fewer important alterations in their original constitution and customs from the imperial laws and police than any other province of this island, long preserved their genuine manners and British character: and forming a sort of separate principality under the government of a succession of powerful chieftains, usually denominated princes or dukes of Cornwall, remained partly in a state of independence during the Saxon heptarchy, and were not entirely reduced till the Norman conquest. Cornwall, in particular, retained its old Celtic dialect till the reign of Elizabeth^m.

And here I digress a moment to remark, that in the circumstance just mentioned about Wales, of its connexion with Armorica, we perceive the solution of a difficulty, which at first sight appears extremely problematical: I mean, not only that Wales should have been so constantly made the theatre of the old British chivalry, but that so many of the favourite fictions which occur in the early French romances, should also be literally found in the tales and chronicles of the elder Welsh bards^a. It was owing to the perpetual communication kept up between the Welsh and the people of Armorica, who abounded in these fictions, and who naturally took occasion to interweave them into the history of their friends and allies. Nor are we now at a loss to give the reason why Cornwall, in the same French romances, is made the scene and the subject of so many romantic adventures^o. In the mean time we may observe,

^m See Camd. Brit. i. 44. edit. 1723. Lhuyd's Arch. p. 253. [It did not entirely cease to be spoken till of late years, as may be gathered from an account of the death of an old Cornish woman, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1785.—*PARK.*]

^a The story of *LE COURT MANTEL*, or the *BOY AND THE MANTLE*, told by an old French troubadour cited by M. de Sainte Palaye, is recorded in many manuscript Welsh chronicles, as I learn from original letters of Lhuyd in the Ashmolean Museum. See *Mém. Anc. Chev.* i. 119. And *Obs. Spenser*, i. §. ii. p. 54.55.

And from the same authority I am informed, that the fiction of the giant's coat composed of the beards of the kings whom he had conquered, is related in the legends of the bards of both countries. See *Obs. Spens.* ut *supr.* p. 24. seq. But instances are innumerable.

^o Hence in the Armorican tales just quoted, mention is made of Totness and Exeter, anciently included in Cornwall. In Chaucer's *ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE* we have "*Hornpipis of Cornewalle*," among a great variety of musical instruments. v. 4250. This is literally from the French original, v. 3991. [The Cornwall men-

(what indeed has been already) implied, that a strict intercourse was upheld between Cornwall and Wales. Their languages, customs, and alliances, as I have hinted, were the same; and they were separated only by a strait of inconsiderable breadth. Cornwall is frequently styled West-Wales by the British writers. At the invasion of the Saxons, both countries became indiscriminately the receptacle of the fugitive Britons*. We find the Welsh and Cornish, as one people, often uniting themselves as in a national cause against the Saxons. They were frequently subject to the same prince^p, who sometimes resided in Wales, and sometimes in Cornwall; and the kings or dukes of Cornwall were perpetually sung by the Welsh bards. Llygad Gwr, a Welsh bard, in his sublime and spirited ode to Llewelyn, son of Grunfludd, the last prince of Wales of the British line, has a wish, "May the prints of the hoofs of my prince's steed be seen as far as CORNWALL^q." Traditions about king Arthur, to mention no more instances, are as popular in Cornwall as in Wales: and most of the romantic castles, rocks, rivers, and caves, of both nations, are alike at this day distinguished by some noble atchievement, at least by the name, of that celebrated champion. But to return.

About the year 1100, Gualter, archdeacon of Oxford, a learned man, and a diligent collector of histories, travelling through France, procured in Armorica an antient chronicle written in the British or Armorican language, entitled, *BRUT-Y-BREHNHINED*, or *THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN*^r.

tioned in the Romance of the Rose was more probably the "Pays de Cornuaille" in France, a name formerly given to a part of Bretagne.—DOUCE.]

* [The chronicle of the Abbey of Mont St. Michael, gives the year 513 as the period of the flight into Bretagne: Anno 513 venerunt transmarini Britanni in Armorican, id est minorem Britanniam. The ancient Saxon poet (apud Duchesne Hist. Franc. Script. 2. p. 148.) also peoples Bretagne after the Saxon conquest.—TURNER.]

^p Who was sometimes chosen from Wales and Cornwall, and sometimes from

ARMORICA. Borlase, ubi supr. p. 408. See also p. 375. 377. 393. And Concil. Spelman. tom. i. 9. 112. edit. 1639. fol. Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. ch. 5. p. 344. seq. edit. 1688. fol. From CORNUALLIA, used by the Latin monkish historians, came the present name Cornwall. Borlase, ibid. p. 325.

^q Evans, p. 43.

^r In the curious library of the family of Davies at Llanerk in Denbighshire, there is a copy of this chronicle in the handwriting of Guttyn Owen, a celebrated Welsh bard and antiquarian about the year 1470, who ascribes it to Tyasilio a bishop, and the son of Brockmael-

This book he brought into England, and communicated it to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welsh Benedictine monk, an elegant writer of Latin, and admirably skilled in the British tongue. Geoffrey, at the request and recommendation of Gualter the archdeacon, translated this British chronicle into Latin^s, executing the translation with a tolerable degree of purity and great fidelity, yet^t not without some

Yscythroc prince of Powis. Tysilio indeed wrote a HISTORY OF BRITAIN; but that work, as we are assured by Lhuylid in the *ARCHÆOLOGIA*, was entirely ecclesiastical, and has been long since lost.

[The Brut of Tysilio was published in the second volume of the Welsh *Archæology*. A translation by the Rev. P. Roberts has since appeared under the title of: A Chronicle of the British kings. The first book of Guttyr Owain's copy being much more ample in its details than the other MSS., was incorporated by Mr. Roberts in his volume. The remaining books appear to contain no material variations.—*EDIT.*]

^s See *Galfrr. Mon. L. i. c. l. xii. 1. 20. ix. 2. Bale, ii. 65.* Thompson's Pref. to Geoffrey's Hist. Transl. edit. Lond. 1718. p. xxx. xvi.

^t Geoffrey confesses, that he took some part of his account of king Arthur's achievements from the mouth of his friend Gualter, the archdeacon; who probably related to the translator some of the traditions on this subject which he had heard in Armorica, or which at that time might have been popular in Wales. *Hist. Brit. Galfrr. Mon. lib. xi. c. i.* He also owns that Merlin's prophecies were not in the Armorican original. *Ib. vii. 2.* Compare Thompson's Pref. ut supr. p. xxv. xxvii. The speeches and letters were forged by Geoffrey; and in the description of battles, our translator has not scrupled frequent variations and additions.

I am obliged to an ingenious antiquarian in British literature, Mr. Morris of Penbryn, for the following curious remarks concerning Geoffrey's original and his translation. "Geoffrey's *STYVROS*, in the British original, is *SILVUS*, which in Latin would make *JULIUS*. This illustrates and confirms Lam-

bards's *BRUTUS JULIUS*. Peramb. Kent, p. 12. See also in the British bards. And hence Milton's objection is removed. *Hist. Engl. p. 12.* There are no *FLAMINES* or *ANCHFLAMINES* in the British book. See Usher's *Primord.* p. 57. *Dubl. edit.* There are very few speeches in the original, and those very short. Geoffrey's *FULGENIUS* is in the British copy *SULIEN*, which by analogy in Latin would be *JULIANUS*. See Milton's *Hist. Eng. p. 100.* There is no *LEIL* in the British; that king's name was *LEON*. Geoffrey's *CARLEISLE* is in the British *CARLILEON*, or *West-Chester*. In the British, *LEAW AP CYNPARCH*, should have been translated *LEO*, which is now rendered *LOTH*. This has brought much confusion into the old Scotch history. I find no *BELINUS* in the British copy; the name is *BELL*, which should have been in Latin *BELIUS*, or *BELGIUS*. Geoffrey's *BAENNUS* in the original is *BRAN*, a common name among the Britons; as *BRAN AP DYFNWAL*, &c. See Suidas's *Reçs*. It appears by the original, that the British name of *CARAUSIUS* was *CARAWN*; hence *TREGARAUN*, i. e. *TREGARON*, and the river *CARAUN*, which gives name to *AMRECOEN*. In the British there is no division into books and chapters, a mark of antiquity. Those whom the translator calls *CONSULS* of Rome, when *Brennus* took it, are in the original *TWYSGOION*, i. e. *princes* or *generals*. The *Gwalenses*, *GWALO*, or *GWALAS*, are added by Geoffrey, *B. xii. c. 19.*" To what is here observed about *SILVUS*, I will add, that abbot Whethamsted, in his *MSS. GRANARIUM*, mentions *SILVOIUS* the father of *BRUTUS*. "*Quomodo Brutus SILONI filius ad litora Angliæ venit,*" &c. *GRANAR. Part. i. Lit. A. MSS. Cotton. NERO, C. vi. Brit. Mus.* This gentleman has in his possession a very antient manuscript of the original,

interpolations. It was probably finished after the year 1138^u [1128*].

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the period at which our translator's original romance may probably be supposed to have been compiled. Yet this is a curious speculation, and will illustrate our argument. I am inclined to think that the work consists of fables thrown out by different rhapsodists at different times, which afterwards were collected and digested into an entire history, and perhaps with new decorations of fancy added by the compiler, who most probably was one of the professed bards, or rather a poetical historian, of Armorica or Basse-Bretagne. In this state, and under this form, I suppose it to have fallen into the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth. If the hypothesis hereafter advanced concerning the particular species of fiction on which this narrative is founded, should be granted,

and has been many years preparing materials for giving an accurate and faithful translation of it into English. The manuscript in Jesus college library at Oxford, which Wynne pretends to be the same which Geoffrey himself made use of, is evidently not older than the sixteenth century. Mr. Price, the Bodleian librarian, to whose friendship this work is much indebted, has two copies lately given him by Mr. Banks, much more antient and perfect. But there is reason to suspect, that most of the British manuscripts of this history are translations from Geoffrey's Latin: for *Britannia* they have *Brittania*, which in the original would have been *PRYDAIN*. Geoffrey's translation, and for obvious reasons, is a very common manuscript. Compare Lhuyd's Arch. p. 265.

^u Thompson says, 1128. ubi supr. p. xxx. Geoffrey's age is ascertained beyond a doubt, even if other proofs were wanting, from the cotemporaries whom he mentions. Such as Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry the First, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, his patrons: he mentions also William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon. Wharton places Geoffrey's death in the year 1154. Episc. Assav. p. 306. Robert de Monte, who continued Sigebert's chronicle down to the year 1183, in the preface to that work expressly says,

that he took some of the materials of his supplement from the *HISTORIA BARONUM*, lately translated out of British into Latin. This was manifestly Geoffrey's book. Alfred of Beverly, who evidently wrote his *ANNALES*, published by Hearne, between the years 1148 and 1150 [in the year 1129.—TURNER.], borrowed his account of the British kings from Geoffrey's *HISTORIA*, whose words he sometimes literally transcribes. For instance, Alfred, in speaking of Arthur's keeping Whitsuntide at Caerleon, says, that the *HISTORIA BRITONUM* enumerated all the kings who came thither on Arthur's invitation: and then adds, "Præter hos non remansit princeps alicujus pretii citra Hispaniam qui ad istud edictum non venerit." Alured. Bev. Annal. p. 63. edit. Hearne. These are Geoffrey's own words; and so much his own, that they are one of his additions to the British original. But the curious reader, who desires a complete and critical discussion of this point, may consult an original letter of bishop Lloyd, preserved among Tanner's manuscripts at Oxford, num. 94.

[This letter was printed in Gutch's "Collectanea Curiosa," and in Owen's British Remains, and affords little information worthy of notice.—Douce.]

* [See Mr. Turner's History of England, i. p. 457.—EDIT.]

it cannot, from what I have already proved, be more antient than the eighth century: and we may reasonably conclude, that it was composed much later, as some considerable length of time must have been necessary for the propagation and establishment of that species of fiction. The simple subject of this chronicle, divested of its romantic embellishments, is a deduction of the Welsh princes from the Trojan Brutus to Cadwalader, who reigned in the seventh century^v. It must be acknowledged, that many European nations were antiently fond of tracing their descent from Troy. Hunnibaldus Francus, in his Latin history of France, written in the sixth century, beginning with the Trojan war, and ending with Clovis the First, ascribes the origin of the French nation to Francio a son of Priam^w. So universal was this humour, and carried to such an absurd excess of extravagance, that under the reign of Justinian, even the Greeks were ambitious of being thought to be descended from the Trojans, their antient and notorious enemies. Unless we adopt the idea of those antiquaries, who contend that Europe was peopled from Phrygia, it will be hard to discover at what period, or from what source, so strange and improbable a notion could take its rise, especially among nations unacquainted with history, and overwhelmed in ignorance. The most rational mode of accounting for it, is to suppose, that the revival of Virgil's *Eneid* about the sixth or seventh century, which represented the Trojans as the founders of Rome, the capital of the supreme pontiff, and a city on various other accounts in the early ages of christianity highly revered and distinguished, occasioned an emulation in many other European nations of claiming an alliance to the same respectable original.

^v This notion of their extraction from the Trojans had so infatuated the Welsh, that even so late as the year 1284, archbishop Peckham, in his injunctions to the diocese of St. Asaph, orders the people to abstain from giving credit to idle dreams and visions, a superstition which they had contracted from their belief in the dream of their founder Brutus, in the temple of Diana, concerning his

arrival in Britain. The archbishop very seriously advises them to boast no more of their relation to the conquered and fugitive Trojans, but to glory in the victorious cross of Christ. Concil. Wilkins, tom. ii. p. 106. edit. 1737. fol.

^w It is among the *SCRIPTORES RER. GERMAN.* Sim. Schard. tom. i. p. 301. edit. Basil. 1574. fol. It consists of eighteen books.

The monks and other ecclesiastics, the only readers and writers of the age, were likely to broach, and were interested in propagating, such an opinion. As the more barbarous countries of Europe began to be tinctured with literature, there was hardly one of them but fell into the fashion of deducing its original from some of the nations most celebrated in the antient books. Those who did not aspire so high as king Priam, or who found that claim preoccupied, boasted to be descended from some of the generals of Alexander the Great, from Prusias king of Bithynia, from the Greeks or the Egyptians. It is not in the mean time quite improbable, that as most of the European nations were provincial to the Romans, those who fancied themselves to be of Trojan extraction might have imbibed this notion, at least have acquired a general knowledge of the Trojan story, from their conquerors: more especially the Britons, who continued so long under the yoke of Rome^x. But as to the story of Brutus in particular, Geoffrey's hero, it may be presumed that his legend was not contrived, nor the history of his successors invented, till after the ninth century: for Nennius, who lived about the middle of that century, not only speaks of Brutus with great obscurity and inconsistency, but seems totally uninformed as to every circumstance of the British affairs which preceded Cesar's invasion. There are other proofs that this piece could not have existed before the ninth century. Alfred's Saxon translation of the Mercian law is mentioned^y. Charlemagne's Twelve Peers, and by an anachronism not uncommon in romance, are said to be present at king Arthur's magnificent coronation in the city of Caerleon^z. It were easy to produce instances, that this chronicle was undoubtedly framed after the legend of saint Urstla, the acts of saint Lucius, and the historical writings of the venerable Bede, had undergone some degree of circulation in the world. At the same time it contains many passages which incline us to determine, that some parts of it at least were written after or about the eleventh century. I will not insist on that passage, in

^x See *infra*. Sect. iii. p. 131, 132.

^y L. iii. c. 13.

^z L. ix. c. 12.

which the title of legate of the apostolic see is attributed to Dubricius in the character of primate of Britain; as it appears for obvious reasons to have been an artful interpolation of the translator, who was an ecclesiastic. But I will select other arguments. Canute's forest, or Cannock-wood in Staffordshire occurs; and Canute died in the year 1036^a. At the ideal coronation of king Arthur, just mentioned, a tournament is described as exhibited in its highest splendor. "Many knights," says our Armoric fabler, "famous for feats of chivalry, were present, with apparel and arms of the same colour and fashion. They formed a species of diversion, in imitation of a fight on horseback, and the ladies being placed on the walls of the castles, darted amorous glances on the combatants. None of these ladies esteemed any knight worthy of her love, but such as had given proof of his gallantry in three several encounters. Thus the valour of the men encouraged chastity in the women, and the attention of the women proved an incentive to the soldier's bravery^b." Here is the practice of chivalry under the combined ideas of love and military prowess, as they seem to have subsisted after the feudal constitution had acquired greater degrees not only of stability but of splendor and refinement^b. And although a species of tournament was exhibited in France at the reconciliation of the sons of Lewis the Feeble, in the close of the ninth century, and at the beginning of the tenth, the coronation of the emperor Henry was solemnized with martial entertainments, in which many parties were introduced fighting on horseback; yet it was long afterwards that these games were accompanied with the peculiar formalities, and ceremonious usages, here described^c. In the mean time, we cannot

^a L. vii. c. 4.

^b L. ix. c. 12.

^c Pitts mentions an anonymous writer under the name of ERMINGA BRITANNUS, who studied history and astronomy, and flourished about the year 790. He wrote, besides, a book in an unknown language, entitled, *Sanctum Graal, De Rege Arthur et rebus gestis ejus*. Lib. i. *De Mensi rotunda et Strenui Equitibus*.

Lib. i. See Pitts, p. 122. Bale, x. 21. Usser. Primord. p. 17. This subject could not have been treated by so early a writer. ["Why so," says Mr. Ashby, "if Arthur reigned in 506?"—PARK.]

^c See infr. SECT. iii. p. 111. xii. p. 182, 183. I will here produce, from that learned orientalist M. D'Herbelot, some curious traits of Arabian knight-errantry, which the reader may apply to

answer for the innovations of a translator in such a description. The burial of Hengist, the Saxon chief, who is said to have been interred not after the *pagan* fashion, as Geoffrey renders the words of the original, but after the *manner of the SOLDANS*, is partly an argument that our romance was composed about the time of the crusades. It was not till those memorable campaigns of mistaken devotion had infatuated the western world, that the soldans or sultans of Babylon, of Egypt, of Iconium, and other eastern kingdoms, became familiar in Europe. Not that the notion of this piece being written so late as the crusades in the least invalidates the doctrine delivered in this discourse. Not even if we suppose that Geoffrey of Monmouth was its original composer. That notion rather tends to confirm and establish my system. On the whole we may venture to affirm, that this chronicle, supposed to contain the ideas of the Welsh bards, entirely consists of Arabian inventions. And in this view, no difference is made whether it was compiled about the tenth century, at which time, if not before, the Arabians from their settlement in Spain must have communicated their romantic fables to other parts of Europe, especially to the French; or whether it first appeared in the eleventh century, after the crusades had multiplied these fables to an excessive degree, and made them universally popular. And although the general cast of the inventions contained in this romance is alone sufficient to point out the source from whence they were derived, yet I chuse to prove to a demonstration what is here advanced, by producing and examining some particular passages.

The books of the Arabians and Persians abound with extravagant traditions about the giants Gog and Magog. These

the principles of this Dissertation as he pleases.

"BATTALL.—Une homme hardi et vaillant, qui *cherché des aventures* tels qu'étoient les *chevaliers errans* de nos anciens Romains." He adds, that Battall, an Arabian, who lived about the year of Christ 740, was a warrior of this class, concerning whom many marvel-

lous feats of arms are reported: that his life was written in a large volume, "*mais qu'elle est toute remplie d'exagérations et de meneries.*" Bibl. Oriental. p. 193. a. b. In the royal library at Paris, there is an Arabian book entitled, "*Scirat al Mogiah-edir,*" i. e. "*The Lives of the most valiant Champions.*" Num. 1079.

they call Jagiounge and Magiounge; and the Caucasian wall, said to be built by Alexander the Great from the Caspian to the Black Sea, in order to cover the frontiers of his dominion, and to prevent the incursions of the Scythians^d, is called by the orientals the WALL of GOG and MAGOG^e. One of the

^d Compare M. Petit de la Croix, *Hist. Genghizcan*, l. iv. c. 9.

^e Herbelot. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 157. 291. 318. 438. 470. 528. 795. 796. 811, &c. They call Tartary the land of Jagiounge and Magiounge. This wall, some few fragments of which still remain, they pretend to have been built with all sorts of metals. See Abulfaraj *Hist. Dynast.* edit. Pococke, p. 62. A. D. 1673. It was an old tradition among the Tartars, that the people of Jagiounge and Magiounge were perpetually endeavouring to make a passage through this fortress; but that they would not succeed in their attempt till the day of judgment. See *Hist. Geneal. des Tartars*, d'Abulgazi Bahadut Khân, p. 43. About the year 808, the caliph Al Amin having heard wonderful reports concerning this wall or barrier, sent his interpreter Salam, with a guard of fifty men, to view it. After a dangerous journey of near two months, Salam and his party arrived in a desolated country, where they beheld the ruins of many cities destroyed by the people of Jagiounge and Magiounge. In six days more they reached the castles near the mountain Kokaiya or Caucasus. This mountain is inaccessible steep, perpetually covered with snows and thick clouds, and encompasses the country of Jagiounge and Magiounge, which is full of cultivated fields and cities. At an opening of this mountain the fortress appears: and travelling forwards, at the distance of two stages, they found another mountain, with a ditch cut through it one hundred and fifty cubits wide: and within the aperture an iron gate fifty cubits high, supported by vast buttresses, having an iron bulwark crowned with iron turrets, reaching to the summit of the mountain itself, which is too high to be seen. The valves, lintels, threshold, bolts, lock and key, are all represented of proportionable magnitude. The governor of the castle, above mentioned,

once in every week mounted on horseback with ten others on horseback, comes to this gate, and striking it three times with a hammer weighing five pounds, and then listening, hears a murmuring noise from within. This noise is supposed to proceed from the Jagiounge and Magiounge confined there. Salam was told that they often appeared on the battlements of the bulwark. He returned after passing twenty-eight months in this extraordinary expedition. See *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. iv. B. i. § 2. pag. 15, 16, 17. And *Anc.* vol. xx. pag. 23. [It is by no means improbable that the mention of Gog and Magog in the Apocalypse gave rise to their general notoriety both in the East and West. This prophecy must have been applied to the Huns under Attila at a very early period; for in the Anonymous Chronicle of Hungary, published by Schwandtner (*Scriptor. Rer. Hungar.* Tom. I.) we find it making a part of the national history. Attila is there said to be a descendant of Magog, the son of Japhet, (*Genesis* ch. x. ver. 2.) from whom the Hungarians are also called Moger. This is evidently not the production of the writer's own imagination, but the simple record of a tradition, which had obtained a currency among his countrymen, and which, combined with the subsequent history of Almus and Arpad, wears the appearance of being extracted from some poetic narrative of the events.—EDIT.] Pliny, speaking of the *PORTÆ CAUCASÆ*, mentions, "ingens naturæ opus, montibus interruptis repente, ubi fores obditæ feratibus trabibus," &c. *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 2. Czar Peter the First, in his expedition into Persia, had the curiosity to survey the ruins of this wall: and some leagues within the mountain he found a skirt of it which seemed entire, and was about fifteen feet high. In some other parts it is still six or seven feet in height. It seems at first sight to be built of stone:

most formidable giants, according to our Armorican romance, which opposed the landing of Brutus in Britain, was Goemagot. He was twelve cubits high, and would unroot an oak as easily as an hazel wand: but after a most obstinate encounter with Corineus, he was tumbled into the sea from the summit of a steep cliff on the rocky shores of Cornwall, and dashed in pieces against the huge crags of the declivity. The place where he fell, adds our historian, taking its name from the giant's fall, is called LAM-GOEMAGOT, or GOEMAGOT'S LEAP, to this day^f. A no less monstrous giant, whom king Arthur slew on Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall*, is said by this fabler to have come from Spain. Here the origin of these stories is evidently betrayed^g. The Arabians, or Saracens, as I have hinted above, had conquered Spain, and were settled there. Arthur having killed this redoubted giant, declares, that he had combated with none of equal strength and prowess, since he overcame the mighty giant Ritho, on the mountain

but it consists of petrified earth, sand, and shells, which compose a substance of great solidity. It has been chiefly destroyed by the neighbouring inhabitants, for the sake of its materials: and most of the adjacent towns and villages are built out of its ruins. Bentinck's Notes on Abulgazi, p. 722. Engl. edit. See Chardin's Travels, p. 176. And Struys's Voyage, B. iii. c. 20. p. 226. Olearius's Travels of the Holstein Ambassad. B. vii. p. 403. Geograph. Nubiens. vi. c. 9. And Act. Petropolit. vol. i. p. 405. By the way, this work probably preceded the time of Alexander: it does not appear, from the course of his victories, that he ever came near the Caspian gates. The first and fabulous history of the eastern nations, will perhaps be found to begin with the exploits of this Grecian hero.

^f Lib. i. c. 16.

[Mr. Roberts in his extreme zeal for stripping the British History of all its fictions, and every romantic allusion, conceives this name a fabrication from the mint of Geoffrey. The Welsh copies read Gogmagog; yet as Ponticus Vironius, who lived in the fifteenth cen-

tury, reads Goermagog, Mr. Roberts has "little doubt but that the original was Cawr-Madog, i. e. *the giant or great warrior*." Belliag is the name of a giant in Sir Tristram.—Edrr.]

* [But there is a Saint Michael's Mount in Normandy, which is called Tombelaine, and Geoffrey of Monmouth says the place was called Tumba Helena, to which the combat is said to have related.—Douc.]

^g L. x. c. 3.

[It is very certain that the tales of Arthur and his Knights, which have appeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the St. Graal, Tristram de Leonnois, Lancelot du Lac, &c., were not immediately borrowed from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but from his Armorican originals. The St. Graal is a work of great antiquity, probably of the eighth century. There are Welsh MSS. of it still existing, which, though not very old, were probably copied from earlier ones, and are, it is to be presumed, more genuine copies of the ancient romance, than any other extant.—Douc.]

Arabius, who had made himself a robe of the beards of the kings whom he had killed. This tale is in Spenser's *Faërie Queene*. A magician brought from Spain is called to the assistance of Edwin, a prince of Northumberland^h, educated under Solomon king of the Armoricansⁱ. In the prophecy of Merlin, delivered to Vortigern after the battle of the dragons, forged perhaps by the translator Geoffrey, yet apparently in the spirit and manner of the rest, we have the Arabians named, and their situations in Spain and Africa. "From Conau shall come forth a wild boar, whose tusks shall destroy the oaks of the forests of France. The ARABIANS and AFRICANS shall dread him; and he shall continue his rapid course into the most distant parts of Spain^k." This is king Arthur. In the same prophecy, mention is made of the "Woods of Africa." In another place Gormund king of the Africans occurs^l. In a battle which Arthur fights against the Romans, some of the principal leaders in the Roman army are, Alifantinam king of Spain, Pandrasus king of Egypt, Boccus king of the Medes, Evander king of Syria, Micipsa king of Babylon, and a duke of Phrygia^m. It is obvious to suppose how these countries became so familiar to the bard of our chronicle. The old fictions about Stonehenge were derived from the same inexhaustible source of extravagant imagination. We are told in this romance, that the giants conveyed the stones which compose this miraculous monument from the farthest coasts of Africa. Every one of these stones is supposed to be mystical, and to contain a medicinal virtue: an idea drawn from the medical skill of the Arabiansⁿ, and more particularly from the Arabian doctrine of attributing healing qualities, and other occult properties, to stones^o. Merlin's transformation of Uther into Gorlois, and

^h The Cumbrian and Northumbrian Britons, as powerful opponents of the Saxons, were strongly allied to the Welsh and Cornish.

ⁱ Lib. xii. c. 1. 4, 5, 6.

^k Lib. vii. c. 3.

^l Lib. xii. 2. xi. 8. 10.

[*"Gormund,"* says Mr. Ritson, "in

authentic history was a king of the Danes who infested England in the ninth century, and was defeated and baptized by Alfred." *Dissertation on Romance, &c.* p. 23.—*PARK.*]

^m Lib. x. c. 5. 8. 10.

ⁿ See *infr.* p. 11. And vol. ii. p. 214.

^o This chronicle was evidently com-

of Ulfin into Bricel, by the power of some medical preparation, is a species of Arabian magic, which professed to work the most wonderful deceptions of this kind, and is mentioned at large hereafter, in tracing the inventions of Chaucer's poetry. The attribution of prophetic language to birds was common among the orientals: and an eagle is supposed to speak at building the walls of the city of Paladur, now Shaftesbury^p. The Arabians cultivated the study of philosophy, particularly astronomy, with amazing ardour^q. Hence arose the tradition, reported by our historian, that in king Arthur's reign, there subsisted at Caer-leon in Glamorganshire a college of two hundred philosophers, who studied astronomy and other sciences; and who were particularly employed in watching the courses of the stars, and predicting events to the king from their observations^r. Edwin's Spanish magician above mentioned, by his knowledge of the flight of birds, and the courses of the stars, is said to foretell future disasters. In the same strain Merlin prognosticates Uther's success in battle by the appearance of a comet^s. The same enchanter's *wonderfull skill in mechanical powers*, by which he removes the giant's Dance, or Stonehenge, from Ireland into England, and the notion that this stupendous structure was raised by a PROFOUND PHILOSOPHICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS, are founded on the Arabic literature^t. To which we may add king Bladud's magical operations^u. Dragons are a sure mark of orientalism^v. One of these in our romance is a "terrible dragon flying from the

piled to do honour to the Britons and their affairs, and especially in opposition to the Saxons. Now the importance with which these romancers seem to speak of Stonehenge, and the many beautiful fictions with which they have been so studious to embellish its origin, and to aggrandise its history, appear to me strongly to favour the hypothesis, that Stonehenge is a British monument; and indeed to prove, that it was really erected in memory of the three hundred British nobles massacred by the Saxon Hengist. See *Skoz.* ii. *infr.* p. 57. No DRUIDICAL monument, of which so many remains

were common, engaged their attention or interested them so much, as this NATIONAL memorial appears to have done.

^p Lib. ii. c. 9. See vol. ii. p. 247.

^q See *Diss.* ii. And vol. ii. p. 237.

^r Lib. viii. c. 15.

^s Lib. ix. c. 12.

^t Lib. viii. c. 10. See vol. ii. *Sacr.* xv. *passim*.

^u Lib. ii. c. 10.

^v [The stability of Mr. Warton's assertion has been shaken by Sir Walter Scott, who states that the idea of this fabulous animal was familiar to the Celtic

west, breathing fire, and illuminating all the country with the brightness of his eyes." In another place we have a giant mounted on a winged dragon: the dragon erects his scaly tail, and wafts his rider to the clouds with great rapidity*.

Arthur and Charlemagne are the first and original heroes of romance. And as Geoffrey's history is the grand repository of the acts of Arthur, so a fabulous history ascribed to Turpin is the ground-work of all the chimerical legends which have been related concerning the conquests of Charlemagne and his twelve peers*. Its subject is the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain: and it is filled with fictions evidently congenial with those which characterise Geoffrey's history*.

Some suppose, as I have hinted above, this romance to have been written by Turpin, a monk of the eighth century; who, for his knowledge of the Latin language, his sanctity, and gal-

tribes at an early period, and was borne on the banner of *Pendragon*, who from that circumstance derived his name. A dragon was also the standard of the renowned Arthur. A description of this banner, the magical work of Merlin, occurs in the romance of Arthur and Merlin in the Auchinleck MS.

Merlin bar her gonfanoun;
Upon the top stode a *dragon*,
Swithe griseliche a hitel croune,
Fast him biheld al tho in the tounne,
For the mouth he had grinninge
And the tong out flattinge
That out kest sparkes of fer,
Into the skies that flouen cler; &c.

In the Welsh triads (adds the same authority) I find the dragon repeatedly mentioned: and in a battle fought at Bedford, about 752, betwixt Ethelbald king of Mercia and Cuthred king of Wessex, a *golden dragon*, the banner of the latter, was borne in the front of the combat by Edelheim or Edelhun, a chief of the West Saxons. Notes on Sir Tristram, p. 290.—PARK.]

[Among the Celtic tribes, as among the Finns and Sclavonians, the serpent appears to have been held in sacred estimation; and the early traditions of the North abound in fables relative to dragons who lay slumbering upon the gol-

den "heard" by day, and wandered through the air by night. But as the heroes of Northern adventure are usually engaged in extirpating this imaginary race, it is not improbable that some of these narratives may have been founded on the conflicts between the Finnish and Scandinavian priesthoods.—EDRR.]

* Lib. x. c. 2.

* Lib. vii. c. 4.

*["But this," says Ritson, "requires it to have been written before the year 1066, when the adventures and exploits of Charlemagne, Rowland and Oliver were chaunted at the battle of Hastings; whereas there is strong internal proof that this romance was written long after the time of Charlemagne." Dissert. on Rom. and Minst. p. 47.—PARK.]

* I will mention only one among many others. The christians under Charlemagne are said to have found in Spain a golden idol, or image of Mahomet, as high as a bird can fly. It was framed by Mahomet himself of the purest metal, who by his knowledge in necromancy had sealed up within it a legion of diabolical spirits. It held in its hand a prodigious club; and the Saracens had a prophetic tradition, that this club should fall from the hand of the image in that year when a certain king should be born in France, &c. J. Turpin Hist. de Vit. Carol. Magn. et Rolandi. cap. iv. f. 2. a.

lant exploits against the Spanish Saracens, was preferred to the archbishoprick of Rheims by Charlemagne. Others believe it to have been forged under archbishop Turpin's name* about that time. Others very soon afterwards, in the reign of Charles the Bald^x. That is, about the year 870^y.

Voltaire, a writer of much deeper research than is imagined, and the first who has displayed the literature and customs of the dark ages with any degree of penetration and comprehension, speaking of the fictitious tales concerning Charlemagne, has remarked, "Ces fables qu'un moine ecrivit au onzieme siècle, sous le nom de l'archeveque Turpin^z." And it might easily be shewn that just before the commencement of the thirteenth century, romantic stories about Charlemagne were more fashionable than ever among the French minstrels. That is, on the recent publication of this fabulous history of Charlemagne. Historical evidence concurs with numerous internal arguments to prove, that it must have been compiled after the crusades. In the twentieth chapter, a pretended pilgrimage of Charlemagne to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem is recorded: a forgery seemingly contrived with a design to give an importance to those wild expeditions, and which would easily be believed when thus authenticated by an archbishop^a.

There is another strong internal proof that this romance was written long after the time of Charlemagne. Our historian is speaking of the numerous chiefs and kings who came with their armies to assist his hero: among the rest he mentions earl Oell, and adds, "Of this man there is a song commonly sung among the minstrels *even to this day*^b." Nor will I believe, that

* ["Whose true name," says Ritson, "was Tilpin, and who died before Charlemagne; though Robert Gaguin, in his licentious translation of the work, 1527, makes him relate his own death. Another pretended version of this Pseudo-Turpin, said to have been made by one Mickius or Michael le Harnes, who lived in 1206, has little or nothing in common with its false original." *Diss. on Rom. and Minst. p. 46.*—PARR.]

^x See Hist. Acad. des Inscript. &c. vii. 293. edit. 4to.

^y See Catel, *Mem. de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, pag. 545.

^z Hist. Gen. ch. viii. *Oeuvr. tom. i. p. 84.* edit. Genev. 1756.

^a See *infr.* p. 127.

^b "De hoc canitur in Cantilena usque ad hodiernum diem." cap. xi. f. 4. b. edit. Schard. Francof. 1566. fol. *Chronograph. Quat.*

the European art of war, in the eighth century, could bring into the field such a prodigious parade of battering rams and wooden castles, as those with which Charlemagne is said to have besieged the city Agennum^c: the crusades seem to have made these huge military machines common in the European armies. However, we may suspect it appeared before, yet not long before, Geoffrey's romance; who mentions Charlemagne's TWELVE PEERS, so lavishly celebrated in Turpin's book, as present at king Arthur's imaginary coronation at Caer-leon. Although the twelve peers of France occur in chronicles of the tenth century^d; and they might besides have been suggested to Geoffrey's original author from popular traditions and songs of minstrels. We are sure it was extant before the year 1122; for Calixtus the Second in that year, by papal authority, pronounced this history to be genuine^e. Monsieur Allard affirms that it was written, and in the eleventh century, at Vienne by a monk of Saint Andrew's^f. This monk was probably nothing more than some Latin translator: but a learned French anti-

[In the best MSS. of Turpin, the above passage refers to Oger king of Denmark, whose name is omitted in that followed by the editor of Turpin's history here cited. There is no work that is known to relate to Oel. The romance of Ogier Danois, originally written in rhyme, is here probably referred to.—Douce.]—[The language of Turpin seems rather to imply a ballad or song on the achievements of this hero, such as is still to be found in the Danish Kjempe Viser. The name, however written,—Oger, Ogier, Odiger, Holger,—clearly refers to Helgi, a hero of the Edda and the Volsunga-Saga. In the earlier traditions the theatre of his actions is confined to Denmark and the neighbouring countries; but the later fictions embellish his career with all the marvels of romance; and after leading him as a conqueror over the greater part of Europe and Asia, transport him to the isle of Avalon, where he *still* resides with Morgan la faye.—Edit.]

^c Ibid. cap. ix. f. 3. b. The writer adds, "*Cæterisque artificis ad capi-*

dum," &c. See also cap. x. *ibid.* Compare Sæc. iv. *infr.* p. 170. In one of Charlemagne's battles, the Saracens advance with horrible visors bearded and horned, and with drums or cymbals. "*Tenentesque singuli tympana, quæ manibus fortiter percutiebant.*" The unusual spectacle and sound terrified the horses of the christian army, and threw them into confusion. In a second engagement, Charlemagne commanded the eyes of the horses to be covered, and their ears to be stopped. Turpin. cap. xviii. f. 7. b. The latter expedient is copied in the Romance of RICHARD THE FIRST, written about the eleventh century. See Sæc. iv. *infr.* p. 172. See also what is said of the Saracen drums, *ibid.* p. 177.

^d Flodoard of Rheims first mentions them, whose chronicle comes down to 966.

^e Magn. Chron. Belgic. pag. 150. sub ann. Compare J. Long. Bibl. Hist. Gall. num. 6671. And Lambec. ii. p. 333.

^f Bibl. de Dauphiné, p. 224.

quary is of opinion, that it was originally composed in Latin ; and moreover, that the most antient romances, even those of the Round Table, were originally written in that language*. Oienhart, and with the greatest probability, supposes it to be the work of a Spaniard. He quotes an authentic manuscript to prove, that it was brought out of Spain into France before the close of the twelfth century^b; and that the miraculous exploits performed in Spain by Charlemagne and earl Roland, recorded in this romantic history, were unknown among the French before that period: except only that some few of them were obscurely and imperfectly sketched in the metrical tales of those who sung heroic adventures^c. Oienhart's supposition that this history was compiled in Spain, the centre of oriental fabling in Europe, at once accounts for the nature and extravagance of its fictions, and immediately points to their Arabian origin^d. As to the French manuscript of this history, it is a translation from Turpin's Latin, made by Michael le Harnes in the year 1207^e. And, by the way, from the translator's de-

* See vol. ii. p. 299.

^b See *infr.* p. 139.

^c Arnoldi Oienharti Notit. utriusque Vasconie, edit. Paris. 1638. 4to. page 397. lib. iii. c. 3. Such was Roland's song, sung at the battle of Hastings. But see this romance, cap. xx. f. 8. b. Where Turpin seems to refer to some other fabulous materials or history concerning Charlemagne. Particularly about Galaifar and Brianfant, which make such a figure in Boyardo and Ariosto.

^d Innumerable romantic stories, of Arabian growth, are to this day current among the common people of Spain, which they call *Cuentos de Viejas*. I will relate one from that lively picture of the Spaniards, *RELATION DU VOYAGE D'ESPAGNE*, by Mademoiselle Dunois. Within the antient castle of Toledo, they say, there was a vast cavern whose entrance was strongly barricaded. It was universally believed, that if any person entered this cavern, the most fatal disasters would happen to the Spaniards. Thus it remained closely shut and unentered for many ages. At length king

Roderigo, having less credulity but more courage and curiosity than his ancestors, commanded this formidable recess to be opened. At entering, he began to suspect the traditions of the people to be true: a terrible tempest arose, and all the elements seemed united to embarrass him. Nevertheless, he ventured forwards into the cave, where he discerned by the light of his torches certain figures or statues of men, whose habiliments and arms were strange and uncouth. One of them had a sword of shining brass, on which it was written in Arabic characters, that the time approached when the Spanish nation should be destroyed, and that it would not be long before the warriors, whose images were placed there, should arrive in Spain. The writer adds, "Je n'ai jamais été en aucun endroit, où l'on fasse PLUS DE CAS des contes fabuleux qu'en Espagne." Edit. a la Haye, 1691. tom. iii. p. 158, 159. 12mo. See *infr.* SECT. iii. p. 114. And the *LIFE OF CERVANTES*, by Don Gregorio Mayans. §. 27. §. 47, §. 48, §. 49.

^e See Du Chesne, tom. v. p. 60. And

claration, that there was a great impropriety in translating Latin prose into verse, we may conclude, that at the commencement of the thirteenth century the French generally made their translations into verse.

In these two fabulous chronicles the foundations of romance seem to be laid. The principal characters, the leading subjects, and the fundamental fictions, which have supplied such ample matter to this singular species of composition, are here first displayed. And although the long continuance of the crusades imported innumerable inventions of a similar complexion, and substituted the achievements of new champions and the wonders of other countries, yet the tales of Arthur and of Charlemagne, diversified indeed, or enlarged with additional embellishments, still continued to prevail, and to be the favourite topics: and this, partly from their early popularity, partly from the quantity and the beauty of the fictions with which they were at first supported, and especially because the design of the crusades had made those subjects so fashionable in which christians fought with infidels. In a word, these volumes are the first specimens extant in this mode of writing. No European history before these has mentioned giants, enchanters, dragons, and the like monstrous and arbitrary fictions. And the reason is obvious: they were written at a time when a new and unnatural mode of thinking took place in Europe, introduced by our communication with the east.

Hitherto I have considered the Saracens either at their immigration into Spain about the ninth century, or at the time of the crusades, as the first authors of romantic fabling among the Europeans. But a late ingenious critic has advanced an hypothesis, which assigns a new source, and a much earlier

Mem. Lit. xvii. 737. seq. It is in the royal library at Paris, Num. 8190. Probably the French Turpin in the British Museum is the same, Cod. MSS. Harl. 273. 23. f. 86. See *infr.* p. 139. See instances of the English translating prose Latin books into English, and sometimes French, verse. *Sæc.* ii. *infr.* *passim*.

In the king's library at Paris, there is a translation of Dares Phrygius into French rhymes by Godfrey of Waterford an Irish Jacobin, a writer not mentioned by Tanner, in the thirteenth century. *Mem. Litt.* tom. xvii. p. 736. Compare *Sæc.* iii. *infr.* p. 158. In the Notes.

date, to these fictions. I will cite his opinion of this matter in his own words. "Our old romances of chivalry may be derived in a LINEAL DESCENT from the antient historical songs of the Gothic bards and scalds.—Many of those songs are still preserved in the north, which exhibit all the seeds of chivalry before it became a solemn institution.—Even the common arbitrary fictions of romance were most of them familiar to the antient scalds of the north, long before the time of the crusades. They believed the existence of giants and dwarfs, they had some notion of fairies, they were strongly possessed with the belief of spells and enchantment, and were fond of inventing combats with dragons and monsters^m." Monsieur Mallet, a very able and elegant inquirer into the genius and antiquities of the northern nations, maintains the same doctrine. He seems to think, that many of the opinions and practices of the Goths, however obsolete, still obscurely subsist. He adds, "May we not rank among these, for example, that love and admiration for the profession of arms which prevailed among our ancestors even to fanaticism, mad as it were through system, and brave from a point of honour?—Can we not explain from the Gothic religion, how judiciary combats, and proofs by the ordeal, to the astonishment of posterity, were admitted by the legislature of all Europeⁿ: and how, even to the present age, the people are still infatuated with a belief of the power of magicians, witches, spirits, and genii, concealed under the earth

^m Percy, on *ANTIEN MÆR. ROM.* i. p. 3, 4, edit. 1767.

ⁿ For the judiciary combats, as also for common athletic exercises, they formed an amphitheatrical circus of rude stones. "Quædam [saxa] circos claudebant, in quibus gigantes et pugiles DUKLO strenue decertabant." Worm. p. 62. And again, "Nec mora, circuaturs campus, milite circus stipatur, concurrunt pugiles." p. 65. It is remarkable, that circs of the same sort are still to be seen in Cornwall, so famous at this day for the athletic art: in which also they sometimes exhibited their scriptural interludes. vol. ii. p. 70. Frotho the Great, king of Denmark, in the first century, is

said to have been the first who commanded all controversies to be decided by the sword. Worm. p. 68. In favour of this barbarous institution it ought to be remembered, that the practice of thus marking out the place of battle must have prevented much bloodshed, and saved many innocent lives: for if either combatant was by any accident forced out of the circus, he was to lose his cause, or to pay three marks of pure silver as a redemption for his life. Worm. p. 68, 69. In the year 987, the ordeal was substituted in Denmark instead of the duel; a mode of decision, at least in a political sense, less absurd, as it promoted military skill.

or in the waters?—Do we not discover in these religious opinions, that source of the marvellous with which our ancestors filled their romances; in which we see dwarfs and giants, fairies and demons?" &c.^o And in another place. "The fortresses of the Goths were only rude castles situated on the summits of rocks, and rendered inaccessible by thick misshapen walls. As these walls ran winding round the castles, they often called them by a name which signified SERPENTS or DRAGONS; and in these they usually secured the women and young virgins of distinction, who were seldom safe at a time when so many enterprising heroes were rambling up and down in search of adventures. It was this custom which gave occasion to antient romancers, who knew not how to describe any thing simply, to invent so many fables concerning princesses of great beauty guarded by dragons, and afterwards delivered by invincible champions^p."

I do not mean entirely to reject this hypothesis; but I will endeavour to shew how far I think it is true, and in what manner or degree it may be reconciled with the system delivered above.

A few years before the birth of Christ, soon after Mithridates had been overthrown by Pompey, a nation of Asiatic Goths, who possessed that region of Asia which is now called Georgia, and is connected on the south with Persia, alarmed at the progressive encroachments of the Roman armies, retired in vast multitudes under the conduct of their leader Odin, or Woden, into the northern parts of Europe, not subject to the Roman government, and settled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other districts of the Scandinavian territory^q. As they brought

^o Mallet, Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarck, &c. tom. ii. p. 9.

^p Ib. ch. ix. p. 243. tom. ii.

[This and other similar passages in Mallet's lively history would form an excellent supplement to the Homeric allegories of Heraclides Ponticus.—EDRR.]

^q "Unicam gentium Asiaticarum Immigrationem, in orbem Arctoum factam, nostræ antiquitates commemorant. Sed

eam tamen non primam. Verum circa annum tandem vicesimum quartum ante natum Christum, Romanis exercitibus auspiciis Pompeii Magni in Asiæ parte, Phrygia Minore, grassantibus. Illa enim epocha ad hanc rem chronologi nostri utuntur. In cujus (GYLI SUKCLÆ regis) tempora incidit Odinus, Asiaticæ immigrationis, factæ anno 24 ante natum Christum, antesignanus." Crymogæe,

with them many useful arts, particularly the knowledge of letters, which Odin is said to have invented*, they were hospitably received by the natives, and by degrees acquired a safe and peaceable establishment in the new country, which seems to have adopted their language, laws, and religion. Odin is said to have been stiled a god by the Scandinavians; an appellation which the superiour address and specious abilities of this Asiatic chief easily extorted from a more savage and uncivilised people.

This migration is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of various historians: but there is no better evidence of it, than that conspicuous similarity subsisting at this day between several customs of the Georgians, as described by Chardin, and those of certain cantons of Norway and Sweden, which have preserved their antient manners in the purest degree*. Not that other striking implicit and internal proofs, which often carry more conviction than direct historical assertions, are wanting to point out this migration. The antient inhabitants of Denmark and Norway inscribed the exploits of their kings and heroes on rocks, in characters called Runic; and of this prac-

Arngrim. Jon. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 30, 31. edit. Hamburg. 1609. See also Bartholin. Antiquitat. Dan. Lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 407. iii. c. 2. p. 652. edit. 1689. Læzius, de Gent. Migrat. L. x. fol. 573. 30. edit. fol. 1600. Compare Ol. Rudbeck. cap. v. sect. 2. p. 95. xiv. sect. 2. p. 67. There is a memoir on this subject lately published in the Petersburg Transactions, but I chuse to refer to original authorities. See tom. v. p. 297. edit. 1738. 4to.

* "Odino etiam et aliis, qui ex Asia huc devenere, tribuunt multi antiquitatum Islandicarum periti; unde et Odinus Runhorni seu Runarum (i. e. *Literarum*) auctor vocatur." Ol. Worm. Liter. Runic. cap. 20. edit. Hafn. 1651. Some writers refer the origin of the Grecian language, sciences, and religion to the Scythians, who were connected towards the south with Odin's Goths. I cannot bring a greater authority than that of Salmasius, "Satis certum ex his

colligi potest linguam, ut gentem, HELLENICAM, a septentrione et SCYTHIA originem traxisse, non a meridie. Inde LITTERÆ GRÆCORUM, inde MUSÆ PIERIDES, inde sacrorum initia." Salmas. de Hellenist. p. 400. As a further proof I shall observe, that the antient poet Thamyris was so much esteemed by the Scythians, on account of his poetry, *ᾠδοποιία*, that they chose him their king. Conon. Narrat. Poet. cap. vii. edit. Gal. But Thamyris was a Thracian: and a late ingenious antiquarian endeavours to prove, that the Goths were descended from the Thracians, and that the Greeks and Thracians were only different clans of the same people. Clarke's Connexion, &c. ch. ii. p. 65.

[See also Mr. Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Goths, and Dr. Jamieson's *Hermes Scythicus*.—EDR.]

* See Pontoppidan. Nat. Hist. Norway, tom. ii. c. 10. §. 1, 2, 3.

tice many marks are said still to remain in those countries¹. This art or custom of writing on rocks is Asiatic². Modern travellers report, that there are Runic inscriptions now existing in the deserts of Tartary³. The WRITTEN MOUNTAINS of the Jews are an instance that this fashion was oriental. Antiently, when one of these northern chiefs fell honourably in battle, his weapons, his war-horse, and his wife, were consumed with himself on the same funeral pile⁴. I need not remind my readers how religiously this horrible ceremony of sacrificing the wife to the dead husband is at present observed in the east. There is a very remarkable correspondence, in numberless important and fundamental points, between the Druidical and the Persian superstitions: and notwithstanding the evidence of Cesar, who speaks only from popular report, and without precision, on a subject which he cared little about, it is the opinion of the learned Banier, that the Druids were formed on the model of the Magi⁵. In this hypothesis he is seconded by a modern antiquary; who further supposes, that Odin's followers imported this establishment into Scandinavia, from the confines of Persia⁶. The Scandinavians attributed divine virtue to the mistletoe; it is mentioned in their EDDA, or system of religious doctrines, where it is said to grow on the west side of Val-hall, or Odin's elysium⁷. That Druidical rites existed among the Scandinavians we are informed from many antient Erse poems,

¹ See Saxo Grammat. Præf. ad Hist. Dan. And Hist. lib. vii. See also OL Worm. Monum. Dan. lib. iii.

² Paulus Jovius, a writer indeed not of the best credit, says, that Annibal engraved characters on the Alpine rocks, as a testimony of his passage over them, and that they were remaining there two centuries ago. Hist. lib. xv. p. 163.

³ See Voyage par Strahlenberg, &c. A Description of the Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia. Schroder says, from Olaus Rudbeckius, that RUNES, or letters, were invented by Magog the Scythian, and communicated to Tuisko the celebrated German chieftain, in the year of the world 1799. Præf. ad Lexicon Latino-Scandic.

⁴ See Keyser, p. 147. Two funeral ceremonies, one of BURNING, the other of BURYING their dead, at different times prevailed in the north; and have distinguished two eras in the old northern history. The first was called the AGE OF FIRE, the second the AGE OF HILLS.

⁵ Mytholog. Explan. ii. p. 628. 4to.

⁶ M. Mallet Hist. Dannem. i. p. 56. See also Keyser, p. 152.

⁷ EDD. Isl. fab. xlviii. Compare Keyser, Antiquit. Sel. Sept. p. 304. seq. The Germans, a Teutonic tribe, call it to this day "the Branch of Spectres." But see Dr. Percy's ingenious note on this passage in the EDDA. NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES, vol. ii. p. 143.

which say that the British Druids, in the extremity of their affairs, solicited and obtained aid from Scandinavia^c. The Gothic hell exactly resembles that which we find in the religious systems of the Persians, the most abounding in superstition of all the eastern nations. One of the circumstances is, and an oriental idea, that it is full of scorpions and serpents^d. The doctrines of Zeno, who borrowed most of his opinions from the Persian philosophers, are not uncommon in the EDDA. Lok, the evil deity of the Goths, is probably the Arimanius of the Persians. In some of the most antient Islandic chronicles, the Turks are mentioned as belonging to the jurisdiction of the Scandinavians. Mahomet, not so great an inventor as is imagined, adopted into his religion many favourite notions and superstitions from the bordering nations which were the offspring of the Scythians, and especially from the Turks. Accordingly, we find the Alcoran agreeing with the Runic theology in various instances. I will mention only one. It is one of the beatitudes of the Mahometan paradise, that blooming virgins shall administer the most luscious wines. Thus in Odin's Val-hall, or the Gothic elysium, the departed heroes received cups of the strongest mead and ale from the hands of the virgin-goddesses called Valkyres^e. Alfred, in his Saxon account of the northern seas, taken from the mouth of Ohther, a Norwegian, who had been sent by that monarch to discover a north-east passage into the Indies, constantly calls these nations the ORIENTALS^f. And as these eastern tribes brought with them into the north a certain degree of refinement, of luxury and splendour, which ap-

^c Ossian's Works. CATHLIN, ii. p. 216. Not. edit. 1765. vol. ii. They add, that among the auxiliaries came many magicians.

^d See Hyde, Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 399. 404. But compare what is said of the EDDA, towards the close of this Discourse.

^e Odin only, drank wine in Val-hall. ENN. Myth. xxxiv. See Keysler, p. 152.

^f See Preface to Alfred's Saxon Orosius, published by Spelman. [And since by Daines Barrington.] VII. ÆLFRED.

Spelm. Append. vi. [Oht-here was not sent by Alfred. This voyage was undertaken for the gratification of his own curiosity, and the furtherance of his commercial views. He was doubtless ignorant of the existence of Asia. The Orientals, to use the language of the text, were those inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula, whose country lay upon his starboard quarter, while steering due north from Halgoland in Norway.—EDIT.]

peared singular and prodigious among barbarians; one of their early historians describes a person better dressed than usual, by saying, "he was so well clothed, that you might have taken him for one of the Asiatics^g." Wormius mentions a Runic incantation, in which an Asiatic enchantress is invoked^h. Various other instances might here be added, some of which will occasionally arise in the future course of our inquiries.

It is notorious, that many traces of oriental usages are found amongst all the European nations during their pagan state; and this phenomenon is rationally resolved, on the supposition that all Europe was originally peopled from the east. But as the resemblance which the pagan Scandinavians bore to the eastern nations in manners, monuments, opinions, and practices, is so very perceptible and apparent, an inference arises, that their migration from the east must have happened at a period by many ages more recent, and therefore most probably about the time specified by their historians. In the mean time we must remember, that a distinction is to be made between this expedition of Odin's Goths, who formed a settlement in Scandinavia, and those innumerable armies of barbarous adventurers, who some centuries afterwards, distinguished by the same name, at different periods overwhelmed Europe, and at length extinguished the Roman Empire.

^g LANDNAMA-SAGA. See Mallet. Hist. Dannem. c. ii.

^h Lit. Run. p. 209, edit. 1651. The Goths came from the neighbourhood of Colchis, the region of witchcraft, and the country of Medea, famous for her incantations. The eastern pagans from the very earliest ages have had their enchanters. Now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments. Exod. vii. 11. See also vii. 18, 19. ix. 11, &c. When the people of Israel had overrun the country of Balak, he invites Balaam, a neighbouring prince, to curse them, or destroy them by magic, which he seems to have professed. And the elders of Moab departed with the rewards of divination in their hand. Num. xiii. 7. Surely there is no ENCHANTMENT against Israel. xxiii. 23. And he went out, as at other times, to seek for EN-

CHANTMENTS, xxiv. 1, &c. Odin himself was not only a warrior, but a magician, and his Asiatics were called *Incantationum auctores*. Chron. Norweg. apud Bartholin. L. iii. c. 2. p. 657. Crymog. Arngrim. L. i. cap. vii. p. 511. From this source, those who adopt the principles just mentioned in this discourse, may be inclined to think, that the notion of spells got into the ritual of chivalry. In all legal single combats, each champion attested upon oath, that he did not carry about him any herb, SPELL, or ENCHANTMENT. Dugdal. Orig. Juridic. p. 82. See Hickes's account of the silver Dano-Saxon shield, dug up in the Isle of Ely, having a magical Runic inscription, supposed to render those who bore it in battle invulnerable. Apud Hickes. Thesaur. Dissertat. Epistol. p. 187.

When we consider the rapid conquests of the nations which may be comprehended under the common name of Scythians, and not only those conducted by Odin, but by Attila, Theodoric, and Genseric, we cannot ascribe such successes to brutal courage only. To say that some of these irresistible conquerors made war on a luxurious, effeminate, and enervated people, is a plausible and easy mode of accounting for their conquests: but this reason will not operate with equal force in the histories of Genghizcan and Tamerlane, who destroyed mighty empires founded on arms and military discipline, and who baffled the efforts of the ablest leaders. Their science and genius in war, such as it then was, cannot therefore be doubted: that they were not deficient in the arts of peace, I have already hinted, and now proceed to produce more particular proofs. Innumerable and very fundamental errors have crept into our reasonings and systems about savage life, resulting merely from those strong and undistinguishing notions of barbarism, which our prejudices have hastily formed concerning the character of all rude nations¹.

Among other arts which Odin's Goths planted in Scandinavia, their skill in poetry, to which they were addicted in a peculiar manner, and which they cultivated with a wonderful enthusiasm, seems to be most worthy our regard, and especially in our present inquiry.

As the principal heroes of their expedition into the north were honourably distinguished from the Europeans, or original Scandinavians, under the name of *Asæ*, or Asiatics, so the verses or language, of this people, were denominated *ASAMAL*, or ASIATIC speech². Their poetry contained not only the praises of their heroes, but their popular traditions and their religious rites; and was filled with those fictions which the most exaggerated pagan superstition would naturally implant in the wild imaginations of an Asiatic people. And from this principle

¹ See this argument pursued in the second DISSERTATION.

² "Linguam Danicam antiquam, cuius in rythmis usus fuit, veteres appellarunt *ASAMAL*, id est Asiaticam, vel *Asa-*

rum Sæmonem; quod cum ex *Asia* *Odinus* secum in *Daniam*, *Norwegiam*, *Sueciam*, aliasque regiones septentrionales, invexerit." *Steph. Stephan. Præfat. ad Saxon. Grammat. Hist.*

alone, I mean of their Asiatic origin, some critics would at once account for a certain capricious spirit of extravagance, and those bold eccentric conceptions, which so strongly distinguish the old northern poetry¹. Nor is this fantastic imagery the only mark of Asiaticism which appears in the Runic odes. They have a certain sublime and figurative cast of diction, which is indeed one of their predominant characteristics^m. I am very sensible that all rude nations are naturally apt to clothe their sentiments in this style. A propensity to this mode of expression is necessarily occasioned by the poverty of their language, which obliges them frequently to substitute similitudes and circumlocutions: it arises in great measure from feelings undisguised and unrestrained by custom or art, and from the genuine efforts of nature working more at large in uncultivated minds. In the infancy of society, the passions and the imagination are alike uncontrouled. But another cause seems to have concurred in producing the effect here mentioned. When obvious terms and phrases evidently occurred, the Runic poets are fond of departing from the common and established diction. They appear to use circumlocution and comparisons not as a matter of necessity, but of choice and skill: nor are these metaphorical colourings so much the result of want of words, as of warmth of fancyⁿ.

¹ A most ingenious critic observes, that "what we have been long accustomed to call the ORIENTAL VEIN of poetry, because some of the EARLIEST poetical productions have come to us from the east, is probably no more ORIENTAL than OCCIDENTAL." Blair's Crit. Diss. on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 317. But all the LATER oriental writers through all ages have been particularly distinguished for this VEIN. Hence it is here characteristic of a country, not of an age. I will allow, on this writer's very just and penetrating principles, that an early northern ode shall be as sublime as an eastern one. Yet the sublimity of the latter shall have a different character; it will be more inflated and gigantic.

^m Thus, a rainbow is called, *the bridge*

of the gods. Poetry, the mead of Odin. The earth, the vessel that floats on ages. A ship, the horse of the waves. Ice, the vast bridge. Herbs, the fleece of the earth. A battle, a bath of blood, the hail of Odin, the shock of bucklers. A tongue, the sword of words. Night, the veil of cares. Rocks, the bones of the earth. Arrows, the hail-stones of helmets, &c. &c.

ⁿ In a strict geographical sense, the original country of these Asiatic Goths might not be so situated as physically to have produced these effects. Yet it is to be observed, that intercourse and vicinity are in this case sometimes equivalent to climate. The Persian traditions and superstitions were current even in the northern parts of Tartary. Georgia, however, may be fairly considered as a

Their warmth of fancy, however, if supposed to have proceeded from the principles above suggested, in a few generations after this migration into Scandinavia, must have lost much of its natural heat and genuine force. Yet ideas and sentiments, especially of this sort, once imbibed, are long remembered and retained, in savage life. Their religion, among other causes, might have contributed to keep this spirit alive; and to preserve their original stock of images, and native mode of expression, unchanged and unabated by climate or country. In the mean time we may suppose, that the new situation of these people in Scandinavia, might have added a darker shade and a more savage complexion to their former fictions and superstitions; and that the formidable objects of nature to which they became familiarised in those northern solitudes, the piny precipices, the frozen mountains, and the gloomy forests, acted on their imaginations, and gave a tincture of horror to their imagery.

A skill in poetry seems in some measure to have been a national science among the Scandinavians, and to have been familiar to almost every order and degree. Their kings and warriors partook of this epidemic enthusiasm, and on frequent occasions are represented as breaking forth into spontaneous songs and verses°. But the exercise of the poetical talent was

part of Persia. It is equal in fertility to any of the eastern Turkish provinces in Asia. It affords the richest wines, and other luxuries of life, in the greatest abundance. The most beautiful virgins for the seraglio are fetched from this province. In the mean time, thus much at least may be said of a warm climate, exclusive of its supposed immediate physical influence on the human mind and temperament. It exhibits all the productions of nature in their highest perfection and beauty: while the excessive heat of the sun, and the fewer incitements to labour and industry, dispose the inhabitants to indolence, and to living much abroad in scenes of nature. These circumstances are favourable to the operations of fancy.

° Harold Hardraade, king of Norway,

composed sixteen songs of his expedition into Africa. Asbiorn Pruda, a Danish champion, described his past life in nine strophes, while his enemy Bruce, a giant, was tearing out his bowels. "i. *Tell my mother Svanhila in Denmark, that she will not this summer comb the hair of her son. I had promised her to return, but now my side shall feel the edge of the sword.* ii. *It was far otherwise, when we sat at home in mirth, cheering ourselves with the drink of ale; and coming from Hordeland passed the gulf in our ships; when we quaffed mead, and conversed of liberty. Now I alone am fallen into the narrow prisons of the giants.* iii. *It was far otherwise," &c.* Every stanza is introduced with the same choral burden. Bartholin. *Antiquit. Danic.* l. i. cap. 10. p. 158. edit. 1689. [Asbiorn

properly confined to a stated profession: and with their poetry the Goths imported into Europe a species of poets or singers, whom they called SCALDS or POLISHERS of LANGUAGE. This order of men, as we shall see more distinctly below, was held in the highest honour and veneration: they received the most liberal rewards for their verses, attended the festivals of heroic chiefs, accompanied them in battle, and celebrated their victories^p.

These Scandinavian bards appear to have been esteemed and

Pruda lived at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. But his Saga, which abounds in the most marvellous adventures, and this celebrated death-song, were fabricated in the fourteenth century. See Suhm's History of Denmark, vol. iii. p. 294.—EDRR.] The noble epicidium of Regner Lodbrog is more commonly known. The champion Orvar-Odd, after his expeditions into various countries, sung, on his death-bed, the most memorable events of his life in metre. [Orvar-Odd's Saga, from which Torfeus (Hist. Norv. P. i. p. 263—284) has extracted the more sober parts of the narrative, is a romantic composition of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It is even very uncertain whether such a person ever existed.—EDRR.] Hallmund, being mortally wounded, commanded his daughter to listen to a poem which he was about to deliver, containing histories of his victories, and to engrave it on tablets of wood. Bartholin. *ibid.* p. 162. Saxo Grammaticus gives us a regular ode, uttered by the son of a king of Norway, who by mistake had been buried alive, and was discovered and awakened by a party of soldiers digging for treasure. Sax. Grammat. L. 5. p. 50. There are instances recorded of their speaking in metre on the most common occurrences.

^p The Sogdians were a people who lived eastward of the Caspian sea, not far from the country of Odin's Goths. Quintus Curtius relates, that when some of that people were condemned to death by Alexander on account of a revolt, they rejoiced greatly, and testified their joy by SINGING VERSES and dancing. When the king enquired the reason of their joy, they answered, "that being soon to be RESTORED TO THEIR ANCESTORS

by so great a conqueror, they could not help celebrating so honourable a death, which was the WISH of all brave men, in their own ACCUSTOMED SONGS." Lib. vii. c. 8. I am obliged to doctor Percy for pointing out this passage. From the correspondence of manners and principles it holds forth between the Scandinavians and the Sogdians, it contains a striking proof of Odin's migration from the east to the north: first, in the spontaneous exercise of the poetical talent; and secondly, in the opinion, that a glorious or warlike death, which admitted them to the company of their friends and parents in another world, was to be embraced with the most eager alacrity, and the highest sensations of pleasure. This is the doctrine of the Edda. In the same spirit, RIDENS MORIAR is the triumphant close of Regner Lodbrog's dying ode. [See Keyser, *ubi* *infr.* p. 154.] I cannot help adding here another stroke from this ode, which seems also to be founded on eastern manners. He speaks with great rapture of drinking, "ex concavis crateribus craniorum." The inhabitants of the island of Ceylon to this day carouse at their feasts, from cups or bowls made of the skulls of their deceased ancestors. Ives's VOYAGE TO INDIA, ch. 5. p. 62. Lond. 1778. 4to. This practice these islanders undoubtedly received from the neighbouring continent. Compare Keyser, *Antiquitat. Sel. Septentr.* p. 362. seq. [Silvius Italicus charges the Celts with indulging in a similar practice:

At Celtæ vacui capitis circumdare gaudent
Ossa (nefas) auro et mensis ea pocula servant.

And the Longobardic and Bavarian his-

entertained in other countries besides their own, and by that means to have probably communicated their fictions to various parts of Europe. I will give my reasons for this supposition.

In the early ages of Europe, before many regular governments took place, revolutions, emigrations, and invasions, were frequent and almost universal. Nations were alternately destroyed or formed; and the want of political security exposed the inhabitants of every country to a state of eternal fluctuation. That Britain was originally peopled from Gaul, a nation of the Celts, is allowed: but that many colonies from the northern parts of Europe were afterwards successively planted in Britain and the neighbouring islands, is an hypothesis equally rational, and not altogether destitute of historical evidence. Nor was any nation more likely than the Scandinavian Goths, I mean in their early periods, to make descents on Britain. They possessed the spirit of adventure in an eminent degree. They were habituated to dangerous enterprises. They were acquainted with distant coasts, exercised in navigation, and fond of making expeditions, in hopes of conquest, and in search of new acquisitions. As to Scotland and Ireland, there is the highest probability, that the Scutes, who conquered both those countries, and possessed them under the names of Albin Scutes and Irin Scutes, were a people of Norway. The Caledonians are expressly called by many judicious antiquaries a Scandinavian colony. The names of places and persons, over all that part of Scotland which the Picts inhabited, are of Scandinavian extraction. A simple catalogue of them only, would immediately convince us, that they are not of Celtic, or British origin. Flaherty reports it as a received opinion, and a general doctrine, that the Picts migrated into Britain and Ireland from

tories record single examples of its occurrence for the gratification of personal revenge. But except the passage quoted by Warton, there is no authority for the existence of such a custom in the North as a national habit; and in this a violent and far-fetched metaphor has been erroneously translated, to be made the basis of an imputation equally revolting and absurd. The original Icelandic text stands thus:

Dresckom bíor at bragdi
Ur biug-videm hausa.

Instantly we shall drink ale
From the skull's winding trees.

Or in the sober phrase of common parlance: "We shall drink our beer out of horns." The Celtic antiquaries may perhaps be able to offer a similar vindication of their uncivilized ancestors.—
[EDR.]

Scandinavia^q. I forbear to accumulate a pedantic parade of authorities on this occasion: nor can it be expected that I should enter into a formal and exact examination of this obscure and complicated subject in its full extent, which is here only introduced incidentally. I will only add, that Scotland and Ireland, as being situated more to the north, and probably less difficult of access than Britain, might have been objects on which our northern adventurers were invited to try some of their earliest excursions: and that the Orkney-islands remained long under the jurisdiction of the Norwegian potentates.

In these expeditions, the northern emigrants, as we shall prove more particularly below, were undoubtedly attended by their scalds or poets. Yet even in times of peace, and without the supposition of conquest or invasion, the Scandinavian scalds might have been well known in the British islands. Possessed of a specious and pleasing talent, they frequented the courts of the British, Scottish, and Irish chieftains. They were itinerants by their institution, and made voyages, out of curiosity, or in quest of rewards, to those islands or coasts which lay within the circle of their maritime knowledge. By these means, they established an interest, rendered their profession popular, propagated their art, and circulated their fictions, in other countries, and at a distance from home. Torfæus asserts positively, that various Islandic odes now remain, which were sung by the Scandinavian bards before the kings of England and Ireland, and for which they received liberal gratuities^r. They were more especially caressed and rewarded at

^q It is conjectured by Wormius, that *Ireland* is derived from the Runic *Yr*, a bow, for the use of which the Irish were once famous. Lit. Run. c. xvii. p. 92. The Asiatics near the lake Mæotis, from which Odin led his colony in Europe, were celebrated archers. Hence Hercules in Theocritus, Idyll. xiii. 56.

—Μακρινος λεγει ιρλαντιαν οϋρον.

Compare Salmas. de Hellen. p. 369. And Flabert. Ogyg. Part. iii. cap. xviii. p. 188. edit. 1685. Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. Pref. p. xxxviii.

[The Celtic population of Ireland pre-

cedes the period of legitimate history. Their migration to Scotland has been referred with great probability to the earlier part of the fourth century. But the origin of the Picts, their language, the etymology "of the names of places and persons over that part of Scotland which they inhabited," is a subject which divides the opinions of Scottish antiquaries. See Mr. Chalmers's Caledonia, and Dr. Jamieson's Etymological Scottish Dictionary (Introduction).—EDR.]
^r Torf. Hist. Orcad. in Prefat. [See the Sagas of Egill, and Gunnlaug Ormstunga.—EDR.]

the courts of those princes, who were distinguished for their warlike character, and their passion for military glory.

Olaus Wormius informs us, that great numbers of the northern scalds constantly resided in the courts of the kings of Sweden, Denmark, and England¹. Hence the tradition in an antient Islandic Saga, or poetical history, may be explained; which says, that Odin's language was originally used, not only in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, but even in England². Indeed it may be naturally concluded from these suggestions, that the Scandinavian tongue became familiar in the British islands by the songs of the scalds: unless it be rather presumed, that a previous knowledge of that tongue in Britain was the means of facilitating the admission of those poets, and preparing the way for their reception.

And here it will be much to our present argument to observe, that some of the old Gothic and Scandinavian superstitions are to this day retained in the English language. *MARA*, from whence our Night-mare is derived, was in the Runic theology a spirit or spectre of the night, which seized men in their sleep, and suddenly deprived them of speech and motion³. *NICKA* was the Gothic demon who inhabited the element of water, and who strangled persons that were drowning⁴. *BOH* was one of the most fierce and formidable of the Gothic generals⁵, and the son of Odin: the mention of whose name was sufficient to spread an immediate panic among his enemies⁶.

¹ Lit. Dan. p. 195. ed. 4to.

² Bartholin. iii. 2. p. 651. It was a constant old British tradition, that king Arthur conquered Ireland, Gothland, Denmark, and Norway. See Galfrid. Monum. ix. 11. Rob. of Glouc. ed. Hearne, p. 180. 182. What is said in the text must have greatly facilitated the Saxon and Danish conquests in England. The works of the genuine Cædmon are written in the language of the antient Angles, who were nearly connected with the Jutes. Hence that language resembled the antient Danish, as appears from passages of Cædmon cited by Wanley. Hence also it happened, that the later Dano-Saxonic dialect, in which Junius's PORTAL PARAPHRASE OF GENESIS was written, is likewise so very similar to the

language of the antient Angles, who settled in the more northern parts of England. And in this dialect, which indeed prevailed in some degree almost over all England, many other poems are composed, mentioned likewise in Wanley's Catalogue. [See the Preface to this edition.—EDR.] It is the constant doctrine of the Danish historians, that the Danes and Angles, whose successors gave the name to this island, had the same origin.

³ See Keyser, Antiquitat. Sel. Septentrional. p. 497. edit. 1720.

⁴ See Keyser, ut supr. p. 261. And in ADDEND. *ibid.* p. 588.

⁵ See Keyser, *ibid.* p. 105. p. 130.

⁶ See Temple's Essays, part 4. pag.

The fictions of Odin and of his Scandinavians, must have taken still deeper root in the British islands, at least in England, from the Saxon and Danish invasions.

That the tales of the Scandinavian scalds flourished among

346. See also instances of conformity between English and Gothic superstitions in Bartholinus, L. ii. cap. 2. p. 262. 266. It may be urged, that these superstitions might be introduced by the Danes; of whom I shall speak below. But this brings us to just the same point. The learned Hickee was of opinion, from a multitude of instances, that our trial by a jury of Twelve, was an early Scandinavian institution, and that it was brought from thence into England. Yet he supposes, at a period later than is necessary, the Norman invasion. See Wootton's *Conspectus of Hickee's Thesaur.* pag. 46. Lond. 1708. And Hickee. *Thesaur. Dissertat. Epistol.* vol. i. p. 38. seq. The number *twelve* was sacred among the Septentrional tribes. Odin's Judges are *twelve*, and have *twelve* seats in Gladheim. EDD. I. fab. vii. The God of the Edda has *twelve* names, *ibid.* fab. i. An Aristocracy of *twelve* is a well known antient establishment in the North. In the Dialogue between Hervor and Angantyr, the latter promises to give Hervor *twelve* MEN'S DEATHS. [He gives her that which is to be the death of twelve men—the sword Tjring.—EDIT.] *Hervarar-Saga*, apud OL. Verel. cap. vii. p. 91. The Druidical circular monuments of separate stones erect, are more frequently of the number *twelve*, than of any other number. See Borlase, *ANTIQUITY*. Cornw. B. iii. ch. vii. edit. 1769. fol. And Toland, *Hist. Druid.* p. 89. 158, 160. See also Martin's *Hebrid.* p. 9. In Zealand and Sweden, many antient circular monuments, consisting each of twelve rude stones, still remain, which were the places of judicature. My late very learned, ingenious, and respected friend, doctor Borlase, pointed out to me monuments of the same sort in Cornwall. Compare Keyser, p. 93. And it will illustrate remarks already made, and the principles insinuated in this Dissertation, to observe, that these mo-

numents are found in Persia near Tauris. [See the "*Voyages de Chardin*," p. 377. ed. 1686. 12mo. It is astonishing, that after the most evident proofs of these stone monuments being the production of our northern ancestors, writers will persist without any authority whatever in calling them Druidical.—DOUCE.] [It is also "astonishing," that with such "evident proofs" of their existence in almost every part of Europe and Asia, they should be exclusively assigned either to "our northern ancestors," or their Celtic antagonists. The occurrence of such monuments in Cornwall, where the Saxons only obtained a footing at a very late period, and in those parts of Ireland which were frequented by neither Saxons nor Scandinavians, clearly forbids the assumption of their Teutonic origin; while their name (*Thing-stadar*), and the purpose to which they were applied in the North of Europe, may receive an illustration from the page of Homer:

Κήρυκος δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐθέσσοι· αἱ δὲ γήροντες
ἔλατ' ἐπὶ ξιστοῖσι λίθους, ἱερῶν ἐν κύκλῳ.
Il. xviii. 503.

These "sacred circles" in the North were not only used as places of public assembly, but were the scenes of all judicial proceedings. From a passage in the 67th chapter of Egills-Saga, there is reason to believe, that they were also made the theatres of the "trial by battle." The Irish antiquaries consider them to have been places of public worship. "Magh-Adhair, a plain of adoration, where an open temple consisting of a circle of tall straight stone pillars with a very large flat stone called *Crom-leac*, serving for an altar, constructed by the Druids and similar to that in Exodus xxiv. "And Moses builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel." O'Brian in voc.—EDIT.] Geoffrey of Monmouth affords instances in his

the Saxons, who succeeded to the Britons, and became possessors of England in the sixth century, may be justly presumed². The Saxons were originally seated in the Cimbric Chersonese, or those territories which have been since called Jutland, Angelen, and Holstein; and were fond of tracing the descent of their princes from Odin³. They were therefore a part of the Scandinavian tribes. They imported with them into England the old Runic language and letters. This appears from inscriptions on coins^b, stones^c, and other monuments; and from some of their manuscripts^d. It is well known that Runic inscriptions have been discovered in Cumberland and Scotland: and that there is even extant a coin of king Offa, with a Runic legend^e. But the conversion of the Saxons to christianity, which happened before the seventh century, entirely banished the common use of those characters^f, which were esteemed unhallowed and necromantic; and with their antient superstitions, which yet prevailed for some time in the popular

British History. The knights sent into Wales by Fitzhammon, in 1091, were *twelve*. Powel, p. 124. sub anno. See also an instance in Du Carell, Anglo-Norman Antiq. p. 9. It is probable that Charlemagne formed his *twelve peers* on this principle. From whom Spenser evidently took his *twelve knights*.

[In the poem of Beowulf 'twolf wintra tid,' the time of twelve winters, is evidently a mere epic form of expression to denote an indefinite period. It is like the *forty days* of the Hebrews, the *iron age* of the Iliad, the *eleven* of Piers Plowman. This number therefore ought not to be interpreted too literally, unless supported by the context.—EDR.]

* "Ex vetustioribus poetis Cimbrorum, nempe Scaldis et Theotiscæ gentis versificatoribus, plane multa, ut par est credere, sumpserunt." Hickes. Thesaur. i. p. 101. See p. 117.

² See Gibson's Chron. Saxon. p. 12. seq. Historians mention Woden's *brother*, i. e. Woden's hill, in Wiltshire. See Milton, Hist. Engl. An. 588.

^b See Sir A. Fountaine's Pref. Saxon Money. OFFA. REX. SC. BOTRED MONTARIUS, &c. See also Serenii Diction.

Anglo-Suecico-Latin. Pref. pag. 21.

^c See Hickes's Thesaur. BAPTISTRIUM BRIDKIRKENSE. Par. iii. p. 4. Tab. ii. SAXUM REVELLENSE apud Scotos. Ibid. Tab. iv. pag. 5.—CRUX LAPIDEA apud Beaucastle. Wanley Catal. MSS. Anglo-Sax. pag. 248. ad calc. Hickes. Thesaur. ANNULUS AUREUS. Drake's York, Append. p. 102. Tab. N. 26. And Gordon's Itin. Septentr. p. 168.

^d See Hickes's Thesaur. Par. i. page 135. 136. 148. Par. iii. Tab. i. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. It may be conjectured, that these characters were introduced by the Danes. It is certain that they never grew into common use. They were at least inconvenient, as consisting of capitals. We have no remains of Saxon writing so old as the sixth century. Nor are there any of the seventh, except a very few charters. [Bibl. Bodl. NE. D. 11. 19. seq.] See Hickes's Thesaur. Par. i. page 169. See also CHARTA ODLERENI AD MONASTERIUM DE BERKING. Tab. i. Casley's Cat. Bibl. Reg. In the British Museum.

^e See ARCHÆOL. vol. ii. p. 131. A. D. 1773. 4to.

^f But see Hickes, ubi sup. i. p. 140.

belief, abolished in some measure their native and original vein of poetic fabling². They suddenly became a mild and polished people, addicted to the arts of peace, and the exercise of devotion; and the poems they have left us are chiefly moral rhapsodies, scriptural histories or religious invocations³. Yet even in these pieces they have frequent allusions to the old scaldic fables and heroes. Thus, in an Anglo-Saxon poem on Judith, Holofernes is called BALDER, or *leader and prince of warriors*. And in a poetical paraphrase on Genesis, Abimelech has the same appellation⁴. This Balder was a famous chieftain of the Asiatic Goths, the son of Odin, and supposed to inhabit a magnificent hall in the future place of rewards. The same Anglo-Saxon paraphrast, in his prosopopœia of Satan addressing his companions plunged in the infernal abyss, adopts many images and expressions used in the very sublime description of the Eddic hell⁵: Henry of Huntingdon⁶ complains of certain *extraneous words* and *uncommon figures* of speech, in a Saxon ode on a victory of king Athelstan. These were all scaldic expressions or allusions. But I will give a literal English translation of this poem, which cannot be well understood without premising its occasion. In the year 938, Anlaff*, a pagan

² It has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend, that GUT and SIR BEVIS, the first of which lived in the reign of Athelstan, and the latter, as some suppose, in that of Edgar, both christian champions against the pagan Danes, were originally subjects of the genuine Saxon bards. But I rather think, they began to be celebrated in or after the crusades; the nature of which expeditions dictated to the romance-writers, and brought into vogue, stories of christians fighting with infidel heroes. The cause was the same, and the circumstances partly parallel; and this being once the fashion, they consulted their own histories for heroes, and combats were feigned with Danish giants, as well as with the Saracen. See *infra* SECT. III. p. 145. 146. 147. There is the story of BEVIS in British, *Ystori Bevis o Hamtun*. Lhuyd's Arch. Brit. p. 264.

³ Except an ode on Athelstan, trans-

lated below. See SECT. I. p. 2. See also the description of the city of Durham. Hickee, p. 179. It has nothing of the wild strain of poetry. The saints and relics of Durham church seem to have struck the poet most, in describing that city. I cannot discern the supposed sublimity of those mysterious dithyrambics, which close the Saxon *MYNOLOG*, or poetic calendar, written about the tenth century, printed by Hickee, *Gramm. Anglo-Sax.* p. 207. They seem to be prophecies and proverbs; or rather, splendid fragments from different poems, thrown together without connection.

⁴ See Hickee. *Thesaur.* i. p. 10. Who adds many more instances.

⁵ *Fab. xlix.* See Hickee, *ubi sup.* p. 116.

⁶ Who has greatly misrepresented the sense by a bad Latin translation. *Hist. lib. v. p. 203.*

* [See Mr. Turner's History of the

king of the Hybernians and the adjacent isles, invited by Constantine king of the Scots, entered the river Abi or Humber with a strong fleet. Our Saxon king Athelstan, and his brother Eadmund Clito [ætheling], met them with a numerous army, near a place called Brunenburgh; and after a most obstinate and bloody resistance, drove them back to their ships. The battle lasted from day-break till the evening. On the side of Anlaff were slain five petty kings, and seven chiefs or generals. "King Adelstan, the glory of leaders, the giver of gold chains to his nobles, and his brother Eadmund, both shining with the brightness of a long train of ancestors, struck [the adversary] in war; at Brunenburgh, with the edge of the sword, they clove the wall of shields. The high banners fell. The earls of the departed Edward fell; for it was born within them, even from the loins of their kindred, to defend the treasures and the houses of their country, and their gifts, against the hatred of strangers. The nation of the Scots, and the fatal inhabitants of ships, fell. The hills resounded, and the armed men were covered with sweat. From the time the sun, the king of stars, the torch of the eternal one, rose chearful above the hills, till he returned to his habitation. There lay many of the northern men, pierced with lances; they lay wounded, with their shields pierced through: and also the Scots, the hateful harvest of battle. The chosen bands of the West-Saxons, going out to battle, pressed on the steps of the detested nations, and slew their flying rear with sharp and bloody swords. The soft effeminate men yielded up their spears. The Mercians did not fear or fly the rough game of the hand. There was no safety to them, who sought the land with Anlaff in the bosom of the ship, to die in fight. Five youthful kings fell in the place of fight, slain with swords; and seven captains of Anlaff, with the innumerable army of Scottish mariners: there the lord of the Normans [Northernmen] was chased: and their army, now made small, was driven

Anglo Saxons, vol. i. p. 343. Anlaf, whom Athelstan had expelled from the kingdom of North-humbria, was in all probability a Christian. Wulstan arch-

bishop of York, who united with Anlaf in his second attempt to recover his inheritance, would hardly have fought under a Pagan banner.—ERR.]

to the prow of the ship. The ship sounded with the waves; and the king, marching into the yellow sea, escaped alive. And so it was, the wise northern king Constantine, a veteran chief, returning by flight to his own army, bowed down in the camp, left his own son worn out with wounds in the place of slaughter; in vain did he lament his earls, in vain his lost friends. Nor less did Anlaff, the yellow-haired leader, the battle-ax of slaughter, a youth in war, but an old man in understanding, boast himself a conqueror in fight, when the darts flew against Edward's earls, and their banners met. Then those northern soldiers, covered with shame, the sad refuse of darts in the resounding whirlpool of Humber, departed in their ships with rudders, to seek through the deep the Irish city and their own land. While both the brothers, the king and Clito, lamenting even their own victory, together returned home; leaving behind them the flesh-devouring raven, the dark-blue toad greedy of slaughter, the black crow with horny bill, and the hoarse toad, the eagle a companion of battles, with the devouring kite, and that brindled savage beast the wolf of the wood, to be glutted with the white food of the slain. Never was so great a slaughter in this island, since the Angles and Saxons, the fierce beginners of war, coming hither from the east, and seeking Britain through the wide sea, overcame the Britons excelling in honour, and gained possession of their land^m."

This piece, and many other Saxon odes and songs now remaining, are written in a metre much resembling that of the scaldic dialogue at the tomb of Angantyr*, which has been beautifully translated into English, in the true spirit of the original, and in a genuine strain of poetry, by Gray. The extemporaneous effusions of the glowing bard seem naturally to have

^m The original was first printed by Wheloc in the Saxon Chronicle, p. 555. Cant. 1644. See Hickea. Thes. Præfat. p. xiv. And *Ibid.* Gramm. Anglo-Sax. p. 181.

[At the close of this Dissertation the reader will find the original ode and a nearly literal version of it. The translation in the text was made from the

Latin of Gibson, and of course shares the faults of its original.—EDR.]

* [The invocation of Hervor at the tomb of her father Angantyr was translated in prose by Dr. Hickea. It was republished with emendations by Dr. Percy in 1763, and has since been closely and paraphrastically versified by Mr. Mathias and Miss Seward.—PARK.]

fallen into this measure, and it was probably more easily suited to the voice or harp. Their versification for the most part seems to have been that of the Runic poetry.

As literature, the certain attendant, as it is the parent, of true religion and civility, gained ground among the Saxons, poetry no longer remained a separate science, and the profession of bard seems gradually to have declined among them: I mean the bard under those appropriated characteristics, and that peculiar appointment, which he sustained among the Scandinavian pagans. Yet their national love of verse and music still so strongly predominated, that in the place of their old scalders a new rank of poets arose, called GLEEMEN or Harpers^a. These probably gave rise to the order of English Minstrels, who flourished till the sixteenth century.

And here I stop to point out one of the principal reasons, why the Scandinavian bards have transmitted to modern times so much more of their native poetry, than the rest of their southern neighbours. It is true, that the inhabitants of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway,—whether or no from their Asiatic origin, from their poverty which compelled them to seek their fortunes at foreign courts by the exercise of a popular art, from the success of their bards, the nature of their republican government, or their habits of unsettled life,—were more given to verse than any other Gothic, or even Celtic, tribe. But this is not all: they remained pagans, and retained their original manners, much longer than any of their Gothic kindred. They were not completely converted to christianity till the tenth century^o. Hence, under the concurrence however of some of the

^a GLEEMAN answers to the Latin JOCULATOR. Fabian speaking of Bladubride, an antient British king, famous for his skill in poetry and music, calls him "a conynge musicyan, called of the Britons god of GLEEMEN." CHRON. f. xxxii. ed. 1533. This, Fabian translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the same British king, "ut deus JOCULATORUM videretur." Hist. Brit. lib. i. cap. 22. It appears from the injunctions given to the British church in the

year 680, that female harpers were not then uncommon. It is decreed that no bishop, or any ecclesiastic, shall keep or have CYTHARÆDAS, and it is added QUÆCUMQUE SYMPHONACA; nor permit plays or sports, LUDOS VEL JOCOS, undoubtedly mimical and gesticulatory entertainments, to be exhibited in his presence. Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. lib. iii. p. 263. edit. vet. And Concil. Spelman. tom. i. p. 159. edit. 1639. fol.

^o See bishop Lloyd's Hist. Account of

causes just mentioned, their scaldic profession acquired greater degrees of strength and of maturity; and from an uninterrupted possession through many ages of the most romantic religious superstitions, and the preservation of those rough manners which are so favourable to the poetical spirit, was enabled to produce, not only more genuine, but more numerous, compositions. True religion would have checked the impetuosity of their passions, suppressed their wild exertions of fancy, and banished that striking train of imagery, which their poetry derived from a barbarous theology. This circumstance also suggests to our consideration, those superior advantages and opportunities arising from leisure and length of time, which they enjoyed above others, of circulating their poetry far and wide, of giving a general currency to their mode of fabling, of rendering their skill in versification more universally and familiarly known, and a more conspicuous and popular object of admiration or imitation to the neighbouring countries. Hence too it has happened, that modern times have not only attained much fuller information concerning their historical transactions, but are so intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of their character.

It is probable, that the Danish invasions produced a considerable alteration in the manners of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Although their connections with England were transient and interrupted, and on the whole scarcely lasted two hundred years, yet many of the Danish customs began to prevail among the inhabitants, which seem to have given a new turn to their temper and genius. The Danish fashion of excessive drinking, for instance, a vice almost natural to the northern nations, became so general among the Anglo-Saxons, that it was found necessary to restrain so pernicious and contagious a practice by a particular statute^p. Hence it seems likely, that so popular an entertainment as their poetry gained ground; es-

Church Government in Great Britain, p. 104.
 &c. chap. i. §. 11. 4to. Lond. 1684.
 And Crymog. Arngrim. L. i. cap. 10. p. 542.

^p See Lambarde's Archaionom. And Bartholin. ii. c. xii.

pecially if we consider, that in their expeditions against England they were of course attended by many northern scalds, who constantly made a part of their military retinue, and whose language was understood by the Saxons. Rogwald, lord of the Orkades, who was also himself a poet, going on an expedition into Palestine, carried with him two Islandic bards⁹. The noble ode, called in the northern chronicles the *ELOGIUM OF HAÇON*^r, king of Norway, was composed, on a battle in which that prince with eight of his brothers fell, by the scald Eyvünd; who for his superior skill in poetry was called the *CROSS OF POETS*, [Eyvindr

⁹ OL. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 195. edit. 1636.

^r In this ode are these very sublime imageries and prosopopœias.

"The goddesses who preside over battles come, sent forth by Odin. They go to choose among the princes of the illustrious race of Yngvön a man who is to perish, and to go to dwell in the palace of the gods."

"Gondula leaned on the end of her lance, and thus bespoke her companions. The assembly of the gods is going to be increased: the gods invite Hacon, with his numerous host, to enter the palace of Odin."

"Thus spake these glorious nymphs of war: who were seated on their horses, who were covered with their shields and helmets, and appeared full of some great thought."

"Hacon heard their discourse. Why, said he, why hast thou thus disposed of the battle? Were we not worthy to have obtained of the gods a more perfect victory? It is we, she replied, who have given it thee. It is we who have put thine enemies to flight."

"Now, added she, let us push forward our steeds across those green worlds, which are the residence of the gods. Let us go tell Odin that the king is coming to visit him in his palace."

"When Odin heard this news, he said, Hermode and Brago, my sons, go to meet the king: a king, admired by all men for his valour, approaches to our hall."

"At length king Hacon approaches; and arriving from the battle is still all

besprinkled and running down with blood. At the sight of Odin, he cries out, Ah! how severe and terrible does this god appear to me!"

"The hero Brago replies, Come, thou that wast the terror of the bravest warriors: Come hither, and rejoin thine eight brothers: the heroes who reside here shall live with thee in peace: Go, drink Ale in the circle of heroes."

"But this valiant king exclaims, I will still keep my arms: a warrior ought carefully to preserve his mail and helmet: it is dangerous to be a moment without the spear in one's hand."

"The wolf Fenris shall burst his chains and dart with rage upon his enemies, before so brave a king shall again appear upon earth," &c.

Snorron. Hist. Reg. Sept. i. p. 163. This ode was written so early as the year 960. There is a great variety and boldness in the transitions. An action is carried on by a set of the most awful ideal personages, finely imagined. The goddesses of battle, Odin, his sons Hermode and Brago, and the spectre of the deceased king, are all introduced, speaking and acting as in a drama. The pægyric is nobly conducted, and arises out of the sublimity of the fiction.

[A somewhat different version of the above ode is printed in Percy's *Five Runic pieces*. By the wolf Fenris, he observes, the northern nations understood a kind of demon, or evil principle, at enmity with the gods, who though at present chained up from doing mischief, was hereafter to break loose and destroy the world. See *Edda*.—PARK.]

Skáldaspillir*,] and fought in the battle which he celebrated. Hacon earl of Norway was accompanied by five celebrated bards in the battle of Jomsburgh: and we are told, that each of them sung an ode to animate the soldiers before the engagement began†. They appear to have been regularly brought into action. Olave, a king of Norway, when his army was prepared for the onset, placed three scalds about him, and exclaimed aloud, "You shall not only record in your verses what you have HEARD, but what you have SEEN." They each delivered an ode on the spot‡. These northern chiefs appear to have so frequently hazarded their lives with such amazing intrepidity, merely in expectation of meriting a panegyric from their poets, the judges, and the spectators of their gallant behaviour. That scalds were common in the Danish armies when they invaded England, appears from a stratagem of Alfred; who, availing himself of his skill in oral poetry and playing on the harp, entered the Danish camp habited in that character, and procured a hospitable reception. This was in the year 878§. Anlaff¶, a Danish king, used the same disguise for reconnoitring the camp of our Saxon monarch Athelstan: taking his station near Athelstan's pavilion, he entertained the king and his chiefs with his verses and music, and was dismissed with an honourable reward||. As Anlaff's dialect must have discovered him to have been a Dane; here is a proof, of what I shall bring more, that the Saxons, even in the midst of mutual hostilities, treated the Danish scalds with favour and respect. That the Islandic bards were common in England

* [Skáldaspillir, poetarum alpha, cui omnes invident poete.]

† Bartholin. p. 172.

‡ Olaf. Sag. apud Verel. ad Hæav. Sag. p. 178. Bartholin. p. 172.

§ Ingulph. Hist. p. 869. Malmesb. ii. c. 4. p. 43.

¶ This is the same Anlaf mentioned above, p. xxxix. Though of Danish descent, yet as his family had possessed the throne of North-humbria for more than one generation, it is most probable that

he spoke the dialect of his province, or what Hickee calls the Dano-Saxon.—EDMR.]

|| Malmesb. ii. 6. I am aware, that the truth of both these anecdotes respecting Alfred and Anlaff has been controverted. But no sufficient argument has yet been offered for pronouncing them spurious, or even suspicious. See an ingenious Dissertation in the *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 100. seq. A. D. 1773. 4to.

during the Danish invasions, there are numerous proofs. Egill, a celebrated Islandic poet, having murdered the son and many of the friends of Eric Blodaxe, king of Denmark or Norway, then residing in Northumberland, and which he had just conquered, procured a pardon by singing before the king, at the command of his queen Gunhilde, an extemporaneous ode*. Egill compliments the king, who probably was his patron, with the appellation of the English chief. "I offer my freight to the king. I owe a poem for my ransom. I present to the ENGLISH CHIEF the mead of Odin." Afterwards he calls this Danish conqueror the commander of the Scottish fleet. "The commander of the Scottish fleet fattened the ravenous birds. The sister of Nera [Death] trampled on the foe: she trampled on the evening food of the eagle." The Scots usually joined the Danish or Norwegian invaders in their attempts on the northern parts of Britain²: and from this circumstance a new argument arises, to show the close communication and alliance which must have subsisted between Scotland and Scandinavia. Egill, although of the enemy's party*, was a singular favourite of king Athelstan. Athelstan once asked Egill how he escaped due punishment from Eric Blodaxe, the king of Northumberland, for the very capital and enormous crime which I have just mentioned. On which Egill immediately related the whole of that transaction to the Saxon king, in a sublime ode still extant³. On another occasion Athelstan presented Egill with two rings, and two large cabinets filled with silver; promising at the same time, to grant him any gift or favour which he should choose to request. Egill, struck with gratitude, immediately composed a panegyrical poem in the Norwegian lan-

* See Crymogr. Angrim. Jon. lib. ii. pag. 125. edit. 1609.

² See OL. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 227. 195. All the chiefs of Eric were also present at the recital of this ode, which is in a noble strain.

³ See the Saxon epinicion in praise of king Athelstan. *supr.* citat. Hen. Hunting. l. v. p. 203. 204.

* [Egill fought on Athelstan's side, and did signal service in the battle at Brunanburh.—EDR.]

⁴ Torfæus Hist. Orcad. Præfat. "Rei statim ordinem metro nunc satis obscuro exposuit." Torfæus adds, which is much to our purpose, "nequaquam ita narraturus NON INTELLIGENT!"

guage, then common to both nations, on the virtues of Athelstan, which the latter as generously requited with two marcs of pure gold^b. Here is likewise another argument, that the Saxons had no small esteem for the scaldic poetry. It is highly reasonable to conjecture, that our Danish king Canute, a potentate of most extensive jurisdiction, and not only king of England, but of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, was not without the customary retinue of the northern courts, in which the scalds held so distinguished and important a station. Human nature, in a savage state, aspires to some species of merit, and in every stage of society is alike susceptible of flattery, when addressed to the reigning passion. The sole object of these northern princes was military glory. It is certain that Canute delighted in this mode of entertainment, which he patronized and liberally rewarded. It is related in *KNYTLINGA-SAGA*, or Canute's History, that he commanded the scald Loftunga to be put to death, for daring to comprehend his achievements in too concise a poem. "Nemo," said he, "ante te, ausus est de me BREVES CANTILENAS componere." A curious picture of the tyrant, the patron, and the barbarian, united! But the bard extorted a speedy pardon, and with much address, by producing the next day before the king at dinner an ode of more than thirty strophes, for which Canute gave him fifty marcs of purified silver^c. In the mean time, the Danish language began to grow perfectly familiar in England. It was eagerly learned by the Saxon clergy and nobility, from a principle of ingratiating themselves with Canute: and there are many manuscripts now remaining, by which it will appear, that the Danish runes were much studied among our Saxon ancestors under the reign of that monarch^d.

The songs of the Irish bards are by some conceived to be

^b *Crymog. Arn. Jon.* p. 129. ut *supr.*

^c *Bartholin. Antiquit. Danic. lib. i. cap. 10.* p. 169, 170. See *KNYTLINGA-SAGA*, in *Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Holm. Hickes. Thesaur.* ii. 312.

[Canute's threat—for he did not "command the scald to be put to death"—is thus translated by Mr. Turner: "Are

you not ashamed to do what none but yourself has dared, to write a *short* poem upon me? Unless by to-morrow's dinner you produce above thirty strophes on the same subject, your head shall be the penalty." *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 437. The result was as Warton states. —*EDIT.*] ^d *Hickes, ubi supr.* i. 194, 196.

strongly marked with the traces of scaldic imagination; and these traces, which will be reconsidered, are believed still to survive among a species of poetical historians, whom they call **TALE-TELLERS**, supposed to be the descendants of the original Irish bards*. A writer of equal elegance and veracity relates, "that a gentleman of the north of Ireland has told me of his own experience, that in his wolf-huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the mountains three or four days together, and laid very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep, they would bring him one of these **TALE-TELLERS**, that when he lay down would begin a story of a **KING**, or a **GYANT**, a **DWARF**, and a **DAMOSEL**." These are topics in which the Runic poetry is said to have been greatly conversant.

* We are informed by the Irish historians, that saint Patrick, when he converted Ireland to the Christian faith, destroyed three hundred volumes of the songs of the Irish bards. Such was their dignity in this country, that they were permitted to wear a robe of the same colour with that of the royal family. They were constantly summoned to a triennial festival: and the most approved songs delivered at this assembly were ordered to be preserved in the custody of the king's historian or antiquary. Many of these compositions are referred to by Keating, as the foundation of his History of Ireland. Ample estates were appropriated to them, that they might live in a condition of independence and ease. The profession was hereditary; but when a bard died, his estate devolved not to his eldest son, but to such of his family as discovered the most distinguished talents for poetry and music. Every principal bard retained thirty of inferior note, as his attendants; and a bard of the secondary class was followed by a retinue of fifteen. They seem to have been at their height in the year 558. See Keating's History of Ireland, p. 127. 132. 370. 380. And Pref. p. 23. None of their poems have been translated.

There is an article in the *Laws of Kenneth* king of Scotland, promulged in the year 850, which places the bards of Scotland, who certainly were held in equal esteem with those of the neighbouring

countries, in the lowest station. "*Fugitivos, bardos, otio addictos, scurras et hujusmodi hominum genus, loris et flagris cadunt.*" Apud Hector. Boeth. Lib. x. p. 201. edit. 1574. But Sakma-sius very justly observes, that for *Bardos* we should read *Vagos*, or *Vencos*, i. e. *Vagabonds*.

[Such, said the late ingenious Mr. Walker, was the celebrity of the Irish music, that the Welsh bards condescended to receive instructions in their musical art from those of Ireland. Gryffydd ap Conan, king of North Wales, about the time that Stephen was king of England, determined to reform the Welsh bards, and brought over many Irish bards for that purpose. This Gryffydd, according to the intelligent Mr. Owen, was a distinguished patron of the poets and musicians of his native country, and called several congresses, wherein laws were established for the better regulation of poetry and music, as well as of such as cultivated those sciences. These congresses were open to the people of Wales, as well as of Ireland and Scandinavia, and professors from each country attended: whence what was found peculiar to one people, and worthy of adoption, was received and established in the rest. Hist. Mem. of Irish Bards, p. 103. Cambrian Biogr. p. 145.—*PAGE.*]

† Sir W. Temple's *Essays*, part iv. p. 349.

Nor is it improbable that the Welsh bards^s might have been acquainted with the Scandinavian scalds. I mean before their communications with Armorica, mentioned at large above. The prosody of the Welsh bards depended much on alliteration^h. Hence they seem to have paid an attention to the scaldic versification. The Islandic poets are said to have carried alliteration to the highest pitch of exactness in their earliest periods: whereas the Welsh bards of the sixth century used it but sparingly, and in a very imperfect degree. In this circumstance a proof of imitation, at least of emulation, is impliedⁱ. There are moreover, strong instances of conformity between

⁵ The bards of Britain were originally a constitutional appendage of the druidical hierarchy. In the parish of Llaniidan in the Isle of Anglesey, there are still to be seen the ruins of an arch-druid's mansion, which they call *TRER DREW*, that is the *DRUID'S MANSION*. Near it are marks of the habitations of the separate conventual societies, which were under his immediate orders and inspection. Among these is *TRER BEIRD*, or, as they call it to this day, the *HAMLET OF THE BARDS*. Rowland's *Mona*, p. 83. 88. But so strong was the attachment of the Celtic nations, among which we reckon Britain, to poetry, that, amidst all the changes of government and manners, even long after the order of Druids was extinct, and the national religion altered, the bards, acquiring a sort of civil capacity, and a new establishment, still continued to flourish. And with regard to Britain, the bards flourished most in those parts of it, which most strongly retained their native Celtic character. The Britons living in those countries that were between the Trent or Humber and the Thames, by far the greatest portion of this island, in the midst of the Roman garrisons and colonies, had been so long inured to the customs of the Romans, that they preserved very little of the British; and from this long and habitual intercourse, before the fifth century, they seem to have lost their original language. We cannot discover the slightest trace, in the poems of the bards, the *LIVES* of the British saints, or any other antient monument, that they held any correspondence with the Welsh, the Cornish, the

Cumbrian, or the Strathclyud Britons. Among other British institutions grown obsolete among them, they seem to have lost the use of bards; at least there are no memorials of any they had, nor any of their songs remaining: nor do the Welsh or Cumbrian poets ever touch upon any transactions that passed in those countries, after they were relinquished by the Romans.

And here we see the reason why the Welsh bards flourished so much and so long. But moreover the Welsh, kept in low as they were by the Romans, harassed by the Saxons, and eternally jealous of the attacks, the encroachments, and the neighbourhood of aliens, were on this account attached to their Celtic manners: this situation, and these circumstances, inspired them with a pride and an obstinacy for maintaining a national distinction, and for preserving their ancient usages, among which the bardic profession is so eminent.

^h See vol. ii, p. 148.

1 I am however informed by a very intelligent antiquary in British literature, that there are manifest marks of alliteration in some druidical fragments still remaining, undoubtedly composed before the Britons could have possibly mixed in the smallest degree with any Gothic nation. Rhyme is likewise found in the British poetry at the earliest period, in those druidical triplets called ENGLYN MILWR, or the WARRIOR'S SONG, in which every verse is closed with a consonant syllable. See a metrical Druid oracle in Borlase's Antiquit. Cornwall. B. iii. ch. 5. p. 185. edit. 1769.

the manners of the two nations; which, however, may be accounted for on general principles arising from our comparative observations on rude life. Yet it is remarkable that mead, the northern nectar, or favourite liquor of the Goths^b, who seem to have stamped it with the character of a poetical drink, was no less celebrated among the Welsh^c. The songs of both nations abound with its praises: and it seems in both to have been alike the delight of the warrior and the bard. Taliessin, as Lhuyd informs us, wrote a panegyric ode on this inspiring beverage of the bee; or, as he translates it, *De Mulso seu HYDROMELI*^k. In Hoel Dha's Welsh laws, translated by Wotton, we have, "*In omni convivio in quo MULSUM bibitur*."^l From which passage, it seems to have been served up only at high festivals. By the same constitutions, at every feast in the king's castle-hall, the prefect or marshal of the hall is to receive from the queen, by the hands of the steward, a HORN OF MEAD. It is also ordered, among the privileges annexed to the office of prefect of the royal-hall, that the king's bard shall sing to him as often as he pleases^m. One of the stated officers of the king's household is CONFECTOR MULSI: and this officer, together with the master of the horseⁿ, the master of the hawks, the

^b And of the antient Franks. Gregory of Tours mentions a Frank drinking this liquor; and adds, that he acquired this habit from the BARBAROUS or Frankish nations. Hist. Franc. lib. viii. c. 33. p. 404. ed. 1699. Paris. fol.

^c See vol. ii. p. 264.

^k Tanner Bibl. p. 706.

^l LEG. WALL. L. i. cap. xxiv. p. 45.

^m Ibid. L. i. cap. xii. p. 17.

ⁿ When the king makes a present of a horse, this officer is to receive a fee; but not when the present is made to a bishop, the master of the hawks, or to the Mimus. The latter is exempt, on account of the entertainment he afforded, the court at being presented with a horse by the king: the horse is to be led out of the hall with *capistrum testiculis alligatum*. Ibid. L. i. cap. xvii. p. 31. MIMUS seems here to be a MIMIC, or a gesticulator. Carpentier mentions a "*JOCULATOR qui sciebat TOMBARRE, to tumble*." Cang. Lat. Gloss. Suppl. V.

TOMBARRE. In the Saxon canons given by king Edgar, about the year 960, it is ordered, that no priest shall be a ROYER, or exercise the MIMICAL or histrionical art in any degree, either in public or private. Can. 58. Concil. Spelman, tom. i. p. 455. edit. 1639. fol. In Edgar's Oration to Dunstan, the MIMI, Minstrels, are said both to sing and dance. Ibid. p. 477. Much the same injunction occurs in the Saxon Laws of the NORTHUMBRIAN PRIESTS, given in 988. Cap. xli. ibid. p. 498. MIMUS seems sometimes to have signified THE FOOL. As in Gregory of Tours, speaking of the MIMUS of Miro a king of Gallicia: "*Erat enim MIMUS REGIS, qui ei per VERBA JOCULARIA LÆTITIAM erat solitus EXCITARE. Sed non cum adjuvit aliquis CACHINNUS, neque præstigiis artis suæ*," &c. Gregor. Turonens. MIRACUL. S. Martini. lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 1119. Opp. Paris. 1699. fol. edit. Ruinart.

smith of the palace^o, the royal bard^p, the first musician^q, with some others, have a right to be^r seated in the hall. We have already seen, that the Scandinavian scalds were well known in Ireland: and there is sufficient evidence to prove, that the Welsh bards were early connected with the Irish. Even so late as the eleventh century, the practice continued among the Welsh bards, of receiving instructions in the bardic profession from Ireland. The Welsh bards were reformed and regulated by Gryffyth ap Conan, king of Wales, in the year 1078. At the same time he brought over with him from Ireland many Irish bards, for the information and improvement of the Welsh^s.

^o He is to work free: except for making the king's cauldron, the iron bands, and other furniture for his castle-gate, and the iron-work for his mills. *Lxc. WALL. L. i. cap. xlv. p. 67.*

^p By these constitutions, given about the year 940, the bard of the Welsh kings is a domestic officer. The king is to allow him a horse and a woollen robe; and the queen a linen garment. The prefect of the palace, or governor of the castle, is privileged to sit next him in the hall, on the three principal feast days, and to put the harp into his hand. On the three feast days he is to have the steward's robe for a fee. He is to attend, if the queen desires a song in her chamber. An ox or cow is to be given out of the booty or prey (chiefly consisting of cattle) taken from the English by the king's domestics: and while the prey is dividing, he is to sing the praises of the *Barrian Kings* or *Kingdom*. If, when the king's domestics go out to make depredations, he sings or plays before them, he is to receive the best bullock. When the king's army is in array, he is to sing the *Song of the Barrian Kings*. When invested with his office, the king is to give him a harp, (other constitutions say a chess-board,) and the queen a ring of gold: nor is he to give away the harp on any account. When he goes out of the palace to sing with other bards, he is to receive a double portion of the *largesse* or gratuity. If he ask a gift or favour of the king, he is to be fined by singing an ode or poem: if of a nobleman or chief, three; if of a vassal, he is to sing him to sleep. *Lxc. WALL. L. i.*

cap. xix. p. 35. Mention is made of the bard who gains the *CHAIR* in the hall. *Ibid. Artio. 5.* After a contest of bards in the hall, the bard who gains the chair, is to give the *JUDGE OF THE HALL*, another officer, a horn, (*cornu bubalinum*) a ring, and the cushion of his chair. *Ibid. L. i. cap. xvi. p. 26.* When the king rides out of his castle, five bards are to accompany him. *Ibid. L. i. cap. viii. p. 11.* The *Cornu Bubalinum* may be explained from a passage in a poem, composed about the year 1160, by Owain Cyveiliog prince of Powis, which he entitled *HIRLAS*, from a large drinking-horn so called, used at feasts in his castle-hall. "Pour out, o cup-bearer, sweet and pleasant mead (the spear is red in the time of need) from the horns of wild oxen, covered with gold, to the souls of those departed herpes." *Evans, p. 12.*

By these laws the king's harp is to be worth one hundred and twenty pence: but that of a gentleman, or one not a vassal, sixty pence. The King's chess-board is valued at the same price: and the instrument for fixing or tuning the strings of the king's harp, at twenty-four pence. His drinking-horn, at one pound. *Ibid. L. iii. cap. vii. p. 265.*

^q There are two musicians: the *MUSICUS PRIMARIUS*, who probably was a teacher, and certainly a superintendant over the rest; and the *HALL-MUSICIAN*. *Lxc. ut supr. L. i. cap. xlv. p. 68.*

^r "Jus cathedræ." *Ibid. L. i. cap. x. p. 13.*

^s See Selden, *Drayt. Polytot. S. ix. pag. 156. S. iv. pag. 67. edit. 1613. fol.*

Powell acquaints us, that this prince "brought over with him from Ireland divers cunning musicians into Wales, who devised in a manner all the instrumental music that is now there used: as appeareth, as well by the bookes written of the same, as also by the names of the tunes and measures used among them to this daie'." In Ireland, to kill a bard was highly criminal: and to seize his estate, even for the public service and in time of national distress, was deemed an act of sacrilege*. Thus in the old Welsh laws, whoever even slightly injured a bard, was to be fined six cows and one hundred and twenty pence. The murder of a bard was to be fined one hundred and twenty-six cows". Nor must I pass over, what reflects much light on this reasoning, that the establishment of the household of the old Irish chiefs, exactly resembles that of the Welsh kings. For, besides the bard, the musician, and the smith, they have both a physician, a huntsman, and other corresponding officers*. We must also remember, that an intercourse was necessarily produced between the Welsh and Scandinavians from the piratical irruptions of the latter: their scalds, as I have already remarked, were respected and patronised in the courts of those princes, whose territories were the principal objects of the Danish invasions. Torfaens expressly affirms this of the Anglo-

* Hist. of Cambr. p. 191. edit. 1584.

" Keating's Hist. Ireland, pag. 132.

" LEO. WALL. ut supr. L. i. cap. xix. pag. 35. seq. See also cap. xlv. p. 68. We find the same respect paid to the bard in other constitutions. "QUI HAR- PATOREM, &c. Whoever shall strike a HARPER who can harp in a public assembly, shall compound with him by a composition of four times more, than for any other man of the same condition." Legg. Ripuariorum et Wesinorum. Lindenbroch. Cod. LL. Antiq. Wiggoth. etc. A. D. 613. Tit. 5. § ult.

The caliphs, and other eastern potentates, had their bards: whom they treated with equal respect. Sir John Maundeville, who travelled in 1340, says, that when the emperor of Cathay, or great Chaga of Tartary, is seated at dinner in high pomp with his lords, "no man is

so hardi to speak to him except it be *MUACIAW to salute the emperor*." chap. lxxvii. p. 100. Here is another proof of the correspondence between the eastern and northern customs: and this instance might be brought as an argument of the bardic institution being fetched from the east. Leo Afer mentions the *Poete curie* of the Caliph's court at Bagdad, about the year 990. De Med. et Philoe. Arab. cap. iv. Those poets were in most repute among the Arabians, who could speak extemporaneously verses to the Caliph. Euseb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xlii. p. 349. Thomsen, in the *Castle of Indolence*, mentions the *BARD* in waiting being introduced to lull the Caliph asleep. And Maundeville mentions *MUACIAW* as established officers in the court of the emperor of Cathay.

* See Temple, ubi supr. p. 346.

Saxon and Irish kings; and it is at least probable, that they were entertained with equal regard by the Welsh princes, who so frequently concurred with the Danes in distressing the English. It may be added, that the Welsh, although living in a separate and detached situation, and so strongly prejudiced in favour of their own usages, yet from neighbourhood, and unavoidable communications of various kinds, might have imbibed the ideas of the Scandinavian bards from the Saxons and Danes, after those nations had occupied and overspread all the other parts of our island.

Many pieces of the Scottish bards are still remaining in the highlands of Scotland. Of these a curious specimen, and which considered in a more extensive and general respect, is a valuable monument of the poetry of a rude period, has lately been given to the world, under the title of the *WORKS OF OSSIAN*. It is indeed very remarkable, that in these poems, the terrible graces, which so naturally characterise, and so generally constitute, the early poetry of a barbarous people, should so frequently give place to a gentler set of manners, to the social sensibilities of polished life, and a more civilised and elegant species of imagination. Nor is this circumstance, which disarranges all our established ideas concerning the savage stages of society, easily to be accounted for, unless we suppose, that the Celtic tribes, who were so strongly addicted to poetical composition, and who made it so much their study from the earliest times, might by degrees have attained a higher vein of poetical refinement, than could at first sight or on common principles be expected among nations, whom we are accustomed to call barbarous; that some few instances of an elevated strain of friendship, of love, and other sentimental feelings, existing in such nations, might lay the foundation for introducing a set of manners among the bards, more refined and exalted than the real manners of the country: and that panegyrics on those virtues, transmitted with improvements from bard to bard, must at length have formed characters of ideal excellence, which might propagate among the people real manners bordering on

the poetical. These poems, however, notwithstanding the difference between the Gothic and the Celtic rituals, contain many visible vestiges of Scandinavian superstition. The allusions in the songs of Ossian to spirits, who preside over the different parts and direct the various operations of nature, who send storms over the deep, and rejoice in the shrieks of the shipwrecked mariner, who call down lightning to blast the forest or cleave the rock, and diffuse irresistible pestilence among the people, beautifully conducted indeed, and heightened, under the skilful hand of a master bard, entirely correspond with the Runic system, and breathe the spirit of its poetry. One fiction in particular, the most EXTRAVENT in all Ossian's poems, is founded on an essential article of the Runic belief. It is where Fingal fights with the spirit of Loda. Nothing could aggrandise Fingal's heroism more highly than this marvellous encounter. It was esteemed among the antient Danes the most daring act of courage to engage with a ghost¹. Had Ossian found it convenient to have introduced religion into his compositions²,

¹ Bartholin. *De Contemptu Mortis* apud Dan. L. ii. c. 2. p. 258. And *ibid.* p. 260. There are many other marks of Gothic customs and superstitions in Ossian. The fashion of marking the sepulchres of their chiefs with circles of stones, corresponds with what Olaus Wormius relates of the Danes. *Monum. Danic. Hafn. 1684.* p. 38. See also *Ol. Magn. Hist. xvi. 2.* In the *HEVARAR SAGA*, the sword of Suarfulama is forged by the dwarfs, and called Tírfing. *Hickes, vol. i. p. 193.* So Fingal's sword was made by an enchanter, and was called the son of LUNO. And, what is more, this Luno was the Vulcan of the north, lived in Juteland, and made complete suits of armour for many of the Scandinavian heroes. See *TEMORA, B. vii. p. 159.* *OSSIAN, vol. ii. edit. 1765.* Hence the bards of both countries made him a celebrated enchanter. By the way, the names of sword-smiths were thought worthy to be recorded in history. *Hoveden* says, that when Geoffrey of Plantagenet was knighted, they brought him a sword from the royal

treasure, where it had been laid up from old times, "being the workmanship of GALAN, the most excellent of all sword-smiths." *Hoved. f. 444. ii. Saxr. 50.* The mere mechanic, who is only mentioned as a skilful artist in history, becomes a magician or a preternatural being in romance.

[The sword-smith here recorded, is the hero of the *Volundar-quitha* in *Semund's Edda*. He is called *Weland* in the poem of *Beowulf*; *Welond* by king *Alfred* in his translation of *Boethius*; and *Guilandos* by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Mr. *Ellis* affirms that he is also spoken of in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. This has escaped me; but it is to this circumstance, perhaps, that we are indebted for the introduction of his name in the novel of *Kenilworth*.—*ENR.*]

² This perplexing and extraordinary circumstance, I mean the absence of all religious ideas from the poems of Ossian, is accounted for by Mr. *Macpherson* with much address. See *DISSERTATION* prefixed, vol. i. p. viii. ix. edit. 1765.

not only a new source had been opened to the sublime, in describing the rites of sacrifice, the horrors of incantation, the solemn evocations of infernal beings, and the like dreadful superstitions, but probably many stronger and more characteristic evidences would have appeared, of his knowledge of the imagery of the Scandinavian poets.

Nor must we forget, that the Scandinavians had conquered many countries bordering upon France in the fourth century^a. Hence the Franks must have been in some measure used to their language, well acquainted with their manners, and conversant in their poetry. Charlemagne is said to have delighted in repeating the most antient and barbarous odes, which celebrated the battles of antient kings^b. But we are not informed whether these were Scandinavian, Celtic, or Teutonic poems.

See also the elegant CRITICAL DISSERTATION of the very judicious Dr. Blair, vol. ii. p. 379.

^a Hickee. Thes. i. part ii. p. 4.

^b Eginhart. cap. viii. n. 34. Bartholin. i. c. 10. p. 154. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls, who were Celts, delivered the spoils won in battle, yet reeking with blood, to their attendants: these were carried in triumph, while an epinical song was chanted, *κατακταῖς δ' ἀδωκὶς ἴμωσιν ἰνίκιον*. Lib. 5. p. 352. See also p. 308. "The Celts, says Ælian, I hear, are the most enterprising of men: they make those warriors who die bravely in fight the subject of songs, *καὶ τῶν ἀσπιδότων*." Var. Hist. Lib. xxii. c. 23. Posidonius gives us a specimen of the manner of a Celtic bard. He reports, that Luernius, a Celtic chief, was accustomed, out of a desire of popularity, to gather crouds of his people together, and to throw them gold and silver from his chariot. Once he was attended at a sumptuous banquet by one of their bards, who received in reward for his song a purse of gold. On this the bard renewed his song, adding, to express his patron's excessive generosity, this hyperbolic panegyric, "The earth over which his chariot-wheels pass, instantly brings forth gold and precious gifts to enrich mankind." Athen. vi. 184.

Tacitus says, that Arminius, the con-

queror of Varus, "is yet sung among the barbarous nations." That is, probably among the original Germans. Annal. ii. And Mor. Germ. ii. 3. Joannes Aventinus, a Bavarian, who wrote about the year 1520, has a curious passage, "A great number of verses in praise of the virtues of Attila, are still extant among us, *patrio sermone more majorum perscripta*." Annal. Boior. L. ii. p. 130. edit. 1627. He immediately adds, "Nam et adhuc vulgo CANITUR, et est popularibus nostris, et si LITTERARUM RUDIBUS, notissimus." Again, speaking of Alexander the Great, he says, "Boios eidem bellum indixisse ANTIQUIS CANITUR CARMINIBUS." *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 25. Concerning king Brennus, says the same historian, "*Carmina vernaculo sermone facta legi in bibliothecis*." *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 16. and p. 26. And again, of Ingeram, Adalagerion, and others of their ancient heroes, "Ingerami et Adalagerionis nomina frequentissime in fastis referuntur; ipsos, more majorum, *antiquis proavi celebrant carminibus*, quæ in bibliothecis extant. Subsequuntur, quos patrio sermone *adhuc canimus*, Laertes atque Ulysses." *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 15. The same historian also relates, that his countrymen had a poetical history called the Book of Hæroes, containing the achievements of the German warriors. *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 18.

About the beginning of the tenth century, France was invaded by the Normans, or **NORTHERN-MEN**, an army of ad-

See also *ibid.* Lib. vii. p. 432. Lib. i. p. 9. And many other passages to this purpose. [The reader who is desirous of further information on this copious subject, may consult Mr. von der Hagen's republication of the "*Helden-buch*," or his "*Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie*."—*Err.*] Sufferidus Petrus cites some old Frisian rhymes, *De Orig. Frisior.* l. iii. c. 2. Compare Robertson's *Hist.* Charles V. vol. i. p. 235. edit. 1772. From Trithemius a German abbot and historian, who wrote about 1480, we learn, that among the ancient Franks and Germans, it was an exercise in the education of youth, for them to learn to repeat and to sing verses of the achievements of their heroes. *Compend. Annal.* l. i. p. 11. edit. Francof. 1601. Probably these were the poems which Charlemagne is said to have committed to memory.

The most ancient Theotic or Teutonic ode I know, is an Epinicion published by Schilter, in the second volume of his *THESAURUS ANTIQUITATUM TEUTONICARUM*, written in the year 883. He entitles it *ΕΠΙΘΗΚΙΟΝ ρυθμῷ Τευτονικῷ Λυδοβίκο regi acclamatum cum Northmannorum Decēterxxiiii vicisset*. It is in rhyme, and in the four-lined stanza. It was transcribed by Mabillon from a manuscript in the monastery of Saint Amand in Holland. I will give a specimen from Schilter's Latin interpretation, but not on account of the merit of the poetry. "The king seized his shield and lance, galloping hastily. He truly wished to revenge himself on his adversaries. Nor was there a long delay: he found the Normans. He said, thanks be to God, at seeking what he desired. The king rushed on boldly, he first began the customary song [rather, the holy song, *Koth froso*] *Kyrie eleison*, in which they all joined. The song was sung, the battle begun. The blood appeared in the cheeks of the impatient Franks. Every soldier took his revenge, but none like Louis, impetuous, bold," &c. As to the military chorus *Kyrie eleison*, it appears to have been used by the christian campers before an engagement.

See Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* ii. c. 4. Vossius, *Theolog. Gentil.* l. c. 2. 3. Matth. Brouerius de Nieclek, *De Populor. vet. et recent. Adorationibus*, p. 31. And, among the ancient Norwegians, Erlingus Scacchius, before he attacked earl Sigund, commanded his army to pronounce this formula aloud, and to strike their shields. See Dolmerus ad *HIRD-SKRÅAN*, sive *Jus Audieum antiq. Norvegic.* p. 51. p. 413. edit. Hafn. 1673. Engelhusius, in describing a battle with the Huns in the year 934, relates, that the christians at the onset cried *Kyrie eleison*, but on the other side, *diabolica vox huius, huius, auditur*. *Chronic.* p. 1073. in tom. ii. *Scriptor. Brun.* Leibnit. Compare *Bed. Hist. Eccles. Anglican.* lib. ii. c. 20. And Schilterus, *ubi sup.* p. 17. And *Serbiev. Od.* 1. 24. The Greek church appears to have had a set of military hymns, probably for the use of the soldiers, either in battle or in the camp. In a Catalogue of the manuscripts of the library of Berne, there is "*Sylloge Taciticorum, Leonis Imperatoris cui opus finem imponunt HYMNI MILITARES quibus iste titulus, ΑΝΑΛΗΤΗ ΦΑΛΛΑΚΙΔΕΣ ΤΩΙ ΝΕΥΜΩΔΩΝΙ 2. ΤΥΡΡΑΧΙΩΙ ΕΡΕΤΕΤΑ*," &c. *Catal. Cod. &c.* p. 600. See Meursius's edit. of *Leo's Tacrica*, c. xii. p. 155. *Lugd. Bat.* 1612. 4to. But to return to the main subject of this tedious note. Wagenseil, in a letter to Cuperus, mentions a treatise written by one Ernest Casimir Wassenback, I suppose a German, with this title, "*De Bardis ac Barditu, sive antiquis Carminibus ac Cantilenis veterum Germanorum Dissertatio, cui junctus est de S. Annone Coloniensi archiepiscopo vetustissimus omnium Germanorum rhythmus et monumentum*." See *Polen. Supplem. Thesaur.* Gronov. et Græv. tom. iv. p. 24. I do not think it was ever published. See *Joach. Swabius, de Semnothis veterum Germanorum philosophia*, p. 8. And *Secr. i. Infr.* p. 8. Pelloutier, *sur la Lang. Celt.* part. i. tom. i. ch. xii. p. 20. [Mr. Warton in this note refers to Vossius; but that author does not speak of the *Kyrie eleison* as a war-cry, but merely as a common invocation to the Deity

venturers from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. And although the conquerors, especially when their success does not solely depend on superiority of numbers, usually assume the manners of the conquered, yet these strangers must have still further familiarised in France many of their northern fictions.

From this general circulation in these and other countries, and from that popularity which it is natural to suppose they must have acquired, the scaldic inventions might have taken deep root in Europe^c. At least they seem to have prepared the way for the more easy admission of the Arabian fabling about the ninth century, by which they were, however, in great measure, superseded. The Arabian fictions were of a more splendid nature, and better adapted to the increasing civility of the times. Less horrible and gross, they had a novelty, a variety, and a magnificence, which carried with them the charm of fascination. Yet it is probable, that many of the scaldic imaginations might have been blended with the Arabian. In the mean time, there is great reason to believe, that the Gothic scalds enriched their vein of fabling from this new and fruitful source of fiction, opened by the Arabians in Spain, and afterwards propagated by the crusades. It was in many respects congenial with their own^d: and the northern bards, who visited

among the christians.—Douch.]—[But Warton is perfectly correct as to the fact, though he may have misquoted his authority: "*Kyrie elison* cantantes more fidelium militum properantium ad bellum, saliendo ingressi sunt Rhenum."—*Misc.* S. Verena, tom. i. Sept. p. 170. col. 2. Carpentier in vocæ.—Bede records a similar practice. "Tunc subito Germanos signifer universos admonet et prædicat, ut voci sue uno clamore responderent securisque hostibus qui se insperatos adese confiderent ALLELUIA tertio repetitum Sacerdotes exclamabant. Sequitur una vox omnium et elatum clamorem repercusso aere montium conclusionem multiplicat" &c. Bede, Lib. i. Eccl. Hist. Anglæ. cap. xx. But see Schiller's notes to this Epiphonion, v. 94; where other authorities are cited.—Edit.]

We must be careful to distinguish be-

tween the poetry of the Scandinavians; the Teutonica, and the Celts. As most of the Celtic and Teutonic nations were early converted to christianity, it is hard to find any of their native songs. But I must except the poems of Ossian, which are noble and genuine remains of the Celtic poetry.

^c Of the long continuance of the Celtic superstitions in the popular belief, see what is said in the most elegant and judicious piece of criticism which the present age has produced, Mrs. Montague's *ESSAY ON SHAKESPEARE*. p. 146. edit. 1772.

^d Besides the general wildness of the imagery in both, among other particular circumstances of coincidence which might be mentioned here, the practice of giving names to swords, which we find in the scaldic poems, occurs also among

the countries where these new fancies were spreading, must have been naturally struck with such wonders, and were certainly fond of picking up fresh embellishments, and new strokes of the marvellous, for augmenting and improving their stock of poetry. The earliest scald now on record is not before the year 750. From which time the scalds flourished in the northern countries, till below the year 1157^e. The celebrated ode of Regner Lodbrog was composed about the end of the ninth century^f.

And that this hypothesis is partly true, may be concluded from the subjects of some of the old Scandic romances, manuscripts of which now remain in the royal library at Stockholm. The titles of a few shall serve for a specimen; which I will make no apology for giving at large. "SAGAN AF HIALMTER OC OLWER. The History of Hialmter king of Sweden, son of a Syrian princess, and of Olver Jarl. Containing their expeditions into Hunland, and Arabia, with their numerous encounters with the Vikings and the giants. Also their leagues

the Arabians. In the HERVARAR SAGA, the sword of Suarfulama is called TRYFING. Hickes. Thes. i. p. 193. The names of swords of many of the old northern chiefs are given us by Olaus Wormius, Lit. Run. cap. xix. p. 110. 4to ed. Thus, Herbelot recites a long catalogue of the names of the swords of the most famous Arabian and Persic warriors. V. SAIF. p. 736. b. Mahomet had nine swords, all which are named. As were also his bows, quivers, cuirasses, helmets, and lances. His swords were called *The Piercing, Ruin, Death, &c.* Mod. Univ. Hist. i. p. 253. This is common in the romance-writers and Ariosto. Mahomet's horses had also pompous or heroic appellations. Such as *The Swift, The Thunderer, Shaking the earth with his hoof, The Red, &c.* As likewise his mules, asses, and camels. Horses were named in this manner among the Runic heroes. See Ol. Worm. ut supr. p. 110. Odin's horse was called SKIFNER. See EDDA Island. fab. xxi. I could give other proofs. But we have already wandered too far, in what Spenser calls, *this delightful londe of Faerie*. Yet I must

add, that from one, or both, of these sources, king Arthur's sword is named in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. ix. cap. 11. Ron is also the name of his lance. ibid. cap. 4. And Turpin calls Charlemagne's sword *Gaudiosa*. See Obs. Spens. i. §. vi. p. 214. By the way, from these correspondencies, an argument might be drawn, to prove the oriental origin of the Goths. And some perhaps may think them proofs of the doctrine just now suggested in the text, that the scalds borrowed from the Arabians.

[See a very curious description of Gaileon's sword Duransard in the romance of "La plaisante et delectable Histoire de Gerileon d'Angleterre," Paris 1572. p. 47. A sword of a most enormous size is related by Froissart to have been used by Archibald Douglas. See Lib. ii. c. 10.—Douce.]

[See also Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, p. 71.—EDIT.]

^e Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 241.

^f Id. Ibid. p. 196. Vid. infr. p. 61. note ^o.

with Alsola, daughter of Ringer king of *Arabia*, afterwards married to Hervor king of Hunland, &c.—SAGAN AF SIOD. The History of Siod, son of Ridgare king of England; who first was made king of England, afterwards of *Babylon* and *Niniveh*. Comprehending various occurrences in Saxland, *Babylon*, *Greece*, *Africa*, and especially in Eirice^c the region of the giants.—SAGAN AF ALEFLECK. The History of Alefleck, a king of England, and of his expeditions into *India* and *Tartary*.—SAGAN AF ERIK WIDFORLA. The History of Eric the traveller, who, with his companion Eric, a Danish prince, undertook a wonderful journey to Odin's Hall, or Oden's Aker, near the river *Pison* in *India*^d. Here we see the circle of the Islandic poetry enlarged; and the names of countries and cities belonging to another quarter of the globe, *Arabia*, *India*, *Tartary*, *Syria*, *Greece*, *Babylon*, and *Niniveh*, intermixed with those of *Hunland*, *Sweden*, and *England*, and adopted into the northern romantic narratives. Even Charlemagne and Arthur, whose histories, as we have already seen, had been so lavishly decorated by the Arabian fablers, did not escape the Scandinavian scalds^e. Accordingly we find these subjects among their Sagas. "SAGAN AF ERIK EINGLANDS KAPPE. The History of Eric, son of king Hiac, king Arthur's chief wrestler.—HISTORICAL RHYMES of king Arthur, containing his league with Charlemagne.—SAGAN AF IVENT. The History of Ivent, king Arthur's principal champion, containing his battles with the giants^f.—SAGAN AF KARLAMAGNUSE

^c In the Latin *EIRICÆA REGIONE*. f. Erice or Irish land.

^d Wanley, apud Hickee, iii. p. 314. seq.

^e It is amazing how early and how universally this fable was spread. G. de la Flamma says, that in the year 1339, an ancient tomb of a king of the Lombards was broke up in Italy. On his sword was written, "C'el est l'espee de Meser Tristant, un qui occist l'Amoroyt d'Yrlant."—i. e. "This is the sword of sir Tristram, who killed Amoroyt of Ireland." SCRIPT. ITAL. tom. xii. 1028. The Ger-

mans are said to have some very antient narrative songs on our old British heroes, Tristram, Gawain, and the rest of the knights *Von der Tufel-ronde*. See Goldast. Not. Vit. Carol. Magn. p. 207. edit. 1711.

^f They have also, "BREXOMANNA SAGA, The History of the Britons, from Eneas the Trojan to the emperor Constantius." Wanl. ibid. There are many others, perhaps of later date, relating to English history, particularly the history of William the Bastard and other christians, in their expedition into the holy

OF HOPPUM HANS. *The History of Charlemagne, of his champions, and captains.* Containing all his actions in several parts.

1. Of his birth and coronation: and the combat of Carvetus king of Babylon, with Oddegir the Dane¹. 2. Of Aglandus king of Africa, and of his son Jatmund, and their wars in Spain with Charlemagne. 3. Of Roland, and his combat with Vilaline king of Spain. 4. Of Ottuel's conversion to christianity, and his marriage with Charlemagne's daughter. 5. Of Hugh king of Constantinople, and the memorable exploits of his champions. 6. Of the wars of Ferracute king of Spain. 7. Of Charlemagne's achievements in Rouncevalles, and of his death². In another of the Sagas, Jarl, a magician, of Saxland, exhibits his feats of necromancy before Charlemagne. We learn from Olaus Magnus, that Roland's magical horn, of which archbishop Turpin relates such wonders, and among others that it might be heard at the distance of twenty miles, was frequently celebrated in the songs of the Islandic bards³. It is not likely that these pieces, to say no more, were not composed till the Scandinavian tribes had been converted to christianity; that is, as I have before observed, about the close of the tenth century. These barbarians had an infinite and a national contempt for the christians, whose religion inculcated a spirit of peace, gentleness, and civility; qualities so dissimilar to those of their

land. The history of the destruction of the monasteries in England, by William Rufus. Wanl. *ibid*.

[It will perhaps be superfluous to remark, that all the Sagas mentioned in the text, are the production of an age long subsequent to the reign of William Rufus.—EDR.]

In the history of the library at Upsal, I find the following articles, which are left to the conjectures of the curious enquirer. *Historia Biblioth. Upsaliens. per Celsium. Ups. 1745. 8vo. pag. 88. Artic. vii. Variæ Britannorum fabulæ, quas in carmine conversas olim, atque in conviviis ad citharam decantari solitas fuisse, perhibent. Sunt autem relationes de GUAMARO equite Britanniae meridionalis Æskeliod Britannis veteribus dictæ. De Nobilium duorum conjugi-*

bus gemellos enixis; et id genus alia.

—pag. 87. Artic. v. *Drama ætius fol. in membran. Res continet amatorias, olim, ad jocum concitandum Islandica lingua scriptum.*—*ibid. Artic. vii. The history of Duke Julianus, son of S. Giles. Containing many things of Earl William and Rosamund. In the antient Islandic. See OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAIRY QUEEN, l. p. 203. 204. §. vi.*

¹ Mabillon thinks, that Turpin first called this hero a Dane. But this notion is refuted by Bartholinus, *Antiq. Danic. ii. 13. p. 578.* His old Gothic sword, *SPATHA*, and iron shield, are still preserved and shewn in a monastery of the north. Bartholin. *ibid. p. 579.*

² Wanley, *ut supr. p. 314.*

³ See *infr. Sect. iii. p. 136.*

own ferocious and warlike disposition, and which they naturally interpreted to be the marks of cowardice and pusillanimity^o. It has, however, been urged, that as the irruption of the Normans into France, under their leader Rollo, did not take place till towards the beginning of the tenth century, at which period the scaldic art was arrived to the highest perfection in Rollo's native country, we can easily trace the descent of the French and English romances of chivalry from the Northern Sagas. It is supposed, that Rollo carried with him many scalds from the north, who transmitted their skill to their children and successors: and that these, adopting the religion, opinions, and language, of the new country, substituted the heroes of christendom, instead of those of their pagan ancestors, and began to celebrate the feats of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver, whose true history they set off and embellished with the scaldic figments of dwarfs, giants, dragons, and enchantments^p. There is, however, some reason to believe, that these fictions were current among the French long before; and, if the principles advanced in the former part of this dissertation be true, the fables adhering to Charlemagne's real history must be referred to another source.

Let me add, that the enchantments of the Runic poetry are very different from those in our romances of chivalry. The former chiefly deal in spells and charms, such as would preserve from poison, blunt the weapons of an enemy, procure victory, allay a tempest, cure bodily diseases, or call the dead from their tombs: in uttering a form of mysterious words, or inscribing Runic characters. The magicians of romance are

^o Regner Lodbrog, in his DYING ODE, speaking of a battle fought against the christians, says, in ridicule of the eucharist, "There we celebrated a Mass [*Missa, Island.*] of weapons."

[As the narrative of this ode is couched in the first person, it was for a long time considered to be Regner's own production. A more sober spirit of criticism afterwards referred it to Bragi hinn gammal, who was said to have written it at

the request of Aslaug, Lodbrog's widow. But Mr. Erichsen, the learned and judicious editor of the Royal Mirror and Gunlaug Ormstunga Saga, selected this very expression (*odda messu*) as a proof of its later origin, and of the author being a Christian. It is now usually assigned to the close of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.—EHRH.]

^p Percy's Ess. Metr. Rom. p. viii.

chiefly employed in forming and conducting a train of deceptions. There is an air of barbaric horror in the incantations of the scaldic fablers: the magicians of romance often present visions of pleasure and delight; and, although not without their alarming terrors, sometimes lead us through flowery forests, and raise up palaces glittering with gold and precious stones. The Runic magic is more like that of Canidia in Horace, the romantic resembles that of Armida in Tasso. The operations of the one are frequently but mere tricks, in comparison of that sublime solemnity of necromantic machinery which the other so awefully displays.

It is also remarkable, that in the earlier scaldic odes, we find but few dragons, giants, and fairies*. These were introduced afterwards, and are the progeny of Arabian fancy. Nor indeed do these imaginary beings often occur in any of the compositions which preceded the introduction of that species of fabling. On this reasoning, the Irish tale-teller mentioned above, could not be a lineal descendant of the elder Irish bards. The absence of giants and dragons, and let me add, of many other traces of that fantastic and brilliant imagery which composes the system of Arabian imagination, from the poems of Ossian, are a striking proof of their antiquity. It has already been suggested, at what period, and from what origin, those fancies got footing in the Welsh poetry: we do not find them in the odes of Taliessin or Aneurin^a. This reasoning explains an

* [With the exception of the "fairies," this is strikingly incorrect. The Edda and Beowulf, the earliest remains of Northern poetry, make frequent mention of giants (Jotna-kyn, Eotena-cyn, the Eteas-kin) and dragons. The latter speaks of both land and sea dragons, (eord-draca, see-draca, earth-drake, sea-drake.)

^a Who flourished about the year 570. He has left a long spirited poem called *Gomeru*, often alluded to by the later Welsh bards, which celebrates a battle fought against the Saxons near Catt-ræth, under the conduct of Mynyddaw Eiddin, in which all the Britons, three

only excepted, among which was the bard Aneurin himself, were slain. I will give a specimen. "The men whose drink was mead, comely in shape, hastened to Catt-ræth. These impetuous warriors in ranks, armed with red spears, long and beading, began the battle. Might I speak my revenge against the people of the Deiri, I would overwhelm them, like a deluge, in one slaughter: for unheeding I have lost a friend, who was brave in resisting his enemies. I drank of the wine and mead of Mordai, whose spear was of huge size. In the shock of the battle, he prepared food for the eagle. When Cydwal hastened forward, a shout

observation of an ingenious critic in this species of literature, and who has studied the works of the Welsh bards with much attention. "There are not such extravagant FLIGHTS in any poetic compositions, except it be in the EASTERN; to which, as far as I can judge by the few translated specimens I have seen, they bear a near resemblance¹." I will venture to say he does not meet with these flights in the elder Welsh bards. The beautiful romantic fiction, that king Arthur, after being wounded in the fatal battle of Camlan, was conveyed by an Elfin princess into the land of Faery, or spirits, to be healed of his wounds, that he reigns there still as a mighty potentate in all his pristine splendour, and will one day return to resume his throne in Britain, and restore the solemnities of his champions, often occurs in the antient Welsh bards². But not in the most an-

arose: before the yellow morning, when he gave the signal, he broke the shield into small splinters. The men hastened to Cattraeth, noble in birth: their drink was wine and mead out of golden cups. There were three hundred and sixty-three adorned with chains of gold; but of those who, filled with wine, rushed on to the fight, only three escaped, who bewed their way with the sword, the warrior of Acron, Conan Dacarawd, and I the bard Aneurin, red with blood, otherwise I should not have survived to compose this song. When Caradoc hastened to the war, he was the son of a wild boar, in hewing down the Saxons; a bull in the conflict of fight, he twisted the wood [spear] from their hands. Gu-rien saw not his father after he had lifted the glistening mead in his hand. I praise all the warriors who thus met in the battle, and attacked the foe with one mind. Their life was short, but they have left a long regret to their friends. Yet of the Saxons they slew more than seven There was many a mother shedding tears. The song is due to thee who hast attained the highest glory: thou who wast like fire, thunder and storm: O Rudd Fedell, warlike champion, excellent in might, you still think of the war. The noble chiefs deserve to be celebrated in verse, who after the fight made the rivers to overflow their banks

with blood. Their hands glutted the throats of the dark-brown eagles, and skilfully prepared food for the ravenous birds. Of all the chiefs who went to Cattraeth with golden chains," &c. This poem is extremely difficult to be understood, being written, if not in the Pictish language, at least in a dialect of the Britons very different from the modern Welsh. See the learned and ingenious Mr. Evans's DISSERTATIO DE BARDIS, p. 68—75.

¹ Evans, ubi *supr.* Pref. p. iv.

² The Arabians call the Fairies *Ginn*, and the Persians *Peri*. The former call Fairy-land, *Ginnistan*, many beautiful cities of which they have described in their fabulous histories. See Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. GIAN. p. 306. a. GENN. p. 375. a. PERI. p. 701. b. They pretend that the fairies built the city of Esthekar, or Persepolis. Id. in V. p. 327. a. One of the most eminent of the Oriental fairies was MERGIAN PERI, or *Mergian the Fairy*. Herbel. ut *supr.* V. PERI. p. 702. a. THAHAMURATH, p. 1017. a. This was a good fairy, and imprisoned for ages in a cavern by the giant Demrusch, from which she was delivered by Thahamurath, whom she afterwards assisted in conquering another giant, his enemy. Id. *ibid.* And this is the fairy or elfin queen, called in the French romances MORGAIN LE FAY,

tient. It is found in the compositions of the Welsh bards only, who flourished after the native vein of British fabling had been tinctured by these FAIRY TALES, which the Arabians had propagated in Armorica, and which the Welsh had received from their connexion with that province of Gaul. Such a fiction as this is entirely different from the cast and complexion of the ideas of the original Welsh poets. It is easy to collect from the Welsh odes, written after the tenth century, many signatures of this EXOTIC imagery. Such as, "Their assault was like strong lions. He is valourous as a lion, who can resist his lance? The dragon of Mona's sons were so brave in fight, that there was horrible consternation, and upon Tal Moelvre a thousand banners. Our lion has brought to Trallwng three armies. A dragon he was from the beginning, unterrified in battle. A dragon of Ovain. Thou art a prince firm in battle, like an elephant. Their assault was as of strong lions. The lion of Cemais fierce in the onset, when the army rusheth to be covered with red. He saw Llewellyn like a burning dragon in the strife of Arson. He is furious in fight like an outrageous dragon. Like the roaring of a furious lion, in the search of prey, is thy thirst of praise." Instead of producing more proofs from the multitude that might be mentioned, for the sake of illustration of our argument, I will contrast these with some of their natural unadulterated thoughts. "Fetch the drinking-horn, whose gloss is like the wave of the sea. Tudor is like a wolf rushing on his prey. They were all covered with blood when they returned, and the high hills and the dales enjoyed the sun equally¹. O thou virgin, that shinest like the snow on the brows of Aran²: like the fine spiders webs on the grass on a summer's day. The army at Offa's dike panted for glory, the soldiers of Venedotia, and the men of London, were as the alternate motion of the waves on

Morgain the fairy, who preserved king Arthur. See Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. 63. 65. §. ii.

¹ A beautiful periphrasis for noon-day, and extremely natural in so moun-

tainous a country as Wales. This circumstance of time added to the merit of the action.

² The high mountains in Merionethshire.

the sea-shore, where the sea-mew screams. The hovering crows were numberless: the ravens croaked, they were ready to suck the prostrate carcasses. His enemies are scattered as leaves on the side of hills driven by hurricanes. He is a warrior like a surge on the beach that covers the wild salmons. Her eye was piercing like that of the hawk⁷: her face shone like the pearly dew on Eryri⁸. Llewellyn is a hero who setteth castles on fire. I have watched all night on the beach, where the sea-gulls, whose plumes glitter, sport on the bed of billows; and where the herbage, growing in a solitary place, is of a deep green⁹." These images are all drawn from their own country, from their situation and circumstances; and, although highly poetical, are in general of a more sober and temperate colouring. In a word, not only that elevation of allusion, which many suppose to be peculiar to the poetry of Wales, but that fertility of fiction, and those marvellous fables recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth, which the generality of readers, who do not sufficiently attend to the origin of that historian's romantic materials, believe to be the genuine offspring of the Welsh poets, are of foreign growth. And, to return to the ground of this argument, there is the strongest reason to suspect, that even the Gothic EDDA, or system of poetic mythology of the northern nations, is enriched with those higher strokes of oriental imagination, which the Arabians had communicated to the Europeans. Into this extravagant tissue of unmeaning allegory, false philosophy, and false theology, it was easy to incorporate their most wild and romantic conceptions¹⁰.

⁷ See *infr.* Sect. xiii. vol. ii. p. 216.

⁸ Mountains of snow, from *Eiry*, snow.

⁹ See Evans, *ubi* *supr.* p. 8. 10, 11, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42. And his *Diss. de Bard.* p. 84. Compare Aneurin's ode, cited above.

¹⁰ Huet is of opinion, that the EDDA is entirely the production of Snorro's fancy. But this is saying too much. See *Orig. Roman.* p. 116. The first Edda was compiled, undoubtedly with many additions and interpolations, from fictions

and traditions in the old Runic poems, by Samund Sigfusson, surnamed the Learned, [*Sage*] about the year 1057. He seems to have made it his business to select or digest into one body such of these pieces as were best calculated to furnish a collection of poetic phrases and figures. He studied in Germany, and chiefly at Cologne. This first Edda being not only prolix, but perplexed and obscure, a second, which is that now extant, was compiled by Snorro Sturleson, born in the year 1179.

[This has been copied from Mallet,

It must be confessed, that the ideas of chivalry, the appendage and the subject of romance, subsisted among the Goths. But this must be understood under certain limitations. There is no peculiarity which more strongly discriminates the manners of the Greeks and Romans from those of modern times, than that small degree of attention and respect with which those nations treated the fair sex, and that inconsiderable share which they were permitted to take in conversation, and the general commerce of life. For the truth of this observation, we need only appeal to the classic writers: in which their women appear to have been devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity. One is surprised that barbarians should be greater masters of complaisance than the most polished people that ever existed. No sooner was the Roman empire overthrown, and the Goths had overpowered Europe, than we find the female character assuming an unusual importance and authority, and distinguished with new privileges, in all the European governments established by the northern conquerors. Even amidst the confusions of savage war, and among the almost incredible enormities committed by the Goths at their invasion of the empire, they forbore to offer any violence to the women. This perhaps is one of the most striking features in the new state of manners, which took place about the seventh century: and it

who seems only to have seen the Edda of Snorro as published by Resenius. The Edda of Samund has since been published at Copenhagen by the Arnamagnæan Commission. The labours of Samund were confined to collecting the mythological and historical songs of his country, which he probably prefaced and interspersed with a few remarks in prose;—those of Snorro, to reducing the same or a similar collection into a more intelligible and connected prose narrative. The object of Samund appears to have been, the formation of a poetic Anthology, rather than a regular series of mythic and historic documents;—that of Snorro, to offer a general outline of the Northern mythology. The Rev. P. Erasmus Müller, in his tract "*Ueber die Asalehre*," has

successfully vindicated Snorro from the charge of palming upon the world his own inventions as the religious code of the North. It should however be remarked, that tradition alone or very recent manuscripts attribute the formation of the first collection to Samund. This does not rest on certain testimony.—[Edda.]

It is certain, and very observable, that in the Edda we find much more of giants, dragons, and other imaginary beings, undoubtedly belonging to Arabian romance, than in the earlier Scaldic odes. By the way, there are many strokes in both the EDDAS taken from the REVELATIONS of Saint John, which must come from the compilers who were Christians.

is to this period, and to this people, that we must refer the origin of gallantry in Europe. The Romans never introduced these sentiments into their European provinces.

The Goths believed some divine and prophetic quality to be inherent in their women; they admitted them into their councils, and consulted them on the public business of the state. They were suffered to conduct the great events which they predicted. Ganna, a prophetic virgin of the Marcomanni, a German or Gaulish tribe, was sent by her nation to Rome, and admitted into the presence of Domitian, to treat concerning terms of peace¹. Tacitus relates that Velleda, another German prophetess, held frequent conferences with the Roman generals; and that on some occasions, on account of the sacredness of her person, she was placed at a great distance on a high tower, from whence, like an oracular divinity, she conveyed her answers by some chosen messenger². She appears to have preserved the supreme rule over her own people and the neighbouring tribes³. And there are other instances, that the government among the antient Germans was sometimes vested in the women⁴. This practice also prevailed among the Sitones or Norwegians⁵. The Cimbri, a Scandinavian tribe, were accompanied at their assemblies by venerable and hoary-headed prophetesses, apparelled in long linen vestments of a splendid white⁶. Their matrons and daughters acquired a reverence from their skill in studying simples, and their knowledge of healing wounds, arts reputed mysterious. The wives frequently attended their husbands in the most perilous expeditions, and fought with great intrepidity in the most bloody en-

¹ Dio. lib. lxxvii. p. 761.

² Hist. lib. iv. p. 968. edit. D'Orléans. fol.

³ He says just before, "*ea virgo late imperabat*." Ibid. p. 951. He saw her in the reign of Vespasian. De Morib. German. p. 972. Where he likewise mentions Aurinia.

⁴ See Tacit. Hist. lib. v. p. 969. ut sup.

⁵ De Morib. German. p. 983. ut sup.

⁶ Strab. Geograph. lib. viii. p. 205. edit. Ia. Cas. 1687. fol. Compare Keyser, Antiquit. Sol. Septentrional. p. 371. viz. *Discretatio de Mulieribus Fatidicis veterum Caltrarum gentiumque Septentrionalium*. See also Cluverius's *GERMANIA ANTIQVA*, lib. i. cap. xxiv. pag. 166. edit. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1631. It were easy to trace the Wixted sisters, and our modern witches, to this source.

gagements^e. These nations dreaded captivity, more on the account of their women, than on their own: and the Romans, availing themselves of this apprehension, often demanded their noblest virgins for hostages^f. From these circumstances, the women even claimed a sort of precedence, at least an equality subsisted between the sexes, in the Gothic constitutions.

But the deference paid to the fair sex, which produced the spirit of gallantry, is chiefly to be sought for in those strong and exaggerated ideas of female chastity which prevailed among the northern nations. Hence the lover's devotion to his mistress was increased, his attentions to her service multiplied, his affection heightened, and his sollicitude aggravated, in proportion as the difficulty of obtaining her was enhanced: and the passion of love acquired a degree of delicacy, when controlled by the principles of honour and purity. The highest excellence of character then known was a superiority in arms; and that rival was most likely to gain his lady's regard, who was the bravest champion. Here we see valour inspired by love. In the mean time, the same heroic spirit which was the surest claim to the favour of the ladies, was often exerted in their protection: a protection much wanted in an age of rapine, of plunder, and piracy; when the weakness of the softer sex was exposed to continual dangers and unexpected attacks^g. It is easy to suppose the officious emulation and ardour of many a gallant young warrior, pressing forward to be fore-

^e See *Sæx.* vii. *infr.* vol. ii. p. 88. Diodorus Siculus says, that among the Scythians the women are trained to war as well as the men, to whom they are not inferior in strength and courage. *L.* ii. p. 90.

^f Tacit. *de Morib. Germ.* pag. 972. *ut supr.*

^g See instances of this sort of violence in the ancient *HISTORY* of *HIALMAR*, a Runic romance, p. 135, 136, 140. *Diss. Epist. ad calc.* Hickes. *Thesaur.* vol. i. Where also is a challenge between two champions for king Hialmar's daughter. But the king composes the quarrel by giving to one of them, named Ulfo,

among other rich presents, an inestimable horn, on which were inlaid in gold the images of Odin, Thor, and Freya: and to the other, named Hramur, the lady herself, and a drum, embossed with golden imagery, which foretold future events. This piece, which is in Runic capital characters, was written before the year 1000. Many stories of this kind might be produced from the northern chronicles.

[This "*History of Hialmar*" is a modern forgery. See the Rev. P. Müller's preface to *Haldorsen's Islandic Dictionary*, where other "*figments*" of a similar kind are catalogued.—*ENR.*]

most in this honourable service, which flattered the most agreeable of all passions, and which gratified every enthusiasm of the times, especially the fashionable fondness for a wandering and military life. In the mean time, we may conceive the lady thus won, or thus defended, conscious of her own importance, affecting an air of stateliness: it was her pride to have preserved her chastity inviolate, she could perceive no merit but that of invincible bravery, and could only be approached in terms of respect and submission.

Among the Scandinavians, a people so fond of cloathing adventures in verse, these gallantries must naturally become the subject of poetry, with its fictitious embellishments. Accordingly, we find their chivalry displayed in their odes; pieces, which at the same time greatly confirm these observations. The famous ode of Regner Lodbrog affords a striking instance; in which, being imprisoned in a loathsome dungeon, and condemned to be destroyed by venomous serpents, he solaces his desperate situation by recollecting and reciting the glorious exploits of his past life. One of these, and the first which he commemorates, was an atchievement of chivalry. It was the delivery of a beautiful Swedish princess from an impregnable fortress, in which she was forcibly detained by one of her father's captains. Her father issued a proclamation, promising that whoever would rescue the lady should have her in marriage. Regner succeeded in the attempt, and married the fair captive. This was about the year 860^b. There are other strokes in Regner's ode, which, although not belonging to this particular story, deserve to be pointed out here, as illustrative of our argument. Such as, "It was [not*] like being placed near a beautiful virgin on a couch.—It was [not*] like kissing a young widow in the first seat at a feast. I made to

^b See Torf. Histor. Norw. tom. i. lib. 10. Saxo Grammat. p. 152. And Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 221. edit. 46. I suspect that the romantic amour between Regner and Aslauga is the forgery of a much later age. See REGNARA

Lodbroog's Saga. C. 5. apud Biorneri Histor. Reg. Her. et Pugil. Res præclar. gest. Stockholm. 1797.

* The original in both passages reads: Verat sem—It was not like.—EDMR.]

struggle in the twilight* that golden-haired chief, who passed his mornings among the young maidens, and loved to converse with widows.—He who aspires to the love of young virgins, ought always to be foremost in the din of arms¹." It is worthy of remark, that these sentiments occur to Regner while he is in the midst of his tortures, and at the point of death. Thus many of the heroes in Froissart, in the greatest extremities of danger, recollect their amours, and die thinking of their mistresses. And by the way, in the same strain, Boh, a Danish champion, having lost his chin, and one of his cheeks, by a single stroke from Thurstain Midlang, only reflected how he should be received, when thus maimed and disfigured, by the Danish girls. He instantly exclaimed in a tone of savage gallantry, "The Danish virgins will not now willingly or easily give me kisses, if I should perhaps return home²." But there is an ode, in the KNYTLINGA-SAGA, written by Harald the VALIANT, which is professedly a song of chivalry; and which, exclusive of its wild spirit of adventure, and its images of savage life, has the romantic air of a set of stanzas composed by a Provencial troubadour. Harald appears to have been one of the most eminent adventurers of his age. He had killed the king of Drontheim in a bloody engagement. He had traversed all the seas, and visited all the coasts, of the north; and had carried his piratical enterprises even as far as the Mediterranean, and the shores of Africa. He was at length taken prisoner, and detained for some time at Constantinople. He complains in this ode, that the reputation he had acquired by so many hazardous exploits, by his skill in single

* [Dr. Percy has it, "in the twilight of death," which adds greatly to the sublimity of the passage. See the second of Five Pieces of Runic Poetry, printed in 1763. The "Chief" was Harold Harfax, king of Norway.—PARK.]

[Unhappily the Icelandic text makes no mention of the "twilight."

Hár-fagrau sá ek hraukva,
Meyar-dreng at morgni,
Oc mál-vin eckio,

I saw retire the fair haired
Maids-lad at morning,
And soft-speaker of (the) widow.

The person alluded to was Aurn, a prince of the Hebrides. Mr. Park probably means Harald Harfager, who was not born at the time.—EDDR.]

¹ St. 13. 14. 19. 23.

² Chron. Norveg. p. 136.

combat, riding, swimming, gliding along the ice, darting, rowing, and guiding a ship through the rocks, had not been able to make any impression on Elissiff, or Elisabeth, the beautiful daughter of Jarilas, king of Russia¹.

Here, however, chivalry subsisted but in its rudiments. Under the feudal establishments, which were soon afterwards erected in Europe, it received new vigour, and was invested with the formalities of a regular institution. The nature and circumstances of that peculiar model of government, were highly favourable to this strange spirit of fantastic heroism; which, however unmeaning and ridiculous it may seem, had the most serious and salutary consequences in assisting the general growth of refinement, and the progression of civilisation, in forming the manners of Europe, in inculcating the principles of honour, and in teaching modes of decorum. The genius of the feudal policy was perfectly martial. A numerous nobility, formed into separate principalities, affecting independence, and mutually jealous of their privileges and honours, necessarily lived in a state of hostility. This situation rendered personal strength and courage the most requisite and essential accomplishments. And hence, even in time of peace, they had no conception of any diversions or public ceremonies, but such as were of the military kind. Yet, as the courts of these petty princes were thronged with ladies of the most eminent distinction and quality, the ruling passion for war was tempered with courtesy. The prize of contending champions was adjudged by the ladies; who did not think it inconsistent to be present or to preside at the bloody spectacles of the times; and who, themselves, seem to have contracted an unnatural and unbecoming ferocity, while they softened the manners of those valorous knights who fought for their approbation. The high notions of a noble descent, which arose from the condition of the feudal constitution, and the ambition of forming an alliance with powerful and opulent families, cherished this romantic system. It was hard to obtain the fair feudatary, who

¹ Bartholin. p. 54.

was the object of universal adoration. Not only the splendour of birth, but the magnificent castle surrounded with embattelled walls, guarded with massy towers, and crowned with lofty pinnacles, served to inflame the imagination, and to create an attachment to some illustrious heiress, whose point of honour it was to be chaste and inaccessible. And the difficulty of success on these occasions, seems in great measure to have given rise to that sentimental love of romance, which acquiesced in a distant respectful admiration, and did not aspire to possession. The want of an uniform administration of justice, the general disorder, and state of universal anarchy, which naturally sprung from the principles of the feudal policy, presented perpetual opportunities of checking the oppressions of arbitrary lords, of delivering captives injuriously detained in the baronial castles, of punishing robbers, of succouring the distressed, and of avenging the impotent and the unarmed, who were every moment exposed to the most licentious insults and injuries. The violence and injustice of the times gave birth to valour and humanity. These acts conferred a lustre and an importance on the character of men professing arms, who made force the substitute of law. In the mean time, the crusades, so pregnant with enterprize, heightened the habits of this war-like fanaticism. And when these foreign expeditions were ended, in which the hermits and pilgrims of Palestine had been defended, nothing remained to employ the activity of adventurers but the protection of innocence at home. Chivalry by degrees was consecrated by religion, whose authority tintured every passion, and was engrafted into every institution, of the superstitious ages; and at length composed that singular picture of manners, in which the love of a god and of the ladies were reconciled, the saint and the hero were blended, and charity and revenge, zeal and gallantry, devotion and valour, were united.

Those who think that chivalry started late, from the nature of the feudal constitution, confound an improved effect with a simple cause. Not having distinctly considered all the parti-

cularities belonging to the genius, manners, and usages of the Gothic tribes, and accustomed to contemplate nations under the general idea of barbarians, they cannot look for the seeds of elegance amongst men distinguished only for their ignorance and their inhumanity. The rude origin of this heroic gallantry was quickly overwhelmed and extinguished by the superior pomp which it necessarily adopted from the gradual diffusion of opulence and civility, and that blaze of splendour with which it was surrounded, amid the magnificence of the feudal solemnities. But above all, it was lost and forgotten in that higher degree of embellishment which at length it began to receive from the representations of romance.

From the foregoing observations taken together, the following general and comprehensive conclusion seems to result :

Amid the gloom of superstition, in an age of the grossest ignorance and credulity, a taste for the wonders of oriental fiction was introduced by the Arabians into Europe, many countries of which were already seasoned to a reception of its extravagancies by means of the poetry of the Gothic scalds, who perhaps originally derived their ideas from the same fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of troubadours and minstrels, seem to have centered about the eleventh century in the ideal histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious achievements of Charlemagne and king Arthur, where they formed the groundwork of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose, which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser.

cessarily pressed into the service, which contains any thing more than a general reference to "Breton lays:"

Bons Lais de harpe vus apris,
Lais Bretuns de nostre pais.

This is given from a fragment in Mr. Douce's possession, and is cited in the language of Tristan to Ysolt. But Mr. Ritson has omitted to mention that it was uttered by Tristan in the presence of king Mark, when he had assumed the character of a madman, and was just arrived from a foreign country, of which the name is not specified. In all probability this country was Brittany, as the adventure seems the counterpart to his assumption of the beggar's garb in our English romance.

But admitting there was a slight discrepancy between the language of various romances, as to the position of Bretagne, the question of Marie's claim to the invention of these lays, can neither be invalidated nor supported by it. Every one is aware that there is no topic upon which the general language of romance is more unsettled and contradictory, than its geographical details. The same liberties allowed in forming a genealogic line for the hero, were extended to the fictitious scene of his actions; and countries the most remote were as readily transferred to a close and intimate proximity, as their customs and languages were rendered identical. It would be of the essence of hypercriticism to censure this practice, which might be justified by the very charter-rolls of romance, as indeed it would be the height of absurdity to bring such details to the test of chorographic truth. The only object for consideration in applying the information thus conveyed, must be the apparent intentions of the communicant, the probable extent of his personal knowledge, or the accuracy of his avowed authorities, and how far, in the exercise of these resources, he is likely to have been swayed by the suggestions of his fancy, or misdirected by his ignorance. It will be worse than useless to heap together, as Mr. Ritson has done, the whole mass of evidence to be gathered from every source, without regard to the varied character of the proofs thus collected, and by drawing a

general inference, to assign the same authority to that which is confessedly fabulous, as to that which may have been uttered in good faith. Every writer ought to be weighed in his own scale; and the only hope we can have of eliciting an author's intentions, must be, by resorting to his own declarations in illustration of his own peculiar meaning. Now with respect to Marie, M. de la Rue* has already shown, from the prologue to the poems, that she only aspired to the character of a translator. Her first intention was to have given a version in *Romance*, of some Latin writer; but finding the ground preoccupied, she abandoned this design, and resolved on versifying the Breton tales which she had heard recited or found recorded.

Des Lais pensai k'oï aveie
 Ne dutai pas, bien le saveie,
 Ke pur remembrance les firent
 Des aventures k'il oïrent—
 Plusurs en ai oï conter,
 Ne voil laisser nes' oblier;
 Rimez en ai, è fait ditié
 Soventes fiez en ai veillié.

This is frequently referred to in various parts of her poems: some of which were translated from written documents; others versified from recollection, or oral communication; while the majority either acknowledge a Breton original, or contain decided proofs of a connection with that country. Of this the evidence shall now be submitted.

The first poem in M. Roquefort's collection is the *Lai de Gugemer*, which opens with the following exordium:

Les cuntes ke jo sai verais
Dunt li Bretun unt fait lor Lais,
 Vus cunterai assez briefment
 El cief de cest coumencement.
Sulunc la lettre è l'escriture
 Vus musterei une aventure

* *Archæologia*, vol. xiii.

Ki en *Bretaigne la memer*,
Avint al tens anciénur*.

The Lai d'Equitan who was "Sire de Nauns," (and of whose achievements "Li Bretun firent un Lai") also commences with a direct testimony to the practice of recording deeds of chivalry and heroic adventure in that country:

Mut unt esté noble Barun,
Cil de Bretaine li Bretun ;
Jadis suleient par pruesce,
Par curteisie, è par noblesce,
Des aventures qu'ils oieent,
Ki à plusur gent aveneient
Fère les Lais pur remembrance
Qu'en ne les meist en ubliance.
N'ent firent ceo oï cunter
Ki n'est fet mie à ublier.

The Lai de Bisclaveret is not specifically acknowledged as a Breton lay; but the scene is laid in "Bretaine," and the Breton term from which the story derives its name, is cited in contradistinction to that current in the adjoining duchy of Normandy:

Bisclaveret ad nun en Bretan,
Garwall l'apellent li Norman.

From the Lai de Laustic† we obtain a similar testimony, with the additional declaration of its being a Breton lay:

Une aventure vus dirai
Dunt li Bretun firent un Lai ;
Laustic ad nun ceo m'est avis,
Si l'apellent en lur país;

* v. 21.

† MM. de la Rue and Roquefort speak of an English version of this lay, and refer to the Cotton MS. Cal. A. II. These gentlemen were either misled by a similarity in the title of the poem in question, (Nightingale,) or a manuscript

note in the Museum copy of the catalogue of the Cotton MSS. The English poem is a mystic rhapsody on holy living; in which the Nightingale and her plaintive song are declared to be typical of the doctrines and sufferings of Jesus Christ.

Céo est Reisun en Franceis,
E Nihtegale en dreit Engleis.

The scene is at St. Maloes. Of the *Lai des deux Amans* and of the *Lai de Graelent* it is said, "Un Lai en firent li Breton;" of the *Lai de l'Epine*, "Li Breton en firent un Lai;" and of the *Lai d'Eliduc*,

De un *mut ancien Lai Bretun*
Le cunte é tute la reisun,
Vus dirai si cum jeo entent
La vérité mun escient.

Of these four, the scene of the first is laid in Normandy, and of the rest in "Bretaine." Of the remaining six, the *Lai du Frêne* places the action in "Bretaine," without giving a more positive locality to the scene. It was a tale which Marie had heard recounted, but which she does not expressly claim as a "Breton lay." The *Lai de Chevreuille* was translated from a written original:

Plusurs le m'unt cunté è dit,
E jeo l'ai trové en escrit.

It contains no reference to "Bretaine" or the "Bretons:" and, if we could forget Mr. Ritson's arbitrary dogmas relative to the poverty of native genius both before and after the Conquest, might be supposed to owe its existence to some English poem now no more:

Tristan ki bien saveit harper,
En aveit fait un nuvel Lai
Asez brèvement le numerai.
Gotelef l'apelent en Engleis,
Chevrefoil li nument en Franceis;
Dit vus en ai la vérité
Del' Lai que j'ai ici cunté.

There is reason to believe the *Lai de Milun* is not of Breton

origin, as Marie deviates from her usual phraseology in announcing her authority.

De lur amur è de lur bien
Firent un Lai li Auncien ;
 E jeo qui l'ai mis en escrit
 Al recunter mut me délit.

The hero was born in South Wales :

Milun fu de Suht-wales nez :

a country also called Gales :

Jeo quid k'il est de Gales nez,
 E si est Milun apelez.

Mention is likewise made of Northumberland ; but Milun's journey from England to Brittany is so circumstantially narrated, that every doubt as to the geographical position of the latter must be removed :

A Suht-hamptune vait passer,
 Cum il ainz pot se mist en mer,
 A Barbefluet (Barfleur. R.) est arrivez,
 Dreit en Brutaine est alez.

With reference to the same journey it is afterward said :

En Normendie est passez,
 Puis est desque Bretaine alez.

We also gather from the same lay the names by which the inhabitants of this and several adjoining countries were designated.

Al munt Seint-Michel s'asemblèrent,
 Normein, è *Bretun* i alèrent ;
 E li Flamenc, è li Franceis,
 Mès ni ot guère de *Engleis*.

In these specimens there is not the slightest evidence to prove, as asserted by Mr. Ritson, that by "Bretaine and

Breton were intended the country and people of Great Britain." On the contrary, whenever Marie enters into detail, we constantly find that by "Bretaine" she understood Brittany, and by "Breton" either the inhabitants or language of that province. No specific mention is made of England as a country; but the people and their dialect are alike called Engleis; and the unequivocal appellation given to Wales precludes all possibility of supposing it was implied under the name of "Bretaine."

We now come to those Lays which Mr. Ritson has selected as containing the strongest confirmation of his opinion: "She must however [by Bretaine] mean Great Britain in the Lay of Lanval, where she mentions Kardoel, and that of Ywenec where she speaks of Carwent (i. e. Venta Silurum, now Chepstow), which she places upon the Duglas instead of the Wye." Unhappily for the accuracy of this conclusion, the name of Bretaine never occurs throughout the Lai de Lanval. Marie certainly cites the Bretons as her authority for the narrative:

Od li s'en vait en Avalon,
Ce nus *racuntent li Breton*—

and calls Lanval a Breton name:

L'aventure d'un autre Lai
Cum il avint vus cunterai;
Feit fu d'un mult riche vassal,
En Bretun l'apelent Lanval.

But we have already seen that these terms can have no reference to Great Britain. The Lai d'Ywenec certainly favours Mr. Ritson's opinion. It speaks of Caerwent (which, though the Roman Venta Silurum, is not Chepstow,) and places it in Bretagne:

En Bretagne avait jadis
Uns riches Huns vielz et ancis;
De Caerwent fut avoez,
Et du pais Sire clamez:
La cité si est sor Duglas—

A similar combination occurs in the *Lai de l'Epine* :

Les estores en traï avant;
 Ki encore sont à *Carlion*,
 Ens le monstier Saint-Aaron,
 Et en Bretagne sont séues—

It would seem as if M. Roquefort had suspected that Marie in this passage was not alluding to Caerleon in Wales; for he observes in a note: "Il existoit en France une île Saint-Aaron. Elle a été renfermée dans la ville de Saint-Malo, au moyen d'une chaussée." That there either was a Caerleon in Armorica, or, what is far more probable, that Marie by her own powerful dictum transferred this town from the opposite side of the Channel, is evident from a passage in the *Lai de Chaitivel*. The events of this poem are stated to have transpired "en Bretagne a Nantes:" but in the course of the narrative, without the slightest indication of a change of scene, we find the following date produced as the period when some of the transactions occurred :

A la feste Saint-Aaron,
 K'um célébroit a Carlion.

In this we have the clearest acknowledgement, that in the estimation of the writer, Nantz and Caerleon were towns of the same province; and the previous testimony, with one exception, has declared that province to have been Bretagne in France. If, however, we accept Marie's representation of herself, and consider her as the translator of these poems, even this exception loses its force. For what could be more natural to suppose on her part, than that the scene of those adventures which formed the theme of Armorican song should be laid in Armorica? or that even where her original made mention of Britain (Wales) as the theatre of the events it registered, she should through ignorance or design interpret the expression as referring to Brittany? How much more probable is it, that either of these causes may have operated in producing the seem-

ing contradiction between the Lai d'Ywenec and every other poem in the collection, than that Marie should have stultified herself by confounding two countries under one common name, for both of which on other occasions she had a distinctive appellation !

Of the interpretation given to her language or that of her contemporaries in this country, we have the most satisfactory evidence in Chaucer :

Thise old gentil Bretons in hir dayes,
Of diverse aventures maden layes,
Rimeyed in hir firste Breton tonge;—
And on of hem have I in remembrance,—
In *Armorike*, that called is *Bretaigne*, &c.

This may be contrasted with the conclusion of the Lai d'Eli-duc.

Del' Aventure de ces treis,
Li auncien Bretun curteis
Firent le Lai pur remembrer,
Que hum nel' deust pas oblier.

Even Mr. Ritson has admitted, that the author of Sir Orpheo may “perhaps allude to the Armorican Britons,” when he says :

In Brytayn this layes arne ywrytt,
Furst y founde and forthe ygete,
Of aventures that fillen by dayes
Wherof Brytons made her layes.

This is but a similar declaration to the language of Marie already cited from the Lai d'Equitan. Of the popularity of “Orpheo's” story in Armorica, we have a sufficient testimony in the Lai d'Epine :

Le Lais escoutent d'Aielis,
Que uns Yrois doucement note
Mout le sonne ens sa rote.

Apriès celi d'autre commenche,
 Nus d'iaus ni noise ne ni tenche;
Le Lai lor sone d'Orphéy—

There is one peculiarity in the language of Marie relative to this subject which remains to be noticed. In the *Lai de Graelent* she speaks of "*Bretaigne le menur*," an expression which occurs once again in the *Lai d'Eliduc*. But this refinement is not preserved throughout either of the poems: for in the first we have "*En Bretagne est venue al port*;" and in the second, "*En Britaine ot un Chevalier*,"—both with reference to the same country. Of a "*Bretaine le grand*" there is no trace in the whole collection: and if it be allowable to speculate upon a question so perfectly beyond the grasp of certainty, the utmost we can venture to infer will be, that though Marie may have found this distinctive nomenclature in her original text, she evidently neglected to observe it. We know from other sources, that in her time one of these countries was better known by its subdivision into the realms of Engleterre and Gales.

The second volume of M. Roquefort's edition of Marie's Poems contains her Fables. It is not intended to exhaust the reader's patience by entering into a discussion of the source from whence these fables were derived; but as MM. de la Rue and Roquefort have attempted to claim her English original as the production of Henry the First, the subject cannot be wholly passed over in silence. These gentlemen do not seem to have known that a copy of the fables preserved at Oxford unites with the Harleian MS. 78. in attributing the English version to king Alfred.

Le reiz Alurez que mut l'ama
Le translata puis en Engleis.*

This, supported as it is by the several disguises of the Pasquier and King's MSS. which read *Auvert* and *Affrus*, and

* MSS. JAMES. viii. p. 23. Bibl. Bodl. cited below, vol. ii. p. 253.

the declaration of the Latin version (King's MS. 15. A. vii.), that the same fables "were rendered into English by the orders of king Alfred," is more than sufficient to outweigh the testimony of the Harleian MS. 4333, which ascribes Marie's original to a king Henry. It also seems to have escaped the same diligent antiquaries, that the English language of Henry the First could not have differed materially from the Anglo-Saxon of Alfred; that any person, whether native or foreigner, who could master the one, would find no difficulty in comprehending the other; and consequently, that the argument raised on the imagined obscurities of the earlier copy is perfectly groundless. As to "the uncouth language of Robert of Gloucester," which is supposed to have cost Marie so much labour in acquiring, we must remember, that however horrific this dialect may appear to modern Frenchmen,—printed as it is with a chevaux-de-frise of Saxon consonants,—its rude orthography only slightly varied from the language of general conversation in the Chronicler's age. There could be no greater difficulty in learning to read or speak it, than is felt by a foreigner in modern English. In addition, there is reason to believe, that in Marie's time, some popular Anglo-Saxon subjects were rendered accessible to the modern reader, by the same process which fitted the early poetry of Italy for general circulation at the present day. We know, from certain testimony, that at a subsequent period the Brut of Layamon was made intelligible by a more recent version; and probability seems to favour the belief, that such was the case with the "Sayings of Alfred," formerly in the Cotton Library. If these "Sayings" were registered by one of Alfred's contemporaries, or in the Anglo-Saxon language, they were doubtlessly written in the same metre as the translation appended to the edition of his Boethius, and would only have received the dress in which they are exhibited by Wanley, about the time of Richard I., or John. Mr. Sharon Turner has produced this collection of apophthegms, as the first specimen of English *prose*; but they are evidently written in the same mixed style of rhyme and alli-

terative metre, which we find in Layamon. It is this circumstance which has suggested the possibility of their being recorded at an earlier date than the language in which they are written seems to indicate: but of course neither this, nor the claim of Alfred to the English version of Æsop, is insisted upon as demonstrable. The only object of these remarks is to impugn the evidence which MM. de la Rue and Roquefort consider as conclusive in favour of Henry I.

In closing this excursive note it may not be amiss to observe, that the Harl. MS. calls Marie's collection of fables L'Ysopet or the little Æsop, of which a Dutch translation is said to have been made in the 13th century. (See Van Wyn, *Historisch Avondstonden*, p. 263.) This title appears to have been given it by way of distinction from another collection of fables, probably made at an earlier period, and derived from a purer source. The latter is mentioned in the prologue to Merlant's *Spiegel Historiaal*.

In *Cyrus* tiden was *Esopus*
 De Favelare, wi lessent dus,
 Die de favele conde maken
 Hoe beesten en vogel spraken,
 Hierute es gemaect *Aviaen*
 En andere boeken, sonder waen,
 Die man *Esopus* heet, bi namen.
 Waren oec die si bequamen
 Die hevet Calfstaf en Noydekyn
 Ghedicht, en rime scone en fyn.

i. e. We read that Esop, the fabler, who made fables how the birds and beasts converse, lived in the time of Cyrus. No doubt Aviaen (Avienus?) drew from it, and other books which people call Esopus. Calfstaf and Noydekyn put into fair rhymes those which they took pleasure in.

NOTE

ON THE SAXON ODE ON THE VICTORY OF ÆTHELSTAN.

[See DISSERTATION I. page xl.]

THE text of this poem has been formed from a collation of the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi. B. i. B. iv. In the translation an attempt has been made, to preserve the original idiom as nearly as possible without producing obscurity; and in every deviation from this rule, the literal meaning has been inserted within brackets. The words in parentheses are supplied for the purpose of making the narrative more connected, and have thus been separated from the context, that one of the leading features in the *style* of Anglo-Saxon poetry might be more apparent to the English reader. For the benefit of the Anglo-Saxon student, a close attention has been paid in rendering the grammatical inflections of the text, a practice almost wholly disused since the days of Hickes; but which cannot be too strongly recommended to every future translator from this language, whether of prose or verse. The extracts from Mr. Turner's and Mr. Ingram's versions cited in the notes, have been taken from the History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. and the recent edition of the Saxon Chronicle. But those variations alone have been noticed which differed in common from the present translation.

Æthelstán cyning,
eorla drihten,
beorna beáh-gyfa,
and his bróther eac,
Eadmund ætheling¹,

Æthelstan (the) king,
lord of earls,
bracelet-giver of barons,
and his brother eke,
Eadmund (the) prince,

¹ The reader must be cautioned against receiving this literal interpretation of the text, in the same literal spirit. The terms *eorl* and *beorn*—man and bairn—are used with great latitude of meaning

in Anglo-Saxon poetry; and though generally applied to persons of eminent rank or exalted courage, we have no proof of their appropriation as hereditary titles of distinction at the early period

ealdor langne-tir²,
geslogon æt secce,

very illustrious chieftain,
combated in [at] battle,

when this ode was composed. The word "Ætheling"—strictly speaking The son of the æthel or noble—appears to have gained an import in England, nearly corresponding to our modern prince. In the Saxon Chronicle it is almost always, if not exclusively, confined to personages of the blood royal. Perhaps there is neither of these terms whose modern representative differs so essentially from its original as "ealdor." At the present day no idea of rank is attached to the word "elder," and none of authority except among some religious sects, and a few incorporated societies. In Anglo-Saxon poetry it rarely, if ever, occurs as marking seniority in point of age. Even the infant Edward is called an "elder of earls."

And feng his bearn
syth-than to cyne-rice;
cyld unwæxen,
eorla ealdor,
tham was Eadweard nama.

And his bairn took
after that to the kingdom;
child unwæxen,
elder of earls,
to whom was Edward name.

² Elder! a lasting glory, T. Elder, of ancient race, I. But "tir" is not used substantively in the present instance. "Ealdor langne-tir," or "Langne-tir ealdor"—exhibits the same inverted construction as "flota fami-heals," ship foamy-necked; "ætheling ær-god," noble exceeding-good, &c. The present translation of "tir" is founded upon an etymology pointed out in the glossary to Semund's Edda, where it is declared to be synonymous with the Danish "xvr," and the German "zier." In the Low German dialects, the z of the upper circles (which is compounded of t, s, like the Greek ζ of d, s) is almost always represented by t, and splendour, brightness, glory, &c. are certainly among the most prevalent ideas attached to "tir" when used as a substantive. If this interpretation be correct,—power, dominion, or victory, must be considered as only secondary meanings; and the com-

pound adjectives "tir-meahhtig" (exceeding mighty), "tir-fæst" (exceeding fast or firm) "tir-eadig" (exceeding blessed), evidently point to the first of these. There can be little doubt but the following passage of Beowulf preserves another compound of "tir:"

Swylce ic maga-thegnas,
mine hate,
with feonda gehwone,
flotan eowerne,
niw tyr-wyðne,
nacan on sand,
arum healdan.

And I will also
order my fellow-thanes,
against every foe,
your vessel
deep (and) exceeding wide,
boat on the sand,
carefully to hold.

"Niwe" is here equivalent to *niwel*; as in the expression, "niwe be næsse" low by the nose or promontory. "Tyr-wyðne nacan" is clearly synonymous with "sid-fæthmed scip," the wide-bosomed ship, occurring shortly afterwards. The learned editor's version, *pice obduc-tam*, is founded on an expression still preserved in his native language (Icelandic), and of which Ihre has recorded the following example: "Let han leggia eld i tyruvid oc göra bala scipino;" *Jussit ignem tædæ subjiciendum, pyramque in nave struendam.* "Arum," which the Latin version renders "remis," is used adverbially, like *hwilum*, *gyddum*, &c. The vessel lay upon the beach, and was afterwards moored: there could therefore be no use for her oars. The present version of "arum" is founded on the following passage, where Walthew says she has no doubt but Hrothulf will prove a kind protector to her children:

Thæt he tha geogotha wile,
arum healdan,

That he the youths will,
carefully protect (hold). p. 90.

Arum (lit. with cares, attentions,) is in the dative case plural. See note 34.

sweorda ecgum,
 ymbe Brunanburh.
 Bord-weal clufon,
 heowon heatho-linda³,
 hamora lafum⁴,

with edges of swords,
 near Brunanburh.
 (They) clove the board-wall,
 hewed the high lindens,
 with relics of hammers (i. e. swords),

³ They hewed the noble banners, T.
 And hewed their banners, I. In this interpretation of "lind" all our vocabularies agree. The translation of the text has been founded upon the following authorities. When Beowulf resolves to encounter the "fire-drake" who had laid waste his territory, he orders a "wig-bord," war-board" (as it is called) of iron to be made; for we are told that,

Wisse he gearwe,
 that him holt-wudu,
 helpan ne meohte,
 lind with lige.

He knew readily,
 that him forest-wood,
 might not help,
 lindens against fire. p. 175.

And when Wiglaf prepares to join his lord in the combat, it is said of him :

Hond-rond gefeng,
 Geolwe lindre.

Hand-round he seized,
 the yellow linden. p. 194.

In the fragment of Judith, "lind" and "bord" are used in the same connexion as in the present text :

Stopon heatho-rincas,
 beornas to beadowe,
 bordum bedeacte,
 hwealfum lindum.

(The) lofty warriors stepped,
 bairns to (the) battle,
 bedeckt (with) boards,
 (with) concave lindens.

The following extract from the fragment of Brithnoth shows both terms to have been synonymous :

Leofsunu gemælde,
 and his lind ahof,
 bord to gebeorge.

Leofsunu spoke,
 and hove up his linden,
 board for protection.

It may, however, be contended, that though "lind" in all these passages evidently means a shield; yet "heatho-lind," whose qualifying adjective seems rather an inappropriate epithet for a buckler, may have a different import. The following examples of a similar combination will remove even this objection :

Ne hyrde ic cymlicor,
 ceol gegyrwan,
 hilde-wæpnum,
 and heatho-wædum,
 billum and byrnum,

Nor heard I of a comelier,
 keel (ship) prepared,
 (with) war weapons,
 and high-weeds, (garments)
 with bills and burnies.

Nemne him heatho-byrne,
 helpe gefremede.

Unless him (his) high-burnie,
 with help had assisted.

Mr. Grimm found this expression in the Low-Saxon fragment of Hildebrand and Hathubrand, where misled by the common interpretation of "lind-wig-gende," vexilliferi—he has expended much ingenuity and learning in making a very simple narrative unnecessarily obscure.

hewun harmlicco,
 huitte scildi,
 unt im iro lintun,
 luttilo wurtun.

(they) hewed harm-like,
 (their) white shields,
 until to them their lindens,
 became little.

Mr. Grimm translates "lintun," gebende—bands or girdles.

⁴ The survivors of the family, T. With the wrecks of their hammers, I. The only authority for the former interpretation is a meaning assigned to "hamora" in Lye's vocabulary. It will be suffi-

eáforan Eadweardes.
Swa him geæthele³ was
from cneo-mægum,
thæt hie æt campe oft⁴,
with lathra gehwæne,
land ealgodon,
hord and hámas,
hettend crungon⁷.

(the) children of Edward.
Such [so] was to them (their native) no-
from (their) ancestors, [bility],
that they in [at] battle oft,
against every foe [loathed one],
(the) land preserved,
hoard and homes,
(the) enemy crushed. [cringed, actively.]

cient to remark, that if there were any thing like probability to justify such a translation, we ought at least to read "Wæa the survivors of the family;" as "lafum" stands in the ablative case plural. A similar expression occurs once in Beowulf, where we know from the context that neither of the versions cited above would suit the sense. The sword of Wiglaf has recently severed the dragon's body in two: with reference to which it is said,

Ac him irenna,
ecga formamon,
hearde heatho-æcearde,
homera lafe,
thæt se wid-floge,
wundum stille,
hreas on hrasan,
hord-ærne neah.

But him of iron,
edges seized,
the hard high-shearer,
(the) relic of hammers,
that the wide-flier,
still (quiet) with wounds,
fell on the earth,
hoard-hall near. p. 210.

In this poem "gomel-laf, eald-laf, yrfe-laf," are common expressions for a sword; and there can be little doubt but the language of the text is a metaphorical description of such a weapon. A similar phrase in Icelandic poetry would occasion no difficulty.

³ As to them it was natural from their ancestors, T. So were they taught by kindred zeal, I. Ge-æthele is an ἀσπῆς ἀνιστημένης. The version of the text is founded on the following declaration of Ælfwine a follower of Brithnoth:

Ic will mine æthelo,
 ealhum gecyðan,

thæt ic was on Myrcas,
micles cynnes.

I will my nobility,
manifest to all,
that I among Mercians was,
of a mickle kin.

Mr. Ingram's translation of cneo-mægum—kindred zeal, is perfectly indefensible.

⁴ That they in the field often, T. That they at camp often, I. Yet "camp-stede" is translated battle-place by Mr. Turner, and field of battle by Mr. Ingram. "Æt campe" would have been equally descriptive of a sea-fight. It has no connexion with our modern camp, Fr. campus, Lat.

⁷ Pursuing they destroyed the Scottish people, T. Pursuing fell the Scottish clans, I. In these translations "hettend crungon" is separated from its context; and though it is a common practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry to unite, by the alliteration, lines wholly unconnected by the sense, yet in the present instance both are terminated by the same period. It may be questioned whether "hettan," *persequi*, has any existence beyond the pages of Lye, where it is inserted as the root of "hettend." There is reason to believe, that it was obsolete at a very early period, and that its participle present alone was retained in a substantive signification to denote an enemy or pursuing one. When the verb was required, it would seem to have been used without the aspirate:

Ehtende was,
deorc death acas,
dugoth and geogoth.

Pursuing was
(the) dark death shadow,
old (ad lit. *valentes*) and young.
Beowulf, p. 14.

Scotta leodē,
and scip-flotan,
fæge feollon^a.
Feld dennade*,

(The) Scottish people,
and the mariners,
fated fell.
The field——,

At all events, the examples recorded by Lye only exhibit the substantive *hettend*, to which the following may be added:

Gif ic that gefricge,
ofer floda-begang,
that thec ymbsittende,
egesan thywath,
swa thec hettende,
hwylum dydon.

If I that hear,
over the floods-gang,
that thee, the round-sitting ones,
oppress with terror,
so (as) thee enemies,
(ere) while did. *Beowulf*, p. 138.

Syth-than hie geffricgeath,
freaen userne,
caldor-leasse;
thone the ær geheold,
with hettendum,
hord and rice.

After that they hear
our sovereign (to be)
life-less;
he who ere held,
against (our) foes,
hoard and kingdom. *Ib.* p. 222.

Mr. Ingram's translation is obviously incorrect. The whole context proves the Scots to have been the yielding party, and consequently they were the pursued, not those pursuing; and if, with Mr. Turner, we apply "pursuing" to the victors, Athelstan and Edward, the participle (as it then would be) ought to stand in the nominative case plural—*hettende*—and not in the accusative singular.

^a They fell dead, T. In numbers fell, I. This expression occurs again below, "*fæge to feolhte*," where Mr. Ingram expounds it, the *hardy* fight. It seems almost superfluous to add, that one of these interpretations must be erroneous; and it will be shown immediately that neither is correct. Mr. Turner with more consistency trans-

lates the second example "for deadly fight;" making "*fæge*" an adjective agreeing with "*feolhte*," and consequently like its substantive governed by the preposition "*to*." But independently of the impossibility to produce an example, where any Anglo-Saxon preposition exhibits this twofold power,—a retroactive and prospective regimen,—the dative singular and plural of "*fæge*" would be either "*fægum*" or "*fægan*," accordingly as it was used with the definite or indefinite article. In the languages of the North, "*fæge*," however written, means *fated to die*; or, to use the interpretation of the Glossary to Sæmund's Edda, *morti jam destinatus, brevi moriturus*. This is the only version equally suited to both examples in the present text; and it might be supported by numerous instances from *Cædmon* and *Beowulf*. A confirmation of its general import may also be drawn from the use of "*unfægne*" in the latter poem.

Wyrd oft nereth,
unfægne eorl,
thonne his ellen deah.

Fate oft preserveth,
a man not fated to die,
when his courage is good for aught.
Beowulf, p. 45.

* The Cotton MS. Tiberius B. iv. reads "*dennode*;" Tiberius A. vi. and B. i. read "*dennade*," which is supported by the Cambridge MS. For this unusual expression no satisfactory meaning has been found; and it is left to the ingenuity and better fortune of some future translator. Mr. Turner and Mr. Ingram, who render this line—the field resounded, mid the din of the field—have followed a reading recorded by Gibson, "*dynode*,"—and which, notwithstanding the collective authority of four excellent manuscripts in favour of the present text, is possibly correct. In this case, however, "*dynode*" must not be interpreted in a literal sense, but con-

secga swate⁹,
 sith-than sunne úp,
 on morgen-tíd,
 mære tuncgol,
 glád ofer grundas ¹⁰,
 Godes candel beorht,
 éces Drihtnes ;
 oth-thæt sio æthele geſceaft,
 sáh tó setle ¹¹.
 Thær læg secg monig,
 gárum ageted,
 guman northerne,
 ofer scyld scoten.

with warriors' blood,
 since the sun up,
 on morrow-tide,
 mighty planet,
 glided over grounds,
 bright candle of God,
 of the eternal Lord ;
 till the noble creature,
 sank to (her) seat [settle].
 There lay many a warrior,
 strewn by darts,
 northern man,
 shot over (the) shield.

sidered as synonymous with the Icelandic "dundi," from "dynia," resonare, *irruere*. "Blodid dundi [dynode] og tarin tidt," Creberima erat stillatio tum sanguinis, tum lacrymarum. "Hrídín dynr yfir,"—procella cum strepitu irrui.

⁹ The warriors swate, T. The warrior swate, I. To justify these translations we ought to read either, "secgas switon" or "secg swat." The latter, which offers least violence to the text, is clearly impossible, since no line of Anglo-Saxon poetry can have less than four syllables. There is however no necessity for changing a single letter of the text, as "swate" is the dat. case sing. of "swát," blood, and "secga" the gen. plural of "secg." It may be safely asserted that "swát" in Anglo-Saxon poetry never means "sweat" in its modern acceptation.

Thá thæt sword ongan,
 æfter heatho-swate,
 hilde gicelum,
 wig-bil wanian.

Then that sword began,
 after the mighty blood,
 with battle-droppings,
 war-bill (to) wane. *Beowulf*, p. 121.

Swa thæt blod gesprang,
 hatest heatho-swát.

So that blood sprang,
 hottest mighty gore. p. 126.

Wolf Wonreding,
 wæpne gerehte,
 thæt him for swenge,
 swát ædrum sprang.

Wolf the son of Wonred,
 reached (him) with weapon,
 that to him for the swinge (blow)
 blood from the veins sprang.

p. 220.

The German "schweis" (sweat) still means the blood of a wild boar.

¹⁰ Glad, T. and I. But "glád" is the past tense of glidan, to glide; and formed like rád from ridan, bád from bidan, &c. in all of which the accentuated a was pronounced like o in rode. It is the glode of "Le Bone Florence of Rome."

Thorow the foreste the lady rode,
 All glemed there sche glode,

Till sche came in a felde. v. 1710.

In *Sir Launfal*, Mr. Ritson leaves it unexplained.

Another cours together they ród,
 That syr Launfal helm of-glód. v. 574.

Unless we admit this interpretation of "glád," the first part of the proposition will be a mere string of predicates without a verb. The antithesis to "glád ofer grundas" is "sah to setle."

¹¹ Hastened to her setting, T. Sat in the western main, I. Sah is the past tense of sigan, to incline, sink down; and follows the same norm, as eah, from stigian; hnah, from hnigan, &c.

Swylc Scyttisc eac,
 werig wiges sæd ¹².
 West-Seaxe forth,
 onðlangne dæg,
 eorod-cystum ¹³,
 on last lægdon,
 lathum theodum.
 Heowon here-flyman,
 hindan thearle ¹⁴,
 mecum mylen-scearpum ¹⁵.
 Myrce ne wyrndon,
 heardes hand-plegan,
 hæletha nanum,
 thára the mid Anlafe,
 ofer ear-geblond,
 on lides bosme,
 land gesohton,
 fæge to feohte.
 Fife lægon,

So Scottish eke,
 weary of war —
 The West-Saxons forth,
 the continuous day,
 in battalions,
 laid on the foot-steps,
 to the loathed race.
 (They) hewed (the) fugitives,
 hindwards exceedingly,
 with swords mill-sharp.
 The Mercians refused not,
 of the hard hand-play,
 to none of the men,
 of those who with Anlaf,
 over the ocean,
 in [on] the ship's bosom,
 sought (our) land,
 fated to the fight.
 Five lay,

¹² Weary with ruddy battle, T. The mighty seed of Mars, I. In the first of these versions the reading of the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. iv. has been followed: "werig wiges sæd." This manuscript, however, exhibits great marks of negligence on the part of the transcriber, and, if correct in its orthography on the present occasion, is equally obscure with the language of the other copies. "Sæd" cannot be the adjective red, as this would give us a false concord. If "sæd" be the genuine reading, it would be difficult to point out a better authenticated version than Mr. Ingram's, provided the word is to be taken substantively. But even this has been rejected, from a feeling that the context requires a verb, and a doubt whether such a metaphor be in unison with the general spirit of Anglo-Saxon poetry.

¹³ With a chosen band, T. With chosen troops, I. The Anglo-Saxon "cysta," though clearly derived from "ceosan" to choose, appears to have obtained a specific meaning somewhat similar to our regiment or battalion.

Hæfle cista gehwile,
 cuthas werodes,

gar-bereandra,
 guth-fremmendra,
 tyn hund geteled.

Had each cista,
 of approved troops,
 of spear-bearing,
 of war-enacting (ones)
 ten hundred taled (numbered).

Cædmon, 67. 25.

¹⁴ The behind ones fiercely, T. Scattered the rear, I. But "hindan" possesses the same adverbial power as "eastan" occurring below.

¹⁵ This reading has been retained on the authority of the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi. B. i. The reasons for such an epithet are not so clear, however obvious this would be if applied to modern times. But with our present limited knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language, and of the arts, customs and modes of thinking of our ancestors, it would be highly absurd to reject an expression, merely because its propriety is not felt. The more intelligible reading "mycel scearpum" wears all the appearance of a gloss.

on thám campstede,
cýningas geonge,
sweordum aswefede.
Swylc seofen éac,
eorlas Anlafes ;
unrím heriges ¹⁶,

on the battle-stead,
young kings,
soothed [slumbered, *act.*] with swords.
So seven eke,
earls of Anlaf's ;
numberless of the army,

¹⁶ And innumerable of the army of the fleet—and the Scots. There was chased away, the lord of the Northmen, by necessity driven to the voice of the ship. With a small host, with the crew of his ship, the king of the fleet departed on the yellow flood, T. And of the ship's crew unnumbered crowds. There was dispersed the little band of hardy Scots, the dread of the Northern hordes urged to the noisy deep by unrelenting fate. The king of the fleet with his slender craft escaped with his life on the felon flood. I. The present translation differs occasionally from both these versions. Where it agrees with either, no vindication will be necessary ; but some of its variations are too important not to require an account of the authorities from whence they are derived.—The Anglo-Saxon "flota" (the floater) equally meant a ship and a sailor.

Flota was on ythum,
bát under beorge.

Ship was on the waters,
boat under rock. Beowulf, p. 18.

Of its secondary meaning, a sailor,—an example has already occurred in the compound, "scip-flota ;" and the fragment of Brithnoth has preserved the simple substantive, as in the present text :

Se flod ut-gewat,
thá flotan stodon gearowe,
wicinga fela,
wiges georne.

The flood departed out,
the sailors stood prepared,
of the vikings many,
desirous of battle.

"Stefn" like "flota" had also a twofold meaning. Lye has only recorded one of these—the human voice,—and upon this both the interpretations cited above are evidently founded. But it likewise implied, the prow of a ship ; and this is the only sense which will give connec-

tion or intelligence to the present narrative. A similar example occurs in Beowulf :

Flota was on ythum,
bát under beorge,
beornas gearwe
on stefn stigon.

Ship was on the waters,
boat under rock,
(the) bairns readily
ascended the prow.

In German, "stevn" still means the stem of a ship ; and in Danish this part of a vessel is called the For-stavn, by way of distinction from the Bag-stavn, or stern. It will also be found in the second part of the Edda :

Brim-runar scaltu rista,
ef thu vilt borgit hafa,
a sundi segl-maurom ;
a stafni thær scal rista,
oc a stornar-blathe,
oc leggja eld i ár.

Sea-runes shalt thou carve,
if thou wilt have protected,
sail-horses (ships) in the sea ;
in the prow shalt (thou) carve
and in the stern-blade, (rudder)
and lay fire in the oar.

But "stefn" must not be confounded with "stefna," a ship, frequently occurring in Beowulf, and which the Latin translation always (I believe) renders "prora."

Gewát tha ofer wæg-holm,
winde gefysed,
flota fámí-heals,
fugle gelicost.
Oth-thæt umb án tid,
otheres dogores,
wunden stefna,
gewaden hæfde,
thæt tha lithende,
land gesáwon.

Departed then over (the) billowy
hastened by the wind, [main,

flotan and Sceotta.

Thær geflymed wearth,
Northmanna bregu,
nyde gebæded,
to lides stefne,
litle werede.

Cread cneor on-flot,
cyning ut-gewat,
on fealone flod,
feorh generede.

Swylc thær éac se froda ¹⁷,
mid fleame côm,
on his cyththe north,
Constantinus,
har hylderinc ¹⁸.

of sailors and Scots.

There was chased away,
the leader of the Northmen, (i. e. Anlaf.)
compelled by need,
to the ship's prow,
with a little band.

(The) ship drove [crowded] afloat,
(the) king departed out,
on the fallow flood,
preserved (his) life.

So there also the sapient one,
by flight came,
on his country north,
Constantine,
hoary warrior.

the foamy-necked ship,
likeliest to a fowl.
Till that about six o'clock,
of the other (next) day,
the curved bark,
had (so) waded,
that the voyagers,
saw land. p. 19.

For an illustration of "cread" the reader is referred to the Appendix to vol. ii. p. 492, where this line is translated. And in further support of the version there given, the following extract from the fragment of *Brithnoth* may be quoted.

We willath mid tham sceattum,
us to sype gangan,
on-flot feran,
and eow frithes healdan.

We will with the soot (treasures),
us to ship gang,
afloat proceed,
and hold peace with you.

¹⁷ The routed one, T. the valiant chief, I. By which of these epithets are we to translate the title bestowed upon *Sæmund*, for his extraordinary learning?—*Sæmundr hinn frodi*. The age of Constantine procured for him this distinction, which in *Beowulf* is so frequently applied to the veteran *Hrothgar*.

¹⁸ The hoarse din of Hilda, T. The hoary Hildrinc, I. It is quite an assumption of modern writers, that this goddess of war was acknowledged by the Anglo-Saxons; and no ingenuity can reconcile Mr. Turner's translation with the Anglo-Saxon text. Mr. Ingram most unnecessarily makes "hyl-derinc" a proper name, which, if correct on the present occasion, would be equally so in the following passage, where *Beowulf* plunges into the "mere" to seek the residence of Grendel's mother:

Brim-wylm onfeng,
hilderinc:

Sea-wave received,
(the) warrior:

or in the preamble to *Brithnoth's* dying address:

Tha gyt that word gecwæth,
hār hilderinc.

Then yet the word quoth,
(the) hoary warrior.

With these examples before us, there can be little doubt but that we ought to insert "rinc" in the following extract relating to the funeral obsequies of *Beowulf*:

Tha was wunden gold,
on wæn hladen,
æghwæs unrim,

Hreman ne thórfte,
meca gemanan ¹⁸.
Her was his maga-sceard ¹⁹,
freonda gefylled,
on folc-stede,
beslægen æt secce;
and his sunu (he) forlet,
on wæl-stowe,
wundum-forgrunden,
geongne æt guthe.
Gylpan ne thórfte,
beorn blanden-feax ²⁰,
bill-geslehtes,
cald inwitta ²¹;

He needed not to boast,
of the commerce of swords.
Here was his kindred troop,
of friends destroyed (felled),
on the folk-stead,
slain in [at] battle;
and his son he left,
on the slaughter-place,
mangled with wounds,
young in [at] the fight.
He needed not to boast,
bairn blended-haired,
of the bill-clashing,
old deceiver;

æthelinge boren,
hār hilde [rinc]
to Hrones-næsse.

Then was the twisted gold,
on wain laden,
numberless of each,
with the atheling borne,
hoary warrior,
to Hron's-ness.

p. 23.

¹⁸ Mr. Ingram, who reads "mæcan gemanan," translates it "among his kindred." But "mæca," if it exist at all as a nominative case, can never mean "a relative."

¹⁹ He was the fragment of his relations, of his friends felled in the folk-place, T. Here was his remnant of relations and friends slain with the sword in the crowded fight, I. It is difficult to conceive upon what principle the soldiers of Constantine, who fell in the battle, could be called either the fragment or remnant of his followers. A similar expression—here-laf—is afterwards applied with evident propriety to the survivors of the conflict. The present translation has been hazarded, from a belief that "sceard" is synonymous with "sceare" (the German *schaar*, a band or troop); and "maga-sceard," like "mago-driht," descriptive of the personal or household troops of Constantine.

Tha was Hrothgare,
here-sped gyfen,
wiges weorth-mynd;

that him his wine-magas,
georne hyrdon—
oth that seo geogoth geweorx
-mago-driht micel.

Then was to Hrothgar,
army-success given,
honour of war;
that him his friendly-relatives,
willingly heard (obeyed)—
till the youth waxed (in years)—
mickle kindred band. p. 7.

²⁰ The lad with flaxen hair, T. The fair-haired youth, I. Mr. Turner appears to refer these expressions to Constantine's son; Mr. Ingram certainly does. There would be little propriety in declaring a dead man's inability to boast, or the unfitness of such a proceeding even if there were any thing to colour such an interpretation. But *blonden-feax* is a phrase which in Anglo-Saxon poetry is only applied to those advanced in life; and is used to denote that mixture of colour, which the hair assumes on approaching or increasing senility. The German "blond," at the present day, marks a colour neither white nor brown, but mingled with tints of each.

²¹ The old in wit, T. Nor old Inwood, I. The orthography of the present text is supported by the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi. & B. i. Mr. Ingram reads "inwidda," of which he has made "Inwood;" though the learned translator has omitted to inform us

<p>ne Anláf thy má, mid heora here-lafum, hlihan ne thorfton, that hí beadu-weorca²², beteran wurdon, on camp-stede, cumbol-gehnastes, gár mittinge²³, gumena gemotes, wæpen-gewrixles, thæs the hie on wæl-felda, with Eadweardes, eáforan plegodon. Gewiton hym tha Northmen, nægledon cnearrum, dreorig daretha láf²⁴, on dinges²⁵ mere²⁶,</p>	<p>nor Anlaf any more, with the relics of their armies, needed not to laugh, that they of warlike works, better (men) were, on the battle-stead, at [of] the conflict of banners, the meeting of spears, the assembly of men, the interchange of weapons, of that which they on the slaughter-field, with Edward's, children played. The Northmen departed, (in their) nailed ships, gory relic of the darts, on, — — —</p>
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who this venerable personage might be. It is rather singular that he should appear again, with no slight ubiquity of person, in the fragment of Judith :

Swa se inwidda,
 ofer ealne dæg,
 driht-guman sine,
 drenchto mid wine.

So the deceiver,
 over the whole day,
 his followers,
 drenched with wine.

²² That they for works of battle were, T. That they on the field of *stern command* better workmen were, I. But "beadu-weorca" is the genitive case plural of "beadu-weorc," and to justify these translations ought to have been "beadu-weorcum" (T.) or "beadu-wyrhtan" (I).

²³ Mr. Ingram reads "mittinges," which can only owe its existence to the negligence of a transcriber. The genitive case of "mitting" is "mittinge."

²⁴ Dreary relics of the darts, T. Dreary remnant, I. This expression seems rather to refer to the wounded condition of the fugitives. The present

version may be justified by the following extracts from Beowulf :

Thonne was theos medo-heal,
 driht-sele dreor-fah,
 thonne dæg lixte,
 eal benc-thelu,
 blode bestymed.

Then was this mead-hall,
 troop-hall gore stained,
 when day lighted (dawned),
 all (the) table,
 sprinkled with blood. p. 39.

Thonne blode-fah,
 husa selest,
 heoro-dreorig stod.
 Then stained with blood,
 the best of houses,
 stood sword-gory. p. 72.

Water under wolcnum,
 wæl-dreore fah.

Water under clouds,
 stained with slaughter-gore. p. 123.

²⁵ This reading has been retained in preference to the "dignes" of Gibson, on the authority of *Tiberius B. i.* The other Cotton MSS. read "dynges" A. vi. "dynges" B. ix.

²⁶ On the stormy sea, T. On the

ofer deop wæter,
Dyflin secan,
eft Yrland¹⁷,
æwisc-mode.

Swylce thá gebrother,
begen æt samne,
cýning and sêtheling,
cyththe sohton,
West-Seaxna land,
wiges hremige²⁰.
Læton him behindan,

over deep water,
Dublin to seek,
Ireland again,
with a shamed mind.
So too the brothers,
both together,
king and prince,
sought (their) country,
land of the West Saxons,
of (the) war exulting.
(They) left behind them,

roaring sea, I. There is every probability that these translations give the sense of this passage, though some doubts may be entertained as to the integrity of the present text. If "dynges-mere" be the genuine reading, it must be considered as a parallel phrase with "wiges-heard, hordes-heard," &c. where two substantives are united in one word, the former of which stands in the genitive case with an adjective power. Of this practice the examples are too numerous and too notorious to require further illustration. "Dinges-mere" would then be a "kenningar nafn" given to the ocean from the continual clashing of its waves. For it will be remembered that the literal import of "mere" is a mere or lake, and this could not be applied to the Irish channel, without some qualifying expression. It is clearly impossible that "dinges," if correct, can stand alone, as "on" never governs a genitive case. On "thone mere," on "thæne mere." See Lye in voce.

"Mr. Ingram retains "heora land" in the text, and translates the variation as Yrland. All the Cotton MSS. unite in reading "eft"; and we learn from other sources that this statement is historically correct.

²⁰ The screamers of war, I. In fight triumphant, I. It has already been said of the fugitive Constantine that he had no cause to exult—hæman ne thórfte;

this is left to the victors. This expression occurs repeatedly in Beowulf, where it is always applied to the successful party:

Thanon eft gewát,
húthe hremig,
to ham faran,
mid there wæl-fylle,
wica neosan.

Thence (Grendel) again departed,
with prey exulting,
to home (to) go,
with the slaughtered-alain,
to approach (his) dwelling. p. 12.

Guth-rinc gold-wlanc,
græs-moldan træd,
since hremig.

Warrior (Beowulf) bright in gold,
grass-mould trode,
with wealth exulting. p. 141

Nu her thára banena,
byre nat hwylces,
frætum hremig,
on flet gæth;
morthres gylpeth,
and thone maththum¹ byreth,
thone the thu mid rihte,
rædan sceoldest.

Now of those banes (murderers),
(the) son (I) know not of which,
with ornaments exulting,

¹ Maththum must not be confounded with mathmum, the dative case plural of mathm.

hrá brittían,	(the) corse to enjoy,
salowig padan ²⁰ ,	(the) fallow ———,
thone sweartan hræfn,	(the) swarth raven,
hyrned-nebban ;	the horned nibbed one ;
and thone hasean padan ²⁰ ,	and the dusky ———,
earn æftan hwit ²¹ ,	eagle white behind [after],
æses brucan,	of the corse to enjoy,
grædigne guth-hafoc ;	greedy war-hawk ;
and thæt græge deor,	and that gray beast [deer],
wulf on wealde.	(the) wolf on the wold.
Ne wearth wæl máre,	Nor was (there) a greater slaughter,
on thys igland,	on this island,
æfre gyt,	ever yet,
folces gefýlled,	of folk felled,
beforan thissum,	before this,

in (the) hall goeth ;
boasteth of the murder,
and the jewel (i. e. a sword) beareth,
that thou by right,
shouldest command (or wield).

p. 154.

²⁰ The dismal kite, T. The fallow kite, I. Whatever idea may have been attached to "padan", it is manifestly not a species but a genus. It occurs again immediately as characteristic of the eagle. There is, however, reason to believe that these lines have been transposed, and that we ought to read

Thone sweartan hræfn,
salowig padan.

Cædmon unites with the present text in calling the raven both "swarth and fallow."

Let tha ymb worn daga
sweartne fleogan,
hræfn ofer beah flod.
Noe tealde,
thæt he on neode hine
secan wolde ;
ac se feond,
salwig fethera,
secan nolde.

Then after some days (he) let
swarth fly,

raven over high flood.
Noah reckoned (told)
that he from need him
seek would ;
but the fiend,
sallowy of feathers,
would not seek (him).

33. 5.

It will be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon "blac" was equivalent to our black and yellow.

²¹ And the hoarse toad, T. And the hoarse vulture, I. The latter version is totally without authority. The former is justified in part by our vocabularies, though evidently at variance with the context. The Cotton MS. Tiberius A. vi. reads haso (the nom. case), which shows this word to have had a twofold termination : haso and haswe—like salo and salwe, fealo and fealwe. The nomenclature of Anglo-Saxon colours must necessarily be very obscure ; but as we find the public road called "fealwe stræte" (Beowulf) ; and the passage made for the Israelites over the Red Sea "haswe stræda" (Cædmon), the version of the present text cannot be materially out.

²² The eagle afterwards to feast on the white flesh, T. And the eagle swift to consume his prey, I. The very simplicity of the Anglo-Saxon text appears to have excited distrust in the only

sweordes ecgum,
 thæs the us secgath béc,
 ealde uthwitan,
 sith-than eastan hider,
 Engle and Seaxe,
 úp becomon,
 ofer brade brimu³²
 Brytene sohton,
 wlanca wig-smithas,
 Wealas³³ ofer-comon,

by (the) sword's edges,
 of that that say to us (in) books,
 old historians,
 since eastward hither,
 Angles and Saxons,
 up came,
 over (the) broad seas,
 Britain sought,
 splendid war-smiths,
 overcame (the) Welsh,

translation these words are susceptible of. The ornithologist will perceive in it a description of the *Haliaetus albicilla*, or white-tailed sea-eagle. The phrase is not without a parallel in *Beowulf*, where the bard is describing the ashen lances with their steel-clad points:

Garás stodon,
 samanna searo,
 samod æt gædere,
 æsc holt ufan græg.

The spears stood,
 weapons of the seamen,
 collected together,
 ash-wood gray above,

p. 27.

There is so close a resemblance between the present text and a passage in the fragment of *Judith*, that it will not be too much to assume that they have been drawn from some common source, or that the one has had its influence in producing the other:

Thæs se hlanca gefeah,
 wulf in walde,
 and se wanna hrefn,
 wæl-gifre fugel,
 westan begen,
 that him tha theod-guman,
 thohton tilian,
 fylle on fægum.
 Ac him fleah on laste,
 earn ætes georn,
 urig fethera,
 salowig pada,
 sang hilde leoth,
 byrned nebbas.

Of this rejoiced the lank,
 wolf in the wold;

and the wan raven,
 slaughter-desiring fowl,
 westward both,
 that to them the people,
 thought to prepare,
 a falling among the fated.
 But on their footsteps flew,
 eagle of food desirous,
 dewy (?) of feathers,
 sallowy ———,
 sang the war song,
 horned nibbed one.

³² Mr. Ingram reads "brimum brade," which is a false concord. All the Cotton MSS. agree in the reading of the present text.

³³ As this name is foreign to the Celtic dialects, it probably was conferred upon the inhabitants by their Teutonic neighbours. In old German poetry every thing translated from a foreign language was said to be taken from the *Walsche* (Welsh), and the *Pays de Vaud* is still called the *Walliser-land*. The following singular passage is taken from Hartmann von Awe's romance of *Iwain* (and *Gawain*), where *Welsch* indisputably means English.

Er was Hartman genant,
 and was ain Awere,
 der bracht dise mere,
 rû Tisch als ich han vernommen,
 do er usi Engellandt was kommen,
 da er vil zit was gewesen,
 hat ers an den Welschen buchen
 gelesen.

He was named Hartman,
 and was an Auwer,
 who brought this tale,

eorlas árhwáte",
eard begeaton.

earls exceeding bold [keen],
obtained (the) earth.

into German as I have heard,
after he came out of England,
where he had been a long time,
(and where) he had read it in the
Welsh books.

* The earls excelling in honour, T. most valiant earls, I. In Anglo-Saxon "hwate" and "cene" are synonymous, meaning both keen and bold. It is usual to consider "arhwate" and many other similar expressions as compounded of "are," honour; an error which has arisen from not sufficiently attending to the distinction between the substantive and the preposition "ar." In such combinations as "ar-wurthe," "ar-feast," "ar-hwate," "ar-god," the preposition is prefixed in the sense of excess, as in the comparative degree of adjectives it is subjoined. "Ar-wurthe," venerable, is from "ar-wurthian," to esteem greatly: and the following passage from *Beowulf* exhibits one of the combinations above cited, in a sense which cannot be mistaken.

Swylc scoldes eorl,
wesen ar-god,
swylc Æechere was.

So should earl
be exceeding good,
so as Æecher was.

p. 101.

The most simple and perhaps original idea attached to this preposition (of such extensive use in all the dialects of the North) was priority, from whence by an easy transition it came to mean priority in point of magnitude, and thence in point of excellence (honour.) The analogous expressions prime good, prime strong, prime ripe, &c., may be heard in every province. The compounds "ar-full," propitious, "ar-leas," impious, are formed from the substantive "ár," a word of very extensive signification, and which may be rendered goodness, kindness, benefit, care, favour, &c.

Thá spræc guth-cýning,
Sodoma aldor,
secgum gefýlled,

to Abrahame;
him was ara thearf.

Then spoke the war-king,
prince of Sodom,
whose warriors were felled,
to Abraham;
to him was need of kindnesses.

Cædmon 46, 2.

It is impossible to translate "secgum afýlled" literally, without causing obscurity.

Æla frea beorhte,
folces scýppend,
gemilse thin mod,
me to gode,
sile thýne are,
thýne earnunge.

O bright Lord
creator of (the) folk
soften thy mind,
me to good,
grant thy favour,
thy commiseration.

Cotton Prayers, Jul. A. 2.

Fægre ascende—
beornum to frofre,
eallum to are,
ylda bearnum.

Fair brought forth—
for bairns consolation
for the benefit of all
sons of men.

Jul. A. 2.

Here too the dative cases plural cannot be translated. This term is of frequent occurrence in old English poetry, where the context having supplied the meaning, the glossographers had only to contend about the etymon.

Lybeaus thurstede sore
And sayde Maugys thyn ore.

Lyb. Dis. v. 1337.

The maister fel adoun on kne, and criede
mercy and ore.

R. of Gloucester p. 9.

Y sake mercy for Goddys ore.

Erl of Tholous. v. 583.

The meaning of "ore" when contrast-

ed with the preceding extracts, will be too obvious to require any comment. The substitution of o for á was evidently the work of the Normans. The Anglo-Saxon á was pronounced like the Danish *aa*, the Swedish *ä*, or our modern *o* in *more*, *fore*, &c. The strong intonation given to the words in which it occurred, would strike a Norman ear as indicating the same orthography that marked the long syllables of his native tongue, and he would accordingly write them with an *e* final. It is from this cause that we find *hár, éar, hát, bát, wá, án, bán, stán* &c. written *hore* (*hoar*), *sore*,

hote (*hot*), *bote* (*boat*), *woe*, *one*, *bene*, *stone*, some of which have been retained. The same principle of elongation was extended to all the Anglo-Saxon vowels that were accentuated; such as *rec*, *reke* (*reek*), *lif*, *life*, *gód*, *gode* (*good*), *scúr*, *shure* (*shower*); and hence the majority of those *e*'s mute upon which Mr. Tyrwhitt has expended so much unfounded speculation.—This subject will be resumed in a supplementary volume, in an examination of that ingenious critic's "Essay upon the Language and Versification of Chaucer."

37 In the former part of this Note p. xc, in the translation of the extract from *Beowulf*, line 21 of *note*, col. 1st, for

But him of iron, edges seized, the hard high-shearer,	} read {	But him iron, edges seized, the hard high-sheer.

And in the passage from the *Edda*, p. xciv, line 22 of *note*, col. 2d, for *stornar-blatha*, read *starnar-blatha*.

ON THE
INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING
INTO ENGLAND.

DISSERTATION II.

THE irruption of the northern nations into the western empire, about the beginning of the fourth century, forms one of the most interesting and important periods of modern history. Europe, on this great event, suffered the most memorable revolutions in its government and manners; and, from the most flourishing state of peace and civility, became on a sudden, and for the space of two centuries, the theatre of the most deplorable devastation and disorder. But among the disasters introduced by these irresistible barbarians, the most calamitous seems to have been the destruction of those arts which the Romans still continued so successfully to cultivate in their capital, and which they had universally communicated to their conquered provinces. Towards the close of the fifth century, very few traces of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, sciences, and literature, remained. Some faint sparks of knowledge were kept alive in the monasteries; and letters and the liberal arts were happily preserved from a total extinction during the confusions of the Gothic invaders, by that slender degree of culture and protection which they received from the prelates of the church, and the religious communities.

But notwithstanding the famous academy of Rome^a with

^a Theodosius the younger, in the year 425, founded an academy at Constantinople, which he furnished with able professors of every science, intending it as

other literary seminaries had been destroyed by Alaric in the fourth century; yet Theodoric the second, king of the Ostrogoths, a pious and humane prince, restored in some degree the study of letters in that city, and encouraged the pursuits of those scholars who survived this great and general desolation of learning^b. He adopted into his service Boethius, the most learned and almost only Latin philosopher of that period. Cassiodorus, another eminent Roman scholar, was Theodoric's grand secretary: who retiring into a monastery in Calabria, passed his old age in collecting books, and practising mechanical experiments^c. He was the author of many valuable pieces which still remain^d. He wrote with little elegance, but he was the first that ever digested a series of royal charts or instruments; a monument of singular utility to the historian, and which has served to throw the most authentic illustration on the public transactions and legal constitutions of those times. Theodoric's patronage of learning is applauded by Claudian, and Sidonius Apollinaris. Many other Gothic kings were equally attached to the works of peace; and are not less conspicuous for their justice, prudence, and temperance, than for their fortitude and magnanimity. Some of them were diligent in collecting the scattered remains of the Roman institutes, and constructing a regular code of jurisprudence^e. It is highly probable, that those Goths who became masters of Rome,

a rival institution to that at Rome. *Gianon. Hist. Napl. ii. ch. vi. sect. 1.* A noble library had been established at Constantinople by Constantius and Valens before the year 380, the custody of which was committed to four Greek and three Latin antiquaries or curators. It contained sixty thousand volumes. Zonaras relates, that among other treasures in this library, there was a roll one hundred feet long, made of a dragon's gut or intestine, on which Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written in golden letters. See *Bibl. Histor. Literar. Select. &c. Ienæ, 1754. p. 164. seq.* Literature flourished in the eastern empire, while the western was depopulated by the

Goths; and for many centuries afterwards. The Turks destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand volumes, I suppose in the imperial library, when they sacked Constantinople in the year 1454. *Hon. Dr. Gæz. Illustr. ii. 1. p. 192.*

^b He died A.D. 526. See Cassiodor. *Epist. lib. i. 39.* See also *Func. de inerti et decrep. Latin. Lingue Senectut. cap. ii. p. 81.*

^c *Func. ut supr. xiii. p. 471. xi. p. 595.*

^d Cave, *Sæcul. Eutych. Hist. Lit. p. 391.*

^e *Gianon. Hist. Nap. iii. c. 1.*

sooner acquired ideas of civility, from the opportunity which that city above all others afforded them of seeing the felicities of polished life, of observing the conveniencies arising from political economy, of mixing with characters respectable for prudence and learning, and of employing in their counsels men of superior wisdom, whose instruction and advice they found it their interest to follow. But perhaps these northern adventurers, at least their princes and leaders, were not, even at their first migrations into the south, so totally savage and uncivilised as we are commonly apt to suppose. Their enemies have been their historians, who naturally painted these violent disturbers of the general repose in the warmest colours. It is not easy to conceive, that the success of their amazing enterprizes was merely the effect of numbers and tumultuary depredation; nor can I be persuaded, that the lasting and flourishing governments which they established in various parts of Europe, could have been framed by brutal force alone, and the blind efforts of unreflecting savages. Superior strength and courage must have contributed in a considerable degree to their rapid and extensive conquests; but at the same time, such mighty atchievements could not have been planned and executed without some extraordinary vigour of mind, uniform principles of conduct, and no common talents of political sagacity.

Although these commotions must have been particularly unfavourable to the more elegant literature, yet Latin poetry, from a concurrence of causes, had for some time begun to relapse into barbarism. From the growing increase of christianity, it was deprived of its old fabulous embellishments, and chiefly employed in composing ecclesiastical hymns. Amid these impediments however, and the necessary degeneration of taste and style, a few poets supported the character of the Roman muse with tolerable dignity, during the decline of the Roman empire. These were Ausonius, Paulinus, Sidonius, Sedulius, Arator, Juvenius, Prosper, and Fortunatus. With the last, who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century,

and was bishop of Poitiers, the Roman poetry is supposed to have expired.

In the sixth century Europe began to recover some degree of tranquillity. Many barbarous countries during this period, particularly the inhabitants of Germany, of Friesland, and other northern nations, were converted to the christian faith^f. The religious controversies which at this time divided the Greek and Latin churches, roused the minds of men to literary enquiries. These disputes in some measure called forth abilities which otherwise would have been unknown and unemployed; and, together with the subtleties of argumentation, insensibly taught the graces of style, and the habits of composition. Many of the popes were persons of distinguished talents, and promoted useful knowledge no less by example than authority. Political union was by degrees established: and regular systems of government, which alone can ensure personal security, arose in the various provinces of Europe occupied by the Gothic tribes. The Saxons had taken possession of Britain, the Franks became masters of Gaul, the Huns of Pannonia, the Goths of Spain, and the Lombards of Italy. Hence leisure and repose diffused a mildness of manners, and introduced the arts of peace; and, awakening the human mind to a consciousness of its powers, directed its faculties to their proper objects.

In the mean time, no small obstruction to the propagation or rather revival of letters was the paucity of valuable books. The libraries, particularly those of Italy, which abounded in numerous and inestimable treasures of literature, were every where destroyed by the precipitate rage and undistinguishing violence of the northern armies. Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that pope Saint Martin requested Sanctamand bishop of Maestricht, if possible, to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany^g. In

^f Cave. *Sæcul. Monoth.* p. 440.

^g Concil. Tom. xv. pag. 285. edit. Paris, 1641.

the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrières in France, sent two of his monks to pope Benedict the third, to beg a copy of CICERO DE ORATORE, and QUINTILIAN'S INSTITUTES^b, and some other books: "for, says the abbot, although we have part of these books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France!" Albert abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immense expense had collected an hundred volumes on theological and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library^k. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right* of hunting to the

^b There are very early manuscripts of Quintilian's Institutes, as we shall see below; and he appears to have been a favourite author with some writers of the middle ages. He is quoted by John of Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century. Polycrat. vii. 14. iii. 7. x. 1. &c. And by Vincent of Beauvais, a writer of the thirteenth. Specul. Hist. x. 11. ix. 125. His declamations are said to have been abridged by our countryman Adelardus Bathoniensis, and dedicated to the bishop of Bayeux, about the year 1130. See Catal. Bibl. Leidens. p. 381. A.D. 1716. Poggius Florentinus, an eminent restorer of classical literature, says, that in the year 1446 he found a much more correct copy of Quintilian's Institutes than had been yet seen in Italy, almost perishing, at the bottom of a dark neglected tower of the monastery of Saint Gall, in France, together with the three first books and half the fourth of Valerius Flaccus's Argonautics, and Asconius Pedianus's comment on eight orations of Tully. See Poggii Opp. p. 309. Amet. 1790. 8vo. The very copy of Quintilian, found by Poggius, is said to have been in lord Sunderland's noble library now at Blenheim. Poggius, in his dialogue De Infelicitate Principum, says of himself, that he travelled all over Germany in search of books. It is certain that by his means Quintilian, Tertullian, Asconius Pedianus, Lucretius, Sallust, Silius Italicus, Columella, Manilius, Tully's Orations, Ammianus Marcellinus, Valerius Flaccus, and some of the Latin grammarians, and other ancient

authors, were recovered from oblivion, and brought into general notice by being printed in the fifteenth century. Fr. Barbarus Venetus, Collaudat. ad Pogg. dat. Venet. 1417. 7 Jul. See also *Giornale de Letterati d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 178. x. p. 417. And Leonard. Aretin. Epist. lib. iv. p. 160. Chaucer mentions the Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus, as I have observed Scz. iii. p. 129. infr. Colomesius affirms that Silius Italicus is one of the classics discovered by Poggius in the tower of the monastery of Saint Gaul. Ad Gyrard. de Post. Dial. iv. p. 240. But Philippo Rosso, in his *Ritratto di Roma antica*, mentions a very ancient manuscript of this poet brought from Spain into the Vatican, having a picture of Hannibal, *il quale hoggi si ritrova nella preditta libreria*, p. 83.

[From the following passage in one of Poggius's letters to Niccolò Niccoli, it appears that he had also travelled into England for the same purpose: "Mittas ad me oro Bucolicam Calphurni et portuaculam Petronii quas misi tibi ex Britannia." See Ambr. Traversari Lat. Epist. &c. i. Præf. p. 49. It is probable, that upon this occasion he met with the copy of Quintilian above mentioned.—Douce.]

ⁱ Murator. Antiq. Ital. iii. p. 835. And Lup. Ep. ad Baron. ad an. 856. n. 8, 9, 10.

^k Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. lviii. c. 52.

* [This permission was not granted until after much entreaty on the part of the monks, and an assurance that the flesh of the deer would be the means of

abbot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books¹. We may imagine that these religious were more fond of hunting than reading*. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt before they could read: and at least it is probable, that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the bible, Saint Jerom's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries^m. Among the constitutions given to the monks of England by archbishop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious: a whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book: and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the abbot, and to supplicate his indulgenceⁿ. This regulation was partly occasioned by the low state of literature which Lanfranc found in the English mona-

re-establishing the health of their sick brethren, as well as for the other reasons above mentioned. That monks were addicted to the pleasures of the chase, appears from Chaucer's description of the monk in his *Canterbury Tales*.—Douce.]

¹ Mabillon, *De Re Dipl.* p. 611.

* [Hunting appears to have been expressly forbidden the religious of all denominations, as a profane amusement altogether incompatible with their profession. They obtained, however, this indulgence under certain restrictions, particularly set forth in their charters. It was a privilege allowed even to nuns. See more on this subject in *M. le Grand's Vie privée des Français*, tom. i. p. 323. By the laws of Edgar, priests were prohibited from hunting, hawking, and drinking: "Docemus etiam ut sacerdos non sit venator, neque accipitrarius, neque potator. Sed incumbat libris suis sicut ordinem ipsius decet." Wilkins's *Leges Anglo-Saxon.* p. 86.—Douce.]

[The Latin version which is here followed, is as usual inaccurate. The original text forbids a less disgraceful indulgence than "computation," and contains a ludicrous play of words, hardly admissible in our present legal enactments: *ne tæfiere, ac plegge on his bocum swa his hade gebirath: i. e. nor tabler (player at tables), but let him play in his books as becomes his order (hood).*—Edit.]

^m Fleury, *ubi sup.* l. liv. c. 54. See other instances in *Hist. Lit. Fr. par Rel. Benedict.* vii. 3.

ⁿ "Unusquisque reddat librum qui ad legendum sibi alio anno fuerat commendatus: et qui cognoverat se non legisse librum, quem recepit, prostratus culpam dicat, et indulgentiam petat. Iterum librarium custos unicuique fratrum alium librum tribuat ad legendum." Wilkins. *Concil.* i. 332. See also the order of the Provincial chapter, *De occupatione monachorum.* Reynier, *Append.* p. 129.

steries. But at the same time it was a matter of necessity, and is in great measure to be referred to the scarcity of copies of useful and suitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his capital palace of Wulvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than "*Septendecem pecie librorum de diversis Scienciis*." This was in the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1299, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, BIBLIAM BENE GLOSSATAM, that is, the Bible, with marginal Annotations, in two large folio volumes: but gives a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity². This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the same year by Pontissara's predecessor, bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, that is, "*pro bona Biblia dicti episcopi bene glosata*," and one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass for the soul of the donor³. When a single book was bequeathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom without many restrictions and stipulations⁴. If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The most formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book

² Registr. Pontissar. f. 126. MS.

³ "Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas visuris vel inspecturis, Johannes dei gracia Wynton episcopus, salutem in domino. Noveritis nos ex commodato recepisse a dilectis filiis nostris Priore et conventu ecclesie nostre Wynton, unam Bibliam, in duobus voluminibus bene glosatam, que aliquando fuit bone memorie domini Nicolai Wynton episcopi predecessoris nostri, termino perpetuo, seu quamdiu nobis placuerit, inspicendam, tenendam, et habendam. Ad cujus Restitutionem eidem fideliter et sine dolo faciendam, obligamus nos per presentes: quam si in vita nostra non restituerimus eidem, obligamus executores nostros, et omnia bona nostra mobilia et immobilia, ecclesiastica et mundana, coercitioni et districtioni cu-

juscunque judicis ecclesiastici et secularis quem predictus Prior et conventus duxerit eligendum, quod possint eosdem executores per omnimodam districtiorem compellere, quousque dicta Biblia dictis filiis et fratribus sit restituta. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum, &c. Dat. apud Wulvesey, vi. Kal. Maii, anno 1299." Registr. Pontissar. ut supr. f. 193.

⁴ Ibid. f. 19.

⁵ As thus: "Do Henrico Morie scolarum meo, si contingat eum presbyterari: aliter erit liber domini Johannis Sory, sic quod non vendatur, sed transeat inter cognatos meos, si fuerint aliqui inventi: sin autem, ab uno presbytero ad alium." Written at the end of Latin *Homilies on the Canticles*, MSS. Reg. 5. C. iii. 24. Brit. Mus.

presented to the cloister or library of a religious house. The prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle's *PHYSICS*, or even obliterate the title*. Sometimes a book was given to a monastery on condition that the donor should have the use of it during his life: and sometimes to a private person, with the reservation that he who receives it should pray for the soul of his benefactor*. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by bishop Repyndon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under these curious circumstances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the bishop's own hand, which I will give in English, at the beginning of Peter's *BREVIARY OF THE BIBLE*. "I Philip of Repyndon, late bishop of Lincoln, give this book called Peter de Aureolis to the new library to be built within the church of Lincoln: reserving the use and possession of it to Richard Friesby, clerk, canon and prebendary of Miltoun, in fee, and to the term of his life: and afterwards to be given up and restored to the said library, or the keepers of the same, for the time being, faithfully and without delay. Written with my own hand, A.D. 1422." When a book was bought, the affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present on this occasion. Among the royal manuscripts, in the book of the *SENTENCES* of Peter Lombard, an archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry. "This book of the *SENTENCES* belongs to master Roger, archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of

* MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii.

* [At the end of a MS. of the Golden Legend in Mr. Douce's possession is the following bequest: "Be hit remembryd that John Burton citizen and mercer of London, past oute of this lyfe the xx day of Novemb' the yere of oure Lorde Mill'. cccix. and the yere of kyng Henry the Sixte after the conquest xxxix. And the said John Burton bequethe to dame Kateryne Burton his doughter, a boke callyd Legendis s3or."

the seyde Kateryne to have hit and to occupye to hir owne use and at hir owne liberte duryng hur lyfe, and after hur decease to remayne to the prioress and the cōvent of Halywelle for ev'more, they to pray for the saide John Burton and Johnne his wife and alle crystene soyles. And who that letteth the execution of this bequest he the lawe standeth."—*Park.*]

* MSS. Reg. 8 G. fol. iii. Brit. Mus.

"It is in Latin.

Geoffrey the chaplain, brother of Henry vicar of Northelkington, in the presence of master Robert de Lee, master John of Lirling, Richard of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the said Henry the vicar and his clerk, and others: and the said archdeacon gave the said book to God and saint Oswald, and to Peter abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden^w." The disputed property of a book often occasioned the most violent altercations. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuscript of Matthew Paris, belonging to the last-mentioned library: in which John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of possession. "If this book can be proved to be or to have been the property of the exempt monastery of Saint Alban in the diocese of Lincoln, I declare this to be my mind, that, in that case, I use it at present as a loan under favour of those monks who belong to the said monastery. Otherwise, according to the condition under which this book came into my possession, I will that it shall belong to the college of the blessed Winchester Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. Written with my own hand at Bukdene, 1 Jun. A.D. 1488. JO. LINCOLN. Whoever shall obliterate or destroy this writing, let him be anathema^x." About the year 1225, Roger de Insula, dean of York, gave several Latin bibles to the university of Oxford, with a condition that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge^y. The library of that university,

^w 9 B. ix. 1.

^x Written in Latin. Cod. MSS. Reg. 14 C. vii. 2. fol. In this manuscript is written by Matthew Paris in his own hand, *Hunc Librum dedit frater Mathæus Parisiensis*—Perhaps, *deu et ecclesie S. Albani*, since erased.

^y Wood, Hist. Antig. Univ. Oxon. ii. 46. col. 1. It was common to lend money on the deposit of a book. There were public chests in the universities, and perhaps some other places, for receiving the books so deposited; many of which still remain, with an insertion in the blank pages, containing the conditions of the pledge. I will throw together a few instances in this note. In Pe-

ter Comestor's SCHOLASTICAL HISTORY, "Cautio Thomæ Wybeurn excepta in Cista de Chichele, A.D. 1468, 20 die mens. Augusti. Et est liber M. Petri, &c. Et jacet pro xxvi. s. viii d." Mus. Brit. MSS. Reg. 2 C. fol. i. In a PSALTER cum glossa, "A.D. 1326, Ista Liber impignoratur Mag. Jacobo de Ispania canonico S. Pauli London, per fratrem Willielmum de Rokesle de ordine et conventu Prædicatorum Londonie, pro xx s. quem idem frater Willielmus recepit mutuo de predicto Jacobo ad opus predicti conventus, solvendos in quindena S. Michaelis proxime ventura. Condonatur quia pauper." Ibid. 9 E. vii. fol. In Bernard's HOMELIES

before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church². In the year 1327, the scholars and citizens of Oxford assaulted and entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neighbouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they found there, were one hundred psalters, as many grayles, and forty missals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church: but besides these, there were only twenty-two CODICES, which I interpret books on common subjects³. And although the invention of paper, at the close of the eleventh century, contributed to multiply manuscripts, and consequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even so late as the reign of our Henry the Sixth, I have discovered the following remarkable instance of the inconveniencies and impediments to study, which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the sta-

ON THE CAPTIVITIES, "Cautio Thome Myllyng imposita ciste de Rodbury, 10 die Decemb. A.D. 1491. Et jacet pro xis." Ibid. 6 C. ix. These pledges, among other particulars, shew the prices of books in the middle ages, a topic which I shall touch upon below.

² Registr. Univ. Oxon. C. 64. a.

³ Wood, Hist. ut supr. i. 163. col. 1. Leland mentions this library, but it is just before the dissolution of the monastery. "Cum excuterem pulverem et blattas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ:" Script. Brit. p. 238. See also J. Twyne, Comm. de Reb. Albion. lib. ii. p. 130. edit. Lond. 1590. I have mentioned the libraries of many monasteries below. See also what is said of the libraries of the Mendicant Friars, Sac. ix. p. 128. infr. That of Grey Friars in London was filled with books at the cost of five hundred and fifty-six pounds in the year 1432. Leland, Coll. i. 109. In the year 1483, the library of the abbey of Leicester contained eight large stalls which were filled with books. Gul. Charyte, Registr. Libror. et Jocal. omnium in monast. S. Mar. de pratis prope Lecestriam. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I. 75. fol. membr. See f. 139. There is an account of the library of Dover priory, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. B. 24. Leland says, that the library of Norwich priory

was "bonis refertissima libra." Script. Brit. p. 247. See also Leland's account of St. Austin's library at Canterbury, ibid. p. 299. Concerning which, compare *Liber Thomas Spretti de libreria S. Augustini Cantuariæ*, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 125. And Bibl. Cotton. Brit. Mus. Jul. C. vi. 4. And Leland, Coll. iii. 10. 120. Leland, who was Librarian to Henry the Eighth, removed a large quantity of valuable manuscripts from St. Austin's Canterbury and from other monasteries at the dissolution, to that king's library at Westminster. See Script. Brit. ETHELSTANUS. And MSS. Reg. 1 A. xviii. For the sake of connection I will observe, that among our cathedral libraries of secular canons, that of the church of Wells was most magnificent: it was built about the year 1490, and contained twenty-five windows on either side. Leland, Coll. i. p. 109. in which state, I believe, it continues at present. Nor is it quite foreign to the subject of this note to add, that king Henry the Sixth intended a library at Eton college, fifty-two feet long, and twenty-four broad: and another at King's college in Cambridge of the same breadth, but one hundred and two feet in length. Ex Testam. dat. xii. Mar. 1447.

tutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Oseney abbey in the year 1446. "Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at most; so that others shall be hindered from the use of the same^b." The famous library established in the university of Oxford, by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey duké of Gloucester, contained only six hundred volumes^c. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris. These were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers: many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French: pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the Fifth, who began his reign in 1365. This monarch was passionately fond of reading, and it was the fashion to send him presents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. These he ordered to be elegantly transcribed, and richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called *la tour de la libraire*. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers; which, on this occasion, were wainscotted with Irish oak, and cieled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425. On which event the duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent his whole library, then consisting of only eight hundred and fifty-three volumes, and valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of duke Humphrey's library just mentioned^d. Even so late as the year

^b "Nullus occupet unum librum, vel occupari faciat, ultra unam horam et duas ad majus: sic quod ceteri retrahantur a visu et studio ejusdem." Statut. Coll. S. Maris pro Oseney. DE LIBRARIIS. f. 21. MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

^c Wood, ubi supr. ii. 49. col. ii. It

was not opened till the year 1480. Ibid. p. 50. col. i.

^d See M. Boivin, Mem. Lit. ii. p. 747. 4to. Who says, that the regent presented to his brother in law Humphrey duke of Gloucester a rich copy of a translation of Livy into French, which had been presented to the king of France.

latry, which were inconsistent with their religion. Or perhaps it was too cold and too correct for their extravagant and romantic conceptions¹. Of the Greek history they made no use, because it recorded events which preceded their prophet Mahomet. Accustomed to a despotic empire, they neglected the political systems of the Greeks, which taught republican freedom. For the same reasons they despised the eloquence of the Athenian orators. The Greek ethics were superseded by their Alcoran, and on this account they did not study the works of Plato^m. Therefore no other Greek books engaged their attention but those which treated of mathematical, metaphysical, and physical knowledge. Mathematics coincided with their natural turn to astronomy and arithmetic. Metaphysics, or logic, suited their speculative genius, their love of tracing intricate and abstracted truths, and their ambition of being admired for difficult and remote researches. Physics, in which I include medicine, assisted the chemical experiments to which they were so much addictedⁿ: and medicine, while it was connected with chemistry and botany, was a practical art of im-

¹ Yet it appears from many of their fictions, that some of the Greek poets were not unfamiliar among them, perhaps long before the period assigned in the text. Theophilus Edessenus, a Maronite, by profession an astronomer, translated Homer into Syriac about the year 770. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 376. Abulfarag. ut supr. p. 217. Reinesius, in his very curious account of the *manuscript collection of Greek chemists* in the library of Saxe-Gotha, relates that soon after the year 750, the Arabians translated Homer and Pindar, amongst other Greek books. Ernest. Salom. Cyprian. Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Gothan. p. 71. 87. Apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 753. It is however certain, that the Greek philosophers were their objects. Compare Euseb. Renaudot de Barb. Aristotel. Versionih. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 252. 258.

ⁿ Yet Reinesius says, that about the year 750, they translated Plato into Arabic: together with the works of S. Austin, Ambrose, Jerom, Leo, and

Gregory the Great. Ubi supr. p. 260. Leo Africanus mentions, among the works of Averroes, *EXPOSITIONES REIPUBLICÆ PLATONIS*. But he died so late as the year 1206. De Med. et Philosoph. Arab. cap. xx.

^a The earliest Arab chemist, whose writings are now extant, was Jeber. He is about the seventh century. His book, called by Golius, his Latin translator, *Lapis Philosophorum*, was written first in Greek, and afterwards translated by its author into Arabic. For Jeber was originally a Greek and a Christian, and afterwards went into Asia, and embraced Mohammedism. See Leo African. lib. iii. c. 106. The learned Boerhaave asserts, that many of Jeber's experiments are verified by present practice, and that several of them have been revived as modern discoveries. Boerhaave adds, that, except the fancies about the philosopher's stone, the exactness of Jeber's operations is surprising. Hist. Chemistr. p. 14, 15. Lond. 1727.

mediate utility^o. Hence they studied Aristotle, Galen, and Hippocrates, with unremitting ardour and assiduity: they translated their writings into the Arabic tongue^p, and by degrees illustrated them with voluminous commentaries^q. These Arabic translations of the Greek philosophers produced new

^o Their learning, but especially their medical knowledge, flourished most in Salerno, a city of Italy, where it formed the famous *Schola Salernitana*. The little book of medical precepts in leonine heroics, which bears the name of that school, is well known. This system was composed at the desire of Robert duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror's son: who returning from Jerusalem in one of the crusades, and having heard of the fame of those Salernitan physicians, applied to them for the cure of a wound made by a poisoned arrow. It was written not only in verse, but in rhyming verse, that the prince might more easily retain the rules in his memory. It was published 1100. The author's name is Giovanni di Milano, a celebrated Salernitan physician. The monks of Cassino, hereafter mentioned, much improved this study. See Chron. Cassin. l. iii. c. 35. Medicine was at first practised by the monks or the clergy, who adopted it with the rest of the Arabian learning. See P. Diac. De Vir. illustr. cap. xiii. et ibid. Not. Mar. See also Ab. De Nuce ad Chron. Cassin. l. i. c. 9. And Leon. Ostiens. Chron. l. iii. c. 7. See Sæcr. xvii. vol. ii. p. 277. *infra*.

^p Compare Renaudot, *ubi supra*. p. 258.

^q Their caliph Al-manun was a singular encourager of these translations. He was a great master of the speculative sciences; and for his better information in them, invited learned men from all parts of the world to Bagdat. He favoured the learned of every religion: and in return they made him presents of their works, collected from the choicest pieces of Eastern literature, whether of Indians, Jews, Magians, or oriental Christians. He expended immense sums in purchasing valuable books written in Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, that they might be translated into Arabic. Many Greek treatises of medicine were trans-

lated into that language by his orders. He hired the most learned persons from all quarters of his vast dominions to make these translations. Many celebrated astronomers flourished in his reign; and he was himself famed for his skill in astronomy. This was about the year of Christ 820. See Leo African. de Med. et Phil. Arab. cap. i. Al-Makin, p. 139, 140. Eutyck. p. 434, 435.

A curious circumstance of the envy with which the Greeks at Constantinople treated this growing philosophy of the Arabians, is mentioned by Cedrenus. Al-Manun, hearing of one Leo an excellent mathematician at Constantinople, wrote to the emperor, requesting that Leo might be permitted to settle in his dominions, with a most ample salary, as a teacher in that science. The emperor, by this means being made acquainted with Leo's merit, established a school, in which he appointed Leo a professor, for the sake of a specious excuse. The caliph sent a second time to the emperor, entreating that Leo might reside with him for a short time only; offering likewise a large sum of money, and terms of lasting peace and alliance. On which the emperor immediately created Leo bishop of Thessalonica. Cedren. Hist. Comp. 548. *seq.* Herbelot also relates, that the same caliph, so universal was his search after Greek books, procured a copy of Apollonius Pergæus the mathematician. But this copy contained only seven books. In the mean time, finding by the Introduction that the whole consisted of eight books, and that the eighth book was the foundation of the rest, and being informed that there was a complete copy in the emperor's library at Constantinople, he applied to him for a transcript. But the Greeks, merely from a principle of jealousy, would not suffer the application to reach the emperor, and it did not take effect. Biblioth. Oriental. p. 978. col. a.

treatises of their own, particularly in medicine and metaphysics. They continued to extend their conquests, and their frequent incursions into Europe before and after the ninth century, and their absolute establishment in Spain, imported the rudiments of useful knowledge into nations involved in the grossest ignorance, and unpossessed of the means of instruction. They founded universities in many cities of Spain and Africa¹. They brought with them their books, which Charlemagne, emperor of France and Germany, commanded to be translated from Arabic into Latin²: and which, by the care and encouragement of that liberal prince, being quickly disseminated over his extensive dominions, soon became familiar to the western world. Hence it is, that we find our early Latin authors of the dark ages chiefly employed in writing systems of the most abstruse sciences: and from these beginnings the Aristotelic philosophy acquired such establishment and authority, that from long prescription it remains to this day the sacred and uncontroverted doctrine of our schools³. From this fountain the infatuations of astrology took possession of the middle ages, and were continued even to modern times, To the peculiar

¹ See Hotting. *Hist. Eccl. Sæc. ix. sect. ii. lit. G g.* According to the best writers of oriental history, the Arabians had made great advances on the coasts communicating with Spain, I mean in Africa, about the year of Christ 692. And they became actually masters of Spain itself in the year 712. See *Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 168. 179. edit. 1759.* It may be observed, that Sicily became part of the dominion of the Saracens, within sixty years after Mahomet's death, and in the seventh century, together with almost all Asia and Africa. Only part of Greece and the lesser Asia then remained to the Grecian empire at Constantinople. *Conring. De Script. &c. Comment. p. 101. edit. Wratia. 1727.* See also, *Univ. Hist. ut supr.*

² *Euspinian. de Cæsarib. p. 419.*

³ Yet it must not be forgot, that S. Austin had translated part of Aristotle's logic from the original Greek into Latin before the fifth century; and that the peripatetic philosophy must have been

partly known to the western scholars from the writings and translations of Boethius, who flourished about the year 520. Alcuine, Charlemagne's master, commends S. Austin's book *De Prædicationibus*, which he calls, *Decem Naturæ Verba.* *Rog. Bacon, de Util. Scient. cap. xiv.* See also *Op. Maj.* An ingenious and learned writer, already quoted, affirms, that in the age of Charlemagne there were many Greek scholars who made translations of Aristotle, which were in use below the year 1100. I will not believe that any Europeans, properly so called, were competently skilled in Greek for this purpose in the time of Charlemagne; nor, if they were, is it likely that of themselves they should have turned their thoughts to Aristotle's philosophy. Unless by *utri Græci docti* this writer means the learned Arabs of Spain, which does not appear from his context. See *Euseb. Renaudot, ut supr. p. 247.*

genius of this people it is owing, that chemistry became blended with so many extravagancies, obscured with unintelligible jargon, and filled with fantastic notions, mysterious pretensions, and superstitious operations. And it is easy to conceive, that among these visionary philosophers, so fertile in speculation, logic and metaphysics contracted much of that refinement and perplexity, which for so many centuries exercised the genius of profound reasoners and captious disputants, and so long obstructed the progress of true knowledge. It may perhaps be regretted, in the mean time, that this predilection of the Arabian scholars for philosophic enquiries, prevented them from importing into Europe a literature of another kind. But rude and barbarous nations would not have been polished by the history, poetry, and oratory of the Greeks. Although capable of comprehending the solid truths of many parts of science, they are unprepared to be impressed with ideas of elegance, and to relish works of taste. Men must be instructed before they can be refined; and, in the gradations of knowledge, polite literature does not take place till some progress has first been made in philosophy. Yet it is at the same time probable, that the Arabians, among their literary stores, brought into Spain and Italy many Greek authors not of the scientific species^u: and that the migration of this people into the western

^u It must not be forgot, that they translated Aristotle's *POETICS*. There is extant "*Averrois Summa in Aristotelis poetriam ex Arabico sermone in Latinum tractata ab Hermanno Alemanno: Præmittitur determinatio Ibinrodin in poetria Aristotelis. Venet. 1515.*" There is a translation of the *POETICS* into Arabic by Abou Muschar Metta, entitled, *AMERICA*. See Herbel. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 18. col. a. p. 971. b. p. 40. col. 2. p. 337. col. 2. Farabi, who studied at Bagdad about the year 930, one of the translators of Aristotle's *ANALYTICS*, wrote sixty books on that philosopher's *Rhetoric*; declaring that he had read it over two hundred times, and yet was equally desirous of reading it again. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiii. 265. Herbelot mentions

Aristotle's *MORALS*, translated by Hoinain, *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 963. a. See also p. 971. a. 973. p. 974. b. Compare Mosheim. *Hist. ch. i. p. 217. 288.* Note C. p. 2. ch. 1. Averrois also paraphrased Aristotle's *RHETORIC*. There are also translations into Arabic of Aristotle's *ANALYTICS*, and his treatise of *INTERPRETATION*. The first they called *ANALUTICA*, and the second, *BARI AAMENIAS*. But Aristotle's logic, metaphysics, and physics pleased them most; particularly the eight books of his physics, which exhibit a general view of that science. Some of our countrymen were translators of these Arabic books into Latin. Athelard, a monk of Bath, translated the Arabic Euclid into Latin, about 1000. *Leland. Script. Brit.* p.

world, while it proved the fortunate instrument of introducing into Europe some of the Greek classics at a very early period, was moreover a means of preserving those genuine models of composition, and of transmitting them to the present generation^v. It is certain, that about the close of the ninth century, polite letters, together with the sciences, began in some degree to be studied in Italy, France, and Germany. Charlemagne, whose munificence and activity in propagating the Arabian literature has already been mentioned, founded the universities of Bononia, Pavia, Paris, and Osnaburgh. Charles the Bald seconded the salutary endeavours of Charlemagne. Lothaire, the brother of the latter, erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy^w. The number of monasteries and collegiate churches in those countries was daily increasing^x: in which the youth, as a preparation to the study of the sacred scrip-

200. There are some manuscripts of it in the Bodleian library, and elsewhere. But the most beautiful and elegant copy I have seen is on vellum, in Trinity college library at Oxford. Cod. MSS. Num. 10.

^v See what I have said concerning the destruction of many Greek classics at Constantinople, in the Preface to Theocritus, Oxon. 1770. tom. i. Prefat. p. xiv. xv. To which I will add, that so early as the fourth century, the Christian priests did no small injury to antient literature, by prohibiting and discouraging the study of the old pagan philosophers. Hence the story, that Jerom dreamed he was whipped by the devil for reading Cicero. Compare what is said of Livy below.

^w A.D. 823. See Murator. Scriptor. Rer. Italicar. i. p. 151.

^x Cave mentions, "*Cænobia Italica*, Cassinense, Ferrariense: *Germanica*, Fuldense, Sangellense, Augiense, Lobienae: *Gallica*, Corbiense, Rhemense, Orbacense, Floriacense," &c. Hist. Lit. Sec. Photian. p. 503. edit. 1688. Charlemagne also founded two archbishopricks and nine bishopricks in the most considerable towns of Germany. Aub. Miræi Op. Diplom. i. p. 16. Charlemagne seems to have founded libraries.

See J. David. Koeler, Diss. De Bibliotheca Caroli Mag. Altorg. 1727. And Act. Erudit. et Curios. Francon. P. x. p. 716. seq. 60. And Hist. Lit. Franc. tom. iv. 4to. p. 223. Compare Laun. c. iv. p. 30. Eginhart mentions his private library. Vit. Car. Mag. p. 41. a. edit. 1565. He even founded a library at Jerusalem, for the use of those western pilgrims who visited the holy sepulchre. Hist. Lit. ut supr. p. 373. His successor also, Charles the Bald, erected many libraries. Two of his librarians, Holduin and Ebbo, occur under that title in subscriptions. Bibl. Hist. Liter. Struvii et Jugl. cap. ii. sect. xvii. p. 172. This monarch, before his last expedition into Italy about the year 870, in case of his decease, orders his large library to be divided into three parts, and disposed of accordingly. Hist. Lit. ut supr. tom. v. p. 514. Launoy justly remarks, that many noble public institutions of Charles the Bald were referred, by succeeding historians, to their more favourite hero Charlemagne. Ubi supr. p. 53. edit. Fabric. Their immediate successors, at least of the German race, were not such conspicuous patrons of literature.

tures, were exercised in reading profane authors, together with the antient doctors of the church, and habituated to a Latin style. The monks of Cassino in Italy were distinguished before the year 1000, not only for their knowledge of the sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics. Their learned abbot Desiderius collected the best of the Greek and Roman writers. This fraternity not only composed learned treatises in music, logic, astronomy, and the Vitruvian architecture, but likewise employed a portion of their time in transcribing Tacitus¹, Jornandes, Josephus, Ovid's *Fasti*, Cicero, Seneca, Donatus the grammarian, Virgil, Theocritus, and Homer².

In the mean time England shared these improvements in knowledge: and literature, chiefly derived from the same

¹ Lipsius says, that Leo the Tenth gave five hundred pieces of gold for the five first books of Tacitus's *Annals*, to the monks of a convent in Saxony. This Lipsius calls the resurrection of Tacitus to life. *Ad Annal. Tacit. lib. ii. c. 9.* At the end of the edition of Tacitus, published under Leo's patronage by Beroldus in 1515, this edict is printed, "Nomine Leonis X. proposita sunt præmia non mediocria his qui ad eum libros veteres neque hactenus editos adulerint."

² Chron. Cassin. Monast. lib. iii. c. 35. Poggius Florentinus found a *STRATAGEMATA* of Frontinus, about the year 1490, in this monastery. Mabilion, *Mus. Ital. tom. i. p. 133.* Manuscripts of the following classics now in the Harleian collection, appear to have been written between the eighth and tenth centuries inclusively. Two copies of Terence, *Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 2670. 2750.* Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, the first book *De Natura Deorum*, *Orations against Catiline*, *De Oratore*, *De Inventione Rhetorica*, *Ad Herennium*, n. 2622. 2716. 2623. And the *Epistles*, with others of his works, n. 2682. A fragment of the *Æneid*, n. 2772. *Livy*, n. 2672. *Lucius Florus*, n. 2620. *Ovid's Metamorphoses and Fasti*, n. 2737. *Quintilian*, n. 2664. *Horace*, the *Odes*

excepted, n. 2725. Many of the same and other classic authors occur in the British Museum, written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See n. 5443. 2656. 2475. 2624. 2591. 2668. 2533. 2770. 2492. 2709. 2655. 2654. 2664. 2728. 5534. 2609. 2724. 5412. 2643. 5304. 2633. There are four copies of Statius, one of the twelfth century, n. 2720: and three others of the thirteenth, n. 2608. 2636. 2665. *Plautus's Comedies* are among the royal manuscripts, written in the tenth, 15 C. xi. 4. And some parts of Tully in the same, *ibid.* 1. *Suetonius*, 15 C. iv. 1. *Horace's Art of Poetry*, *Epistles*, and *Satires*, with *Eutropius*, in the same, 15 B. vii. 1. 2. 3. xvi. 1, &c. Willibold, one of the learned Saxons whose literature will be mentioned in its proper place, having visited Rome and Jerusalem, retired for some time to this monastery, about the year 730. *Vit. Williboldi*, *Canis. Antiq. Lect. xv. 695.* And *Pantal. de Vir. Illustr. par. ii. p. 263.* And *Birinus*, who came into England from Rome about the year 630, with a design of converting the Saxons, brought with him one Benedict, a monk of Cassino, whom he placed over the monks or church of Winchester. *Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 190.*

sources, was communicated to our Saxon ancestors about the beginning of the eighth century^c. The Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity about the year 570. In consequence of this event, they soon acquired civility and learning. Hence they necessarily established a communication with Rome, and acquired a familiarity with the Latin language. During this period, it was the prevailing practice among the Saxons, not only of the clergy but of the better sort of laity, to make a voyage to Rome^d. It is natural to imagine with what ardour the new converts visited the holy see, which at the same time was fortunately the capital of literature. While they gratified their devotion, undesignedly and imperceptibly they became acquainted with useful science.

In return, Rome sent her emissaries into Britain. Theodore, a monk of Rome, originally a Greek priest, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into England by pope Vitalian, in the year 688^e. He was skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church-music, and the Greek and Latin languages^f. The new prelate brought with him a large library, as it was called and esteemed, consisting of numerous Greek and Latin authors; among which were Homer in a large volume, written on paper with most exquisite elegance, the homilies of saint Chrysostom on parchment, the Psalter, and Josephus's *Hypomnesticon*, all in Greek^g. Theodore was accompanied into England by Adrian, a Neapolitan monk, and a native of Africa, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, and at the same

^c Cave, *Sæcul. Eutychn.* p. 382.

^d "Hiis temporibus multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles viri et feminae, duces et privati, divini numinis instinctu, Romam venire consueverant." &c. Bede, *De Temp.* Apud Leland, *Script. Brit. Cæolfridus*.

^e Birchington, apud Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 2. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 464. Parker, *Antiquitat. Brit.* p. 53.

^f Bede, *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Angl.* iv. 2. Bede says of Theodore and of

Adrian mentioned below, "Usque hodie supersant de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam, æque ut propriam in qua nati sunt, norunt." See also *ibid.* c. 1.

^g Parker, *ut supr.* p. 80. See also Lambard's *Peramb. Kent.* p. 232. A transcript of the Josephus 500 years old was given to the public library at Cambridge, by the archbishop. See *Fabric. Bibl. Gr.* x. 109.

time appointed by the pope to the abbacy of Saint Austin's at Canterbury. Bede informs us, that Adrian requested Pope Vitalian to confer the archbishoprick on Theodore, and that the pope consented on condition that Adrian, "who had been twice in France, and on that account was *better acquainted* with the nature and difficulties of so long a journey," would conduct Theodore into Britain^b. They were both escorted to the city of Canterbury by Benedict Biscop, a native of Northumberland, and a monk, who had formerly been acquainted with them in a visit which he made to Rome¹. Benedict seems at this time to have been one of the most distinguished of the Saxon ecclesiastics: availing himself of the arrival of these two learned strangers, under their direction and assistance he procured workmen from France, and built the monastery of Weremouth in Northumberland. The church he constructed of stone, after the manner of the Roman architecture; and adorned its walls and roof with pictures, which he purchased at Rome, representing among other sacred subjects the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles, the evangelical history, and the visions of the Apocalypse^c. The windows were glazed by artists brought from France. But I mention this foundation to introduce an anecdote much to our purpose. Benedict added to his monastery an ample library, which he stored with Greek and Latin volumes, imported by himself from Italy^d. Bede has thought it a matter worthy to be recorded; that Ceolfrid, his successor in the government of Weremouth-abbey, aug-

^b Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 1. "Et ob id majorem notitiam hujus itineris," &c.

¹ See Math. Westmon. sub an. 708. Lel. Script. Brit. p. 109.

^c See Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 295. 297. edit. Cantab. In one of his expeditions to Rome, he brought over John, arch-chantor of St. Peter's at Rome, who introduced the Roman method of singing mass. Bed. *ibid.* p. 295. He taught the monks of Benedict's abbey; and all the singers of the monasteries of that province came from various parts to hear him sing.

Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 18. He likewise brought over from Rome two silken palls of exquisite workmanship, with which he afterwards purchased of king Aldfrid, successor of Elfrid, two pieces of land for his monastery. Bed. Vit. Abb. ut supr. p. 297. Bale censures Benedict for being the first who introduced into England painters, glassiers, *et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices.* Cent. i. 82. This is the language of a Puritan in Litz, as well as in Religion.

^d Lel. ubi supr. 110.

mented this collection with three volumes of pandects, and a book of cosmography wonderfully enriched with curious workmanship, and bought at Rome^m. The example of the pious Benedict was immediately followed by Acca, bishop of Hexham in the same province: who having finished his cathedral church by the help of architects, masons, and glasers hired in Italy, adorned it, according to Leland, with a valuable library of Greek and Latin authorsⁿ. But Bede, Acca's cotemporary, relates, that this library was entirely composed of the histories of those apostles and martyrs to whose relics he had dedicated several altars in his church, and other ecclesiastical treatises, which he had collected with infinite labour^o. Bede however calls it a most copious and noble library^p. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to add, that Acca invited from Kent into Northumberland, and retained in his service during the space of twelve years, a celebrated chantor named Maban: by the assistance of whose instructions and superintendence he not only regulated the church music of his diocese, but introduced the use of many Latin hymns hitherto unknown in the northern churches of England^q. It appears that before the arrival of Theodore and Adrian, celebrated schools for educating youth in the sciences had been long established in Kent^r. Literature, however, seems at this period to have flourished

^m Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 299. Op. Bed. edit. Cantab.

ⁿ Lel. ibid. p. 105.

^o Bed. Hist. v. 21. ^p Hist. v. c. 20.

^q Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. c. 21. Maban had been taught to sing in Kent by the successors of the disciples of Saint Gregory. Compare Bed. iv. 2. If we may believe William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the year 1120, they had organs in the Saxon churches before the Conquest. He says that archbishop Dunstan, in king Edgar's reign, gave an organ to the abbey-church of Malmesbury; which he describes to have been like those in use at present. "Organa, ubi per æreas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras." William, who was a

monk of this abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunstan was inscribed in a Latin distich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes. Vit. Aldhelm. Whart. Ang. Sacr. ii. p. 33. See what is said of Dunstan below. And Osb. Vit. S. Dunst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 93.

[Mr. Turner has quoted a passage from Aldhelm's poem "De Laude Virginum," which confirms this statement of Malmesbury:

Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis foliis iste,
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cætera capsis. Vol. ii. p. 408.—Err.]

^r See Bed. Op. per Smith, p. 734. seq. Append.

with equal reputation at the other extremity of the island, and even in our most northern provinces. Ecbert bishop of York founded a library in his cathedral, which, like some of those already mentioned, is said to have been replenished with a variety of Latin and Greek books¹. Alcuine, whom Ecbert appointed his first librarian, hints at this library in a Latin epistle to Charlemagne. "Send me from France some learned treatises, of equal excellence with those which I preserve here in England under my custody, collected by the industry of my master Ecbert: and I will send to you some of my youths, who shall carry with them the flowers of Britain into France. So that there shall not only be an *inclosed garden* at York, but also at Tours some sprouts of Paradise," &c. William of Malmesbury judged this library to be of sufficient importance not only to be mentioned in his History, but to be styled, "*Omnium liberalium artium armarium, nobilissimam bibliothecam*." This repository remained till the reign of King Stephen, when it was destroyed by fire, with great part of the city of York². Its founder Ecbert died in the year 767³. Before the end of the eighth century, the monasteries of Westminster, Saint Alban's, Worcester, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, with some others, were founded, and opulently endowed. That of Saint Alban's was filled with one hundred monks by King Offa⁴. Many new bishopricks were also established in England: all which institutions, by multiplying the number of ecclesiastics, turned the attention of many persons to letters.

The best writers among the Saxons flourished about the eighth century. These were, Aldhelm bishop of Shirburn, Ceolfrid, Alcuine, and Bede; with whom I must also join King Alfred. But in an enquiry of this nature, Alfred deserves particular notice, not only as a writer, but as the illustrious rival of Charlemagne, in protecting and assisting the restoration of literature. He is said to have founded the university of Ox-

¹ *Lel.* p. 114. [The only Greek classic was Aristotle.—EDM.]

² Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 486.

³ A. D. 793. See Dugd. *Monast. i.*

⁴ Bale, *ii.* 15.

⁵ *De Reg. i.* 1. p. 177.

⁶ Pitts, p. 154.

ford; and it is highly probable, that in imitation of Charlemagne's similar institutions, he appointed learned persons to give public and gratuitous instructions in theology, but principally in the fashionable sciences of logic, astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry, at that place, which was then a considerable town, and conveniently situated in the neighbourhood of those royal seats at which Alfred chiefly resided. He suffered no priest that was illiterate to be advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity⁷. He invited his nobility to educate their sons in learning, and requested those lords of his court who had no children, to send to school such of their younger servants as discovered a promising capacity, and to breed them to the clerical profession⁸. Alfred, while a boy, had himself experienced the inconveniencies arising from a want of scholars, and even of common instructors, in his dominions; for he was twelve years of age, before he could procure in the western kingdom a master properly qualified to teach him the alphabet. But, while yet unable to read, he could repeat from memory a great variety of Saxon songs⁹. He was fond of cultivating his native tongue: and with a view of inviting the people in general to a love of reading, and to a knowledge of books which they could not otherwise have understood, he translated many Latin authors into Saxon. These, among others, were Boethius OF THE CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a manuscript of which of Alfred's age still remains^b, Orosius's HISTORY OF THE PAGANS,

⁷ MS. Bever, MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxop. Codd. xlvii. f. 82.

⁸ Bever, *ibid*.

⁹ Flor. Vigorn. sub ann. 871. Brompton, Chron. in ALFR. p. 814. And MS. Bever, *ut sup*. It is curious to observe the simplicity of this age, in the method by which Alfred computed time. He caused six wax tapers to be made, each twelve inches long, and of as many ounces in weight: on these tapers he ordered the inches to be regularly marked; and having found that one of them burned just four hours, he committed the care of them to the keepers of his chapel, who from time to time gave due notice how

the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were more wasted; to remedy this inconvenience he invented lanthorns, there being then no glass to be met with in his dominions. Asser. Menev. Vit. Alfr. p. 68. edit. Wise. In the mean time, and during this very period, the Persians imported into Europe a machine, which presented the first rudiments of a striking clock. It was brought as a present to Charlemagne, from Abdella king of Persia, by two monks of Jerusalem, in the year 800. Among other presents, says Eginhart, was an horologe of brass, wonderfully constructed by some mechanical artifice,

Saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, the venerable Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, and the SOLILOQUIES of Saint Austin. Probably Saint Austin was selected by Alfred, because he was the favorite author of Charlemagne^c. Alfred died in the year 900, and was buried at Hyde abbey, in the suburbs of Winchester, under a sumptuous monument of porphyry^d.

Aldhelm, kinsman of Ina king of the West Saxons, frequently visited France and Italy. While a monk of Malmesbury in Wiltshire, he went from his monastery to Canterbury, in order to learn logic, rhetoric, and the Greek language, of archbishop Theodore, and of Albin abbot of Saint Austin's^e, the pupil of Adrian^f. But he had before acquired some knowledge of Greek and Latin under Maidulf, an Hibernian or Scot, who had erected a small monastery or school at Malmesbury^g. Camden affirms, that Aldhelm was the first of the Saxons who wrote in Latin, and that he taught his countrymen the art of Latin versification^h. But a very intelligent antiquarian in this sort of literature, mentions an anonymous Latin poet, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in verse; and adds, that he was the first of the Saxons that attempted to write Latin verseⁱ. It is however certain, that Aldhelm's Latin compositions, whether in verse or prose, as novelties were deemed extraordinary performances, and excited the attention

in which the course of the twelve hours *ad clepsidram vertebatur*, with as many little brassen balls, which at the close of each hour dropped down on a sort of bells underneath, and sounded the end of the hour. There were also twelve figures of horsemen, who, when the twelve hours were completed, issued out at twelve windows, which till then stood open, and returning again, shut the windows after them. He adds, that there were many other curiosities in this instrument, which it would be tedious to recount. Eginhart, *Car. Magn.* p. 108. It is to be remembered, that Eginhart was an eye-witness of what is here described; and that he was an abbot, a skilful architect, and very learned in the sciences.

^b MSS. Cott. OTH. A. 6. 8vo. membr.

^c He was particularly fond of Austin's

book *DE CIVITATE DEL.* Eginhart, *Vit. Car. Magn.* p. 29.

^d *Asser. Menev.* p. 72. ed. Wise.

^e Bede says, that Theodore and Adrian taught Tobias bishop of Rochester the Greek and Latin tongues so perfectly, that he could speak them as fluently as his native Saxon. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 23.

^f *Lel.* p. 97. Thorn says, that Albin learned Greek of Adrian. *Chron. Dec. Script.* p. 1771.

^g *W. Malmsh. ubi infr.* p. 3.

^h *Wiltsh.* p. 116. But this, Aldhelm affirms of himself in his treatise on *Metre*. See *W. Malmsh. apud Wharton, Angl. Sac.* ii. 4. seq.

ⁱ *Conringius, Script. Comment.* p. 108. This poem was printed by Reineccius at Helmstadt many years ago, with a large commentary. Compare *Voss. Hist. Lat.* iii. 4.

and admiration of scholars in other countries. A learned contemporary, who lived in a remote province of a Frankish territory, in an epistle to Aldhelm has this remarkable expression, "VESTRE LATINITATIS PANEGYRICUS RUMOR has reached us even at this distance¹," &c. In reward of these uncommon merits he was made bishop of Shirburn in Dorsetshire in the year 705². His writings are chiefly theological: but he has likewise left in Latin verse a book of *ÆNIGMATA*, copied from a work of the same title under the name of Symposius³, a poem *De VIRGINITATE* hereafter cited, and treatises on arithmetic, astrology, rhetoric, and metre. The last treatise is a proof that the ornaments of composition now began to be studied. Leland mentions his *CANTIONES SAXONICÆ*, one of which continued to be commonly sung in William of Malmesbury's time: and, as it was artfully interspersed with many allusions to passages of Scripture, was often sung by Aldhelm himself to the populace in the streets, with a design of alluring the ignorant and idle, by so specious a mode of instruction, to a sense of duty, and a knowledge of religious subjects⁴. Malmesbury observes, that Aldhelm might be justly deemed "*ex acumine Græcum, ex nitore Romanum, et ex pompa Anglum*."⁵ It is evident, that Malmesbury, while he here characterizes the Greeks by their acuteness, took his idea of them from their scientific literature, which was then only known. After the revival of the Greek philosophy by the Saracens, Aristotle and Euclid were familiar in Europe long before Homer and Pindar. The character of Aldhelm is thus drawn by an antient chronicler: "He was an excellent harper, a most eloquent Saxon and Latin poet, a most expert chantor or singer, a *DOCTOR EGREGIUS*, and admirably versed in the scriptures and the liberal sciences⁶."

¹ W. Malm. ut supr. p. 4.

² Cave, p. 466.

³ See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat. iv. p. 698. And Bibl. Lat. i. p. 681. And W. Malm. ubi supr. p. 7. Among the manuscripts of Exeter cathedral is a book of *ÆNIGMATA* in Saxon, some of which are written in Runic characters, 11. fol. 98.

⁴ Malm. ubi supr. p. 4.

⁵ Ubi supr. p. 4.

⁶ Chron. Anon. Leland. Collectan. ii. 278. To be skilled in singing is often mentioned as an accomplishment of the antient Saxon ecclesiastics. Bede says, that Edda a monk of Canterbury, and a learned writer, was "*primus cantandi magister*." Hist. lib. iv. cap. 2. Wolstan,

Alcuine, bishop Ecbert's librarian at York, was a cotemporary pupil with Aldhelm under Theodore and Adrian at Can-

a learned monk of Winchester, of the same age, was a celebrated singer, and even wrote a treatise de TONORUM HARMONIA, cited by William of Malmesbury, De Reg. lib. ii. c. 39. *Lel. Script. Brit.* p. 165. Their skill in playing on the harp is also frequently mentioned. Of Saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 988, it is said, that among his sacred studies, he cultivated the arts of writing, harping, and painting. *Vit. S. Dunstan. MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. FAUSTIN. B. 13.* Hickeys has engraved a figure of our Saviour drawn by Saint Dunstan, with a specimen of his writing, both remaining in the Bodleian library. *Gram. Saxon. p. 104. cap. xxii.* The writing and many of the pictures and illuminations in our Saxon manuscripts were executed by the priests. A book of the gospel, preserved in the Cotton library, is a fine specimen of the Saxon calligraphy and decorations. It is written by Eadfrid bishop of Durham, in the most exquisite manner. Ethelwold his successor did the illuminations, the capital letters, the picture of the cross, and the evangelists, with infinite labour and elegance: and Bilfrid the anchorite covered the book, thus written and adorned, with gold and silver plates and precious stones. All this is related by Aldred, the Saxon glossator, at the end of St. John's gospel. The work was finished about the year 720. *MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. Næro. D. 4. Cod. membr. fol. quadrat. Ælfain, a monk,* is the elegant scribe of many Saxon pieces chiefly historical and scriptural in the same library, and perhaps the painter of the figures, probably soon after the year 978. *Ibid. Tirus. D. 26. Cod. membr. 8vo.* The Saxon copy of the four evangelists, which king Athelstan gave to Durham church, remains in the same library. It has the painted images of S. Cuthbert, radiated and crowned, blessing king Athelstan, and of the four evangelists. [Since engraved in the third volume of Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the English*: and in vol. i. of the same work there is an engraving of the figure of our Saviour by St. Dunstan mentioned in this note.—

PARK.] This is undoubtedly the work of the monks; but Wanley believed it to have been done in France. *Ortho. B. 9. Cod. membran. fol.* At Trinity college in Cambridge is a Psalter in Latin and Saxon, admirably written, and illuminated with letters in gold, silver, miniated, &c. It is full of a variety of historical pictures. At the end is the figure of the writer Eadwin, supposed to be a monk of Canterbury, holding a pen of metal, undoubtedly used in such sort of writing; with an inscription importing his name, and excellence in the calligraphic art. It appears to be performed about the reign of King Stephen. *Cod. membr. fol. post Class. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5. [among the Single Codices.]* Eadwin was a famous and frequent writer of books for the library of Christchurch at Canterbury, as appears by a catalogue of their books taken A.D. 1315. In *Bibl. Cott. GALB. E 4.* The eight historical pictures richly illuminated with gold, of the *Annunciation, the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, &c.* in a manuscript of the gospel, are also thought to be of the reign of King Stephen, yet perhaps from the same kind of artists. The Saxon clergy were ingenious artificers in many other respects. S. Dunstan above mentioned made two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands. *Monast. Anglic. tom. i. p. 104.* John of Glastonbury, who wrote about the year 1400, relates, that there remained in the abbey at Glastonbury, in his time, crosses, incense-vessels, and vestments, made by Dunstan while a monk there. *cap. 161.* He adds, that Dunstan also handled "scalpellum ut sculperet." It is said, that he could model any image in brass, iron, gold, or silver. *Osb. Vit. S. Dunstan. apud Whart. ii. 94.* Ervenc, one of the teachers of Wolstan bishop of Worcester, perhaps a monk of Bury, was famous for calligraphy, and skill in colours. To invite his pupils to read, he made use of a Psalter and Sacramentary, whose capital letters he had richly illuminated with gold. This was about the year 980. *Will. Malmesb. Vit. Wulst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. p. 244.* William of Malmesbury says, that Elfrie,

terbury³. During the present period, there seems to have been a close correspondence and intercourse between the French and Anglo-Saxons in matters of literature. Alcuine was invited from England into France, to superintend the studies of Charlemagne, whom he instructed in logic, rhetoric, and astronomy⁴. He was also the master of Rabanus Maurus, who became afterwards the governor and preceptor of the great abbey of Fulda in Germany, one of the most flourishing seminaries in Europe, founded by Charlemagne, and inhabited by two hundred and seventy monks⁵. Alcuine was likewise employed by Charlemagne to regulate the lectures and discipline of the universities⁶, which that prudent and magnificent potentate had newly constituted⁷. He is said to have joined to the Greek and Latin, an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, which perhaps in some degree was known sooner than we may suspect; for at Trinity college in Cambridge there is an Hebrew Psalter, with a Normanno-Gallic interlinear version of great antiquity⁸. Homilies, lives of saints, commentaries on

a Saxon abbot of Malmesbury, was a skilful architect, *œdificandi gnarus*. Vit. Aldhelm. Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. p. 33. Herman, one of the Norman bishops of Salisbury, about 1080, condescended to write, bind, and illuminate books. *Monast. Angl.* tom. iii. p. 375.

In some of these instances I have wandered below the Saxon times. It is indeed evident from various proofs which I could give, that the religious practised these arts long afterwards. But the object of this note was the existence of them among the Saxon clergy.

³ *Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed.*

⁴ *Eginhart. Vit. Kar. Magn.* p. 30. ed. 1565. 4to.

⁵ Rabanus instructed them not only in the Scriptures, but in profane literature. A great number of other scholars frequented these lectures. He was the first founder of a library in this monastery. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* p. 540. *Sec. Phot.* His leisure hours being entirely taken up in reading or transcribing, he was accused by some of the idle monks of attending so much to his studies, that he neglected the public duties of his station, and the care of the revenues of

the abbey. They therefore removed him, yet afterwards in vain attempted to recall him. *Serrar. Rer. Mogunt. lib. iv.* p. 625.

⁶ John Mailros, a Scot, one of Bede's scholars, is said to have been employed by Charlemagne in founding the university of Pavia. *Dempst. xii.* 904.

⁷ See *Op. Alcuin. Paris.* 1617. fol. *Præfat. Andr. Quercetan.* Mabillon says, that Alcuine pointed the homilies, and St. Austin's epistle, at the instance of Charlemagne. *CARL. MAGN. R. Diplom.* p. 52. a. Charlemagne was most fond of astronomy. He learned also arithmetic. In his treasury he had three tables of silver, and a fourth of gold, of great weight and size. One of these, which was square, had a picture or representation of Constantinople: another, a round one, a map of Rome: a third, which was of the most exquisite workmanship, and greatest weight, consisting of three orbs, contained a map of the world. *Eginhart, ubi supr.* p. 29. 31. 41.

⁸ *MSS. Cod. Coll. S. S. Trin. Cantabrigiæ.* Class. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5. membran. 4to. Bede says, that he compiled part

the bible, with the usual systems of logic, astronomy, rhetoric; and grammar, compose the formidable catalogue of Alcuine's numerous writings. Yet in his books of the sciences, he sometimes ventured to break through the pedantic formalities of a systematical teacher: he has thrown one of his treatises in logic, and, I think, another in grammar, into a dialogue between the author and Charlemagne. He first advised Bede to write his ecclesiastical history of England; and was greatly instrumental in furnishing materials for that early and authentic record of our antiquities².

In the mean time we must not form too magnificent ideas of these celebrated masters of science, who were thus invited into foreign countries to conduct the education of mighty monarchs, and to plan the rudiments of the most illustrious academies. Their merits are in great measure relative. Their circle of reading was contracted, their systems of philosophy jejune; and their lectures rather served to stop the growth of ignorance, than to produce any positive or important improvements in knowledge. They were unable to make excursions from their circumscribed paths of scientific instruction, into the spacious and fruitful regions of liberal and manly study. Those of their hearers, who had passed through the course of the sciences with applause, and aspired to higher acquisitions, were exhorted to read Cassiodorus and Boethius; whose writings they placed at the summit of profane literature, and which they believed to be the great boundaries of human erudition.

I have already mentioned Ceolfrid's presents of books to Benedict's library at Weremouth abbey. He wrote an account of his travels into France and Italy. But his principal work, and I believe the only one preserved, is his dissertation concerning the clerical tonsure, and the rites of celebrating Easter³.

of his *CHRONICON*, *EX HEBRAICA VERITATE*, that is, from S. Jerom's Latin translation of the Bible; for he adds, "nos qui per beati interpretis Hieronymi industriam puro HEBRAICÆ VERITATIS fonte potamur," &c. And again, "Ex Hebraica veritate, quæ ad nos per memoratum interpretem pure pervenisse," &c.

He mentions on this occasion the Greek Septuagint translation of the Bible, but not as if he had ever seen or consulted it. *Bed. CHRON.* p. 34. edit. Cant. Op. Bed.

² *Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed. To King Ceolwulphus*, p. 37. 38. edit. Op. Cant.

³ *Bed. Hist. Eccl.* v. 22. And *Concil. Gen.* vi. p. 1423.

This was written at the desire of Naiton, a Pictish king, who dispatched ambassadors to Ceolfrid for information concerning these important articles; requesting Ceolfrid at the same time to send him some skilful architects, who could build in his country a church of stone, after the fashion of the Romans^a. Ceolfrid died on a journey to Rome, and was buried in a monastery of Navarre, in the year 706^b.

But Bede, whose name is so nearly and necessarily connected with every part of the literature of this period, and which has therefore been often already mentioned, emphatically styled the Venerable by his cotemporaries, was by far the most learned of the Saxon writers. He was of the northern school, if it may be so called; and was educated in the monastery of Saint Peter at Weremouth, under the care of the abbots Ceolfrid and Biscop^c. Bale affirms, that Bede learned physics and mathematics from the purest sources, the original Greek and Roman writers on these subjects^d. But this hasty assertion, in part at least, may justly be doubted. His knowledge, if we consider his age, was extensive and profound: and it is amazing, in so rude a period, and during a life of no considerable length, he should have made so successful a progress, and such rapid improvements, in scientific and philological studies, and have composed so many elaborate treatises on different subjects^e. It is diverting to see the French critics censuring Bede for credulity: they might as well have accused him of superstition^f. There is much perspicuity and facility in his

^a Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. c. 21. iv. 18.

^b Bed. Hist. Abb. p. 300.

^c Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 24.

^d ii. 94.

^e "Libros septuaginta octo edidit, quos ad finem HISTORIÆ suæ ANGLICANÆ edidit. [See Op. edit. Cant. p. 222. 223. lib. v. c. 24.] Hic succumbit ingenium, deficit eloquium, sufficienter admirari hominem a scholastico exercitio tam procul amotum, tam sobrio sermone tanta elaborasse volumina." &c. Chron. Pref. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. ut supr. f. 65. [Bever was a monk of Westminster circ. A.D. 1400.] For a

full and exact list of Bede's works, the curious reader is referred to Mabillon, Sæc. iii. p. i. p. 539. Or Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. p. 242.

^f It is true, that Bede has introduced many miracles and visions into his history. Yet some of these are pleasing to the imagination: they are tinged with the gloom of the cloister, operating on the extravagancies of oriental invention. I will give an instance or two. A monk of Northumberland died, and was brought again to life. In this interval of death, a young man in shining apparel came and led him, without speak-

Latin style. But it is void of elegance, and often of purity; it shews with what grace and propriety he would have written, had his mind been formed on better models. Whoever looks for digestion of materials, disposition of parts, and accuracy of narration, in this writer's historical works, expects what could not exist at that time. He has recorded but few civil transactions: but besides that his History professedly considers ecclesiastical affairs, we should remember, that the building of a church, the preferment of an abbot, the canonisation of a martyr, and the importation into England of the shin-bone of an apostle, were necessarily matters of much more importance in Bede's conceptions than victories or revolutions. He is fond of minute description; but particularities are the fault and often the merit of early historians'. Bede wrote many pieces of Latin

ing, to a valley of infinite depth, length, and breadth: one side was formed by a prodigious sheet of fire, and the opposite side filled with hail and ice. Both sides were swarming with souls of departed men; who were for ever in search of rest, alternately shifting their situation to these extremes of heat and cold. The monk supposing this place to be hell, was told by his guide that he was mistaken. The guide then led him, greatly terrified with this spectacle, to a more distant place, where he says, "I saw on a sudden a darkness come on, and every thing was obscured. When I entered this place I could discern no object, on account of the encensing darkness, except the countenance and glittering garments of my conductor. As we went forward I beheld vast torrents of flame spouting upwards from the ground, as from a large well, and falling down into it again. As we came near it my guide suddenly vanished, and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrible vision. Deformed and uncouth spirits arose from this blazing chasm, and attempted to draw me in with fiery forks." But his guide here returned, and they all retired at his appearance. Heaven is then described with great strength of fancy. I have seen an old ballad, called the *Dead Man's Song*, on this story. And Milton's hell may perhaps be taken

from this idea. Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 13. Our historian in the next chapter relates, that two most beautiful youths came to a person lying sick on his death-bed, and offered him a book to read, richly ornamented, in which his good actions were recorded. Immediately after this, the house was surrounded and filled with an army of spirits of most horrible aspect. One of them, who by the gloom of his darksome countenance appeared to be their leader, produced a book, *codicem horrendæ visionis, et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis pene importabilis*, and ordered some of his attendant demons to bring it to the sick man. In this were contained all his sins, &c. ib. cap. 14.

An ingenious author, who writes under the name of M. de Vigneul Marville, observes, that Bede, "when he speaks of the Magi who went to worship our Saviour, is very particular in the account of their names, age, and respective offerings. He says, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard; and that it was he who offered gold to Christ, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty. That Gaspar, the second of the magi, was young, and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincense, in recognition of our Lord's divinity: and that Balthasar, the third, was of a dark complexion, had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our

poetry. The following verses from his *MEDITATIO DE DIE JUDICII*, a translation of which into Saxon verse is now preserved in the library of Bennet college at Cambridge¹, are at least well turned and harmonious.

Inter florigeras fœcundi cespitis herbas,
Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis².

Some of Aldhelm's verses are exactly in this cast, written on the Dedication of the abbey-church at Malmesbury to Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Hic celebranda rudis³ florescit gloria templi,
Limpida quæ sacri celebrat vexilla triumphi:
Hic Petrus et Paulus, tenebrosi lumina mundi,
Præcipui patres populi qui frena gubernant,
Carminibus crebris alma celebrantur in aula.
Claviger o cæli, portam qui pandis in æthra,
Candida qui meritis recludis limina cæli,
Exaudi clemens populorum vota tuorum,
Marcida qui riguis humectant fletibus ora.⁴

The strict and superabundant attention of these Latin poets to prosodic rules, on which it was become fashionable to write didactic systems, made them accurate to excess in the metrical conformation of their hexameters, and produced a faultless and flowing monotony. Bede died in the monastery of Weremouth, which he never had once quitted, in the year 735⁵.

I have already observed, and from good authorities, that many of these Saxon scholars were skilled in Greek. Yet scarce any considerable monuments have descended to modern

Saviour's humanity." He is likewise very circumstantial in the description of their dresses. *Mélanges de l'Hist. et de Lit.* Paris, 1725. 12mo. tom. iii. p. 283. &c. What was more natural than this in such a writer and on such a subject? In the mean time it may be remarked, that this description of Bede, taken perhaps from constant tradition, is now to be seen in the old pictures

and popular representations of the *Wise Men's Offering*.

¹ Cod. MSS. lxxix. P. 161.

² Malmsh. apud Whart. ut supr. p. 8. recent; newly built.

³ W. Malmsh. ut supr. Apud Whart. p. 8.

⁴ Cave, ubi supr. p. 473. *Sec. Eiconocl.*

times, to prove their familiarity with that language. I will, however, mention such as have occurred to me. Archbishop Parker, or rather his learned scribe Jocelin, affirms, that the copy of Homer, and of some of the other books imported into England by archbishop Theodore, as I have above related, remained in his time¹. There is however no allusion to Homer, nor any mention made of his name, in the writings of the Saxons now existing². In the Bodleian library are some extracts from the books of the Prophets in Greek and Latin: the Latin is in Saxon, and the Greek in Latino-greek capital characters. A Latino-greek alphabet is prefixed. In the same manuscript is a chapter of Deuteronomy, Greek and Latin, but both are in Saxon characters³. In the curious and very valuable library of Bennet college in Cambridge, is a very antient copy of Aldhelm DE LAUDE VIRGINITATIS. In it is inserted a specimen of Saxon poetry full of Latin and Greek words, and at the end of the manuscript some Runic letters occur⁴. I suspect that their Grecian literature was a matter of ostentation rather than use. William of Malmesbury, in his Life of Aldhelm, censures an affectation in the writers of this age; that they were fond of introducing in their Latin compositions a difficult and abstruse word latinised from the Greek⁵. There are many instances of this pedantry in the early charters of Dugdale's Monasticon. But it is no where more visible than in the LIFE of Saint WILFRID, archbishop of Canterbury, written by Fridegode a monk of Canterbury, in Latin heroics, about the year 960⁶. Malmesbury observes of this author's style, "*Latinitatem perosus, Gracitatem amat, Gracula verba frequentat*." Probably to be able to read Greek at this time was esteemed a knowledge of that language. Eginhart relates, that Charlemagne could speak Latin as fluently as his native

¹ Antiquitat. Brit. p. 80.

² See Sax. iii. vol. ii. p. 128. Where it is observed, that Homer is cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But he is not mentioned in Geoffrey's Armoric original. [Who has seen the original? —Douce.]

³ NE. D. 19. MSS. membr. 8vo. fol. 24. 19.

⁴ Cod. MSS. K 12.

⁵ Ubi supr. p. 7.

⁶ Printed by Mabillon, Sac. Benedictin. iii. p. 1. P. 169.

⁷ Gest. Pontific. i. f. 114.

Frankish; but slightly passes over his accomplishment in Greek, by artfully saying, that he understood it better than he could pronounce it^f. Nor, by the way, was Charlemagne's boasted facility in the Latin so remarkable a prodigy. The Latin language was familiar to the Gauls when they were conquered by the Franks; for they were a province of the Roman empire till the year 485. It was the language of their religious offices, their laws, and public transactions. The Franks who conquered the Gauls at the period just mentioned, still continued this usage, imagining there was a superior dignity in the language of imperial Rome: although this incorporation of the Franks with the Gauls greatly corrupted the latinity of the latter, and had given it a strong tincture of barbarity before the reign of Charlemagne. But while we are bringing proofs which tend to extenuate the notion that Greek was now much known or cultivated, it must not be dissembled, that John Erigena, a native of Aire in Scotland, and one of King Alfred's first lecturers at Oxford^g, translated into Latin from the Greek original four large treatises of Dionysius the Areopagite, about the year 860^h. This translation, which is dedicated to Charles the Bald, abounds with Greek phraseology, and is hardly intelligible to a mere Latin reader. He also translated into Latin the Scholia of Saint Maximus on the difficult passages of Gregory Nazianzenⁱ. He frequently visited

^f Vit. Kar. Magn. p. 30.

^g Wood Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. i. 15.

^h This translation, with dedications in verse and prose to Charles the Bald, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. Mus. 148. And Hyper. Bodl. 148. p. 4. seq. See also Laud. I. 59. And in Saint John's college Oxford, A. xi. 2. 3. William of Malmesbury says, that he wrote a book entitled, ΠΕΡΙΦΙΣΙΜΟΙΣΜΟΣ, (that is, Περὶ φύσεως ψυχῆς) and adds, that in this piece "a Latinorum tramite deviauit, dum in Græcorum acriter oculos intendit." Vit. Aldhelm. p. 28. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. It was printed at Oxford by Gale. Erigena, in one of the dedications above mentioned, says, that he had translated

into Latin ten of Dionysius's Epistles. Hoveden and Matthew Paris have literally transcribed the words of Malmesbury just cited, and much more. Hov. fol. 234. And M. Paris, p. 263. It is doubtful whether the *VERSIO MORALIUM ARISTOTELIS* is from the Greek: it might be from the Arabic. Or whether our author's. See *Præfat. Op. nonnull. Oxon. edit. per Gale, cum Not. 1681.* fol.

ⁱ Printed at Oxford as above. Erigena died at Malmesbury, where he had opened a school in the year 883. Cave, Hist. Lit. Sæc. Phot. p. 548, 549. William of Malmesbury says, that Erigena was one of the wisest of Charles the Bald's table, and his constant companion. Ubi *supr.* p. 27.

his munificent patron Charles the Bald, and is said to have taken a long journey to Athens, and to have spent many years in studying not only the Greek but the Arabic and Chaldee languages^k.

As to classic authors, it appears that not many of them were known or studied by our Saxon ancestors. Those with which they were most acquainted, either in prose or verse, seem to have been of the lower empire; writers who, in the declension of taste, had superseded the purer and more antient Roman models, and had been therefore more recently and frequently transcribed. I have mentioned Alfred's translations of Boethius and Orosius. Prudentius was also perhaps one of their favorites. In the British Museum there is a manuscript copy of that poet's *PSYCOMACHIA*. It is illustrated with drawings of historical figures, each of which have an explanatory legend in Latin and Saxon letters; the Latin in large red characters, and the Saxon in black, of great antiquity^l. Prudentius is likewise in Bennet college library at Cambridge, transcribed in the time of Charles the Bald, with several Saxon words written into the text^m. Sedulius's hymns are in the same repository in Saxon characters, in a volume containing other Saxon manuscriptsⁿ. Bede says, that Aldhelm wrote his book *DE VIRGINITATE*, which is both prose and verse, in imitation of the manner of Sedulius^o. We learn from Gregory of Tours, what is not foreign to our purpose to remark, that King Chilperic, who began to reign in 562, wrote two books of Latin verses in imitation of Sedulius. But it was without any idea of the common quantities^p. A manuscript of this poet in the British Museum is bound up with Nennius and Felix's *MIRACLES OF SAINT GUTHLAC*, dedicated to Alfwold king of the East Angles, and written both in Latin and Saxon^q. But these classics were most of them read as books of religion

^k Spelm. Vit. Ælfred. Bale xiv. 32.
Plus, p. 168.

^l MSS. Cott. CLIOPATR. C. 8. membr.

8vo.

^m Miscellan. MSS. M. membran.

ⁿ MSS. S. 11. Cod. membran.

^o Eccl. Hist. 19.

^p Gregor. Turonens. l. vi. c. 46.

^q MSS. Cotton. Vesp. D. xxi. 8vo.

and morality. Yet Aldhelm, in his tract de METRORUM GENERIBUS, quotes two verses from the third book of Virgil's Georgics*: and in the Bodleian library we find a manuscript of the first book of Ovid's Art of Love, in very antient Saxon characters, accompanied with a British gloss*. And the venerable Bede, having first invoked the Trinity, thus begins a Latin panegyric hymn on the miraculous virginity of Etheldryde: "Let Virgil sing of wars, I celebrate the gifts of peace. My verses are of chastity, not of the rape of the adulteress Helen. I will chant heavenly blessings, not the battles of miserable Troy." These however are rare instances. It was the most abominable heresy to have any concern with the pagan fictions. The graces of composition were not their objects, and elegance found no place amidst their severer pursuits in philosophy and theology".

* W. Malmesh. Vit. Aldhelm. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 4.

* N.E. D. 19. membr. 8vo. fol. 37.

* Bed. Eccl. Hist. iv. 20.

"Medicine was one of their favorite sciences, being a part of the Arabian learning. We have now remaining Saxon manuscript translations of Apuleius de VIRIBUS HERBARUM. They have also left a large system of medicine in Saxon, often cited by Somner in his Lexicon, under the title of LIBER MEDICINALIS. It appears by this tract, that they were well acquainted with the Latin physicians and naturalists, Marcellus, Scribonius Largus, Pliny, Cælius Aurelianus, Theodore, Priscus, &c. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. Cod. membr.... It is probable that this manuscript is of the age of King Alfred. Among Hatton's books in the Bodleian library, is a Saxon manuscript which has been entitled by Junius MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS. It is pretended to be taken from Idpart, a fabulous king of Egypt. It is followed by two epistles in Latin of Evax king of the Arabians to Tiberius Cesar, concerning the names and virtues of oriental precious stones used in medicine. Cod. Hatton. 100. membr. fol. It is believed to be a manuscript before the Conquest. These ideas of a king of Egypt, and

another of Arabia, and of the use of oriental precious stones in the medical art, evidently betray their origin. Apuleius's HERBARUM occurs in the British Museum in Latin and Saxon, "quod accepit ab ESCULARIO et a CHIRONIS CENTAURO MAGISTRO ACHILLIS." Together with the MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS above mentioned. MSS. Cot. Vitell. C. iii. Cod. membr. fol. iii. p. 19. iv. p. 75. It is remarkable that the Arabians attribute the invention of SIMIA, one of their magical sciences, to KIRUN or CARUN, that is Chiron the centaur, the master of Achilles. See Herbelot. Dict. Orient. Artic. SIMIA. p. 1005.

The Greeks reputed Chiron the inventor of medicine. His medical books are mentioned by many antient writers, particularly by Apuleius Celsus, De Herbis: and Kircher observes, that Chiron's treatise of MULOMEDICINA was familiar to the Arabians. Oedip. Egypt. tom. iii. p. 68. Lambecius describes a very curious and antient manuscript of Dioscorides: among the beautiful illuminations with which it was enriched, was a square picture with a gold ground, on which were represented the seven antient physicians, MACHAON, CHIRON, NIGER, HERCULIDES, MANTIAS, XENOCRATES, and PAMPHILUS. P. Lambec. de Bibl.

It is certain that literature was at its height among our Saxon ancestors about the eighth century. These happy beginnings were almost entirely owing to the attention of King Alfred, who encouraged learning by his own example, by founding seminaries of instruction, and by rewarding the labours of scholars. But the efforts of this pious monarch were soon blasted by the supineness of his successors, the incursions of the Danes, and the distraction of national affairs. Bede, from the establishment of learned bishops in every diocese, and the universal tranquillity which reigned over all the provinces of England, when he finished his ecclesiastical history, flatters his imagination in anticipating the most advantageous consequences, and triumphantly closes his narrative with this pleasing presentiment. The Picts, at this period, were at peace with the Saxons or English, and converted to Christianity. The Scots lived contented within their own boundary. The Britons or Welsh, from a natural enmity, and a dislike to the catholic institution of keeping Easter, sometimes attempted to disturb the national repose; but they were in some measure subservient to the Saxons. Among the Northumbrians, both the nobility and private persons rather chose their children should receive the monastic tonsure, than be trained to arms².

But a long night of confusion and gross ignorance succeeded. The principal productions of the most eminent monasteries for three centuries, were incredible legends which discovered no marks of invention, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of the Scriptures. Many bishops and abbots began to consider learning as pernicious to true piety, and confounded illiberal ignorance with Christian simplicity. Leland frequently laments the loss of libraries destroyed in the Danish invasions³.

Vindob. lib. ii. p. 525. seq. I have mentioned above, *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS*. A Greek poem or fragment called *MEDICINA EX PISCIBUS* has been attributed to Chiron. It was written by Marcellus Sidetas of Pamphylia, a physician under Marcus Antoninus, and is printed by Fabricius. Bibl. Gr. i. p. 16. seq. And see xiii. p. 817. The *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS* seems to be the treatise

entitled, *MEDICINA EX ANIMALIBUS*, under the name of Sextus Platicus, and printed in Stephens's *MEDICINÆ ARTIS PRINCIPES*, p. 684. This was a favorite medical system of the dark ages. See Fabric. *ibid.* xiii. 395. xii. 619.

² Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* v. 23.

³ See Malmesb. *apud* Lal. Coll. i. p. 140. edit. nup.

Some slight attempts were made for restoring literary pursuits, but with little success. In the tenth century, Oswald archbishop of York, finding the monasteries of his province extremely ignorant not only in the common elements of grammar, but even in the canonical rules of their respective orders, was obliged to send into France for competent masters, who might remedy these evils². In the mean time, from perpetual commotions, the manners of the people had degenerated from that mildness which a short interval of peace and letters had introduced, and the national character had contracted an air of rudeness and ferocity.

England at length, in the beginning of the eleventh century, received from the Normans the rudiments of that cultivation which it has preserved to the present times. The Normans were a people who had acquired ideas of splendour and refinement from their residence in France; and the gallantries of their feudal system introduced new magnificence and elegance among our rough unpolished ancestors. The Conqueror's army was composed of the flower of the Norman nobility; who sharing allotments of land in different parts of the new territory, diffused a general knowledge of various improvements entirely unknown in the most flourishing eras of the Saxon government, and gave a more liberal turn to the manners even of the provincial inhabitants. That they brought with them the arts, may yet be seen by the castles and churches which they built on a more extensive and stately plan³. Literature, in particular, the chief object of our present research, which had long been reduced to the most abject condition, appeared with new lustre in consequence of this important revolution.

² Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 201. Many evidences of the ignorance which prevailed in other countries during the tenth century have been collected by Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital. Med. Æv.* iii. 831. ii. 141. And Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris* i. 288.

³ This point will be further illustrated in a work now preparing for the press, entitled, *OBSERVATIONS CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, ON CASTLES, CHURCHES,*

MONASTERIES, and other MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ENGLAND. To which will be prefixed, *THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.* [This production, which Mr. Price of the Bodleian library affirms to have been written out fairly for the press, has not been discovered among the papers of Mr. Warton, though the *prima stamæna* were found in a crude state.—*PARK.*]

Towards the close of the tenth century, an event took place, which gave a new and very fortunate turn to the state of letters in France and Italy. A little before that time, there were no schools in Europe but those which belonged to the monasteries or episcopal churches; and the monks were almost the only masters employed to educate the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But at the commencement of the eleventh century, many learned persons of the laity, as well as of the clergy, undertook in the most capital cities of France and Italy this important charge. The Latin versions of the Greek philosophers from the Arabic, had now become so frequent and common, as to fall into the hands of the people; and many of these new preceptors having travelled into Spain with a design of studying in the Arabic schools^b, and comprehending in their course of instruction, more numerous and useful branches of science than the monastic teachers were acquainted with, communicated their knowledge in a better method, and taught in a much more full, perspicuous, solid, and rational manner. These and other beneficial effects, arising from this practice of admitting others besides ecclesiastics to the profession of letters, and the education of youth, were imported into England by means of the Norman conquest.

The Conqueror himself patronised and loved letters. He filled the bishopricks and abbacies of England with the most learned of his countrymen, who had been educated at the university of Paris, at that time the most flourishing school in Europe. He placed Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen, in the see of Canterbury: an eminent master of logic, the subtleties of which he employed with great dexterity in a famous controversy concerning the real presence. Anselm, an acute metaphysician and theologian, his immediate

^b This fashion continued for a long time. Among many who might here be mentioned was Daniel Meriac, an Englishman who in the year 1185 went to Toledo to learn mathematics, and

brought back with him into England several books of the Arabian philosophy. Wood Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 56. col. i.

successor in the same see, was called from the government of the abbey of Bec in Normandy. Herman, a Norman bishop of Salisbury, founded a noble library in the antient cathedral of that see^c. Many of the Norman prelates preferred in England by the Conqueror, were polite scholars. Godfrey, prior of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, a native of Cambray, was an elegant Latin epigrammatist, and wrote with the smartness and ease of Martial^d. A circumstance, which by the way shews that the literature of the monks at this period was of a more liberal cast than that which we commonly annex to their character and profession. Geoffrey, a learned Norman, was invited from the university of Paris to superintend the direction of the school of the priory of Dunstable, where he composed a play called the Play of SAINT CATHARINE^e, which was acted by his scholars. This was perhaps the first spectacle of the kind that was ever attempted, and the first trace of theatrical

^c "Nobilem bibliothecam, comparatis in hoc optimis juxta ac antiquissimis illustrium auctorum monumentis, Severius posuit." Leland. Script. Brit. p. 174. He died 1099. He was so fond of letters, that he did not disdain to bind and illuminate books. Mon. Angl. iii. p. 375. Vid. supr. The old church of Salisbury stood within the area of that noble antient military work, called *Old-castle*. Leland says, that he finished the church which his predecessor Herman had begun, and filled its chapter with eminent scholars.

^d Camden has cited several of his epigrams. Remains, p. 491. edit. 1674. I have read all his pieces now remaining. The chief of them are, "PROVERBIA, ET EPIGRAMMATA SATYRICA."—"CARMINA HISTORICA, DE REGE CANUTO, REGINA EMMA," &c. Among these last, none of which were ever printed, is an eulogy on Walkelin bishop of Winchester, and a Norman, who built great part of his stately cathedral, as it now stands, and was bishop there during Godfrey's priorate, viz.

Consilium, virtutis amor, facundia comis,

WALCHELINE pater, fixa fuere tibi.

Corrector juvenum, senibus documents ministrans,

Exemplo vite pastor utroque regia.

Pes fueras claudis, cæcis imitabile lumen,

Portans invalidos, qui cecidere levans.

Divitiis dominus, facilis largitor earum,
Dum reficis multos, deficiis ipse tibi,
&c.

Among the Epigrams, the following is not cited by Camden.

Pauca Titus pretiosa dabat, sed villia plura:

Ut meliora habeam, pauca det, oro,
Titus.

These pieces are in the Bodleian library, MSS. Digb. 65. ut. 112. The whole collection is certainly worthy of publication. I do not mean merely as a curiosity. Leland mentions his epistles "familiari illo et dulci stylo editæ." Script. Brit. p. 159. Godfrey died 1107. He was made prior of Winchester A.D. 1082. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 324. He was interred in the old chapter-house, whose area now makes part of the dean's garden.

^e See infr. Sacr. vi. vol. ii. p. 68.

representation which appeared in England. Matthew Paris*, who first records this anecdote, says, that Geoffrey borrowed copes from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of Saint Alban's to dress his characters. He was afterwards elected abbot of that opulent monastery†.

The king himself gave no small countenance to the clergy, in sending his son Henry Beauclerc to the abbey of Abingdon, where he was initiated in the sciences under the care of the abbot Grymbald, and Farice a physician of Oxford. Robert d'Oilly, constable of Oxford castle, was ordered to pay for the board of the young prince in the convent, which the king himself frequently visited‡. Nor was William wanting in giving ample revenues to learning: he founded the magnificent abbeys of Battel and Selby, with other smaller convents. His nobles and their successors cooperated with this liberal spirit in erecting many monasteries. Herbert de Losinga, a monk of Normandy, bishop of Thetford in Norfolk, instituted and endowed with large possessions a Benedictine abbey at Norwich, consisting of sixty monks. To mention no more instances, such great institutions of persons dedicated to religious and literary leisure, while they diffused an air of civility, and softened the manners of the people in their respective circles, must have afforded powerful invitations to studious pursuits, and have consequently added no small degree of stability to the interests of learning.

By these observations, and others which have occurred in the course of our enquiries, concerning the utility of monasteries, I certainly do not mean to defend the monastic system.

* [Mr. Warton has here most strangely misquoted Matthew Paris. This writer says, that Geoffrey was sent for by Richard abbot of St. Alban's, to superintend the school there: but arriving too late, the school was given to another person; that Geoffrey still expecting the office, established himself at Dunstable, where he composed the miracle play of St. Catharine; for the decoration of which he borrowed copes from St. Alban's: but that on the following night his house to-

gether with the copes and all his books was burned. Nothing is mentioned about the priory of Dunstable, which was not founded before 1131, long after Abbot Richard's death; immediately upon which Geoffrey was elected abbot of St. Alban's.—DOUGL.]

† Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639. See also Bul. Hist. Acad. Paris. ii. 225.

‡ Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 46.

We are apt to pass a general and undistinguishing censure on the monks, and to suppose their foundations to have been the retreats of illiterate indolence at every period of time. But it should be remembered, that our universities about the time of the Norman conquest, were in a low condition: while the monasteries contained ample endowments and accommodations, and were the only respectable seminaries of literature. A few centuries afterwards, as our universities began to flourish, in consequence of the distinctions and honours which they conferred on scholars, the establishment of colleges, the introduction of new systems of science, the universal ardour which prevailed of breeding almost all persons to letters, and the abolition of that exclusive right of teaching which the ecclesiastics had so long claimed; the monasteries of course grew inattentive to studies, which were more strongly encouraged, more commodiously pursued, and more successfully cultivated, in other places; they gradually became contemptible and unfashionable as nurseries of learning, and their fraternities degenerated into sloth and ignorance. The most eminent scholars which England produced, both in philosophy and humanity, before and even below the twelfth century, were educated in our religious houses. The encouragement given in the English monasteries for transcribing books, the scarcity of which in the middle ages we have before remarked, was very considerable. In every great abbey there was an apartment called the *SCRIPTORIUM*; where many writers were constantly busied in transcribing not only the service-books for the choir, but books for the library^h. The Scriptorium of Saint Alban's abbey was built by abbot Paulin, a Norman, who ordered

^h This was also a practice in the monasteries abroad; in which the boys and novices were chiefly employed. But the missals and bibles were ordered to be written by monks of mature age and discretion. Du Fresne, *Gloss. Lat. Med. V. Scriptorium*. And *Præfat. f. vi. edit. prim.* See also *Monast. Anglic. ii. 726.* And references in the

windows of the library of Saint Alban's abbey. *Ibid.* 183. At the foundation of Winchester college, one or more transcribers were hired and employed by the founder to *make books* for the library. They transcribed and took their commons within the college, as appears by computations of expenses on their account now remaining.

many volumes to be written there, about the year 1080. Archbishop Lanfranc furnished the copies¹. Estates were often granted for the support of the Scriptorium. That at Saint Edmondsbury was endowed with two mills². The tythes of a rectory were appropriated to the cathedral convent of Saint Swithun at Winchester, *ad libros transcribendos*, in the year 1171³. Many instances of this species of benefaction occur from the tenth century. Nigel, in the year 1160, gave the monks of Ely two churches, *ad libros faciendos*^m. This employment appears to have been diligently practised at Croyland, for Ingulphus relates, that when the library of that convent was burnt in the year 1091, seven hundred volumes were consumedⁿ. Fifty-eight volumes were transcribed at Glastonbury, during the government of one abbot, about the year 1300^o. And in the library of this monastery, the richest in England, there were upwards of four hundred volumes in the year 1248^p. More than eighty books were thus transcribed for Saint Alban's abbey, by abbot Wethamstede, who died about 1440^q. Some of these instances are rather below our period; but they illustrate the subject, and are properly connected with those of more antient date. I find some of the classics written in the English monasteries very early. Henry, a Benedictine monk of Hyde-abbey, near Winchester, transcribed in the year 1178 Terence, Boethius^r, Suetonius^s, and Claudian. Of these he

¹ Mat. Paris, p. 1003. See Leland, Script. Brit. p. 166.

² Registr. Nigr. S. Edmund. Abbat. fol. 228.

³ Registr. Joh. Pontissar. episcop. Wint. f. 164. MS.

See Mon. Angl. i. 131. Heming. Chartul. per Hearne, p. 265. Compare also Godwin, de Præsul. p. 121. edit. 1616.

^m Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 619. See also, p. 634, and 278. Hearne has published a grant from R. De Paston to Bromholm abbey in Norfolk, of 12d. per annum, a rent-charge on his lands, to keep their books in repair, *ad emendacionem librorum*. Ad. Domesham, Num. iii.

ⁿ Hist. Croyland. Dec. Script. p. 98.

^o Tanner, Not. Mon. edit. 8vo. Pref.

^p See Joanh. Glaston. ut infr. And Leland, Script. Brit. p. 131.

^q Weaver, Fun. Mon. p. 566.

^r It is observable, that Boethius in his metres constantly follows Seneca's tragedies. I believe there is not one form of verse in Boethius but what is taken from Seneca.

^s Suetonius is frequently cited by the writers of the middle ages, particularly by Vincentius Bellovacensis. Specul. Hist. lib. x. c. 67. And Rabanus Maurus, Art. Gram. Op. tom. i. p. 46. Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, about the year 898, a learned philosophical writer, educated under Rabanus Maurus, desires

formed one book, illuminating the initials, and forming the brazen bosses of the covers with his own hands^a. But this abbot had more devotion than taste: for he exchanged this manuscript a few years afterwards for four missals, the Legend of Saint Christopher, and Saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, with the prior of the neighbouring cathedral convent^w. Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, author of the Latin chronicle of king Henry the second, amongst a great variety of scholastic and theological treatises, transcribed Seneca's epistles and tragedies^z, Terence, Martial^y, and Claudian, to which I will add GESTA ALEXANDRI^z, about the year 1180^a. In a catalogue of the books^b of the library of Glastonbury we find

abbot Marquard to send him Suetonius, *On the Cæsars*, "in duos nec magnos codices divisum." Epistol. Lup. Ferrariensis. xcix. Apud Andr. Du Chesne, Script. Rer. Franc. tom. ii. p. 726. Isidorus Hispalensis, a bishop of the seventh century, gives the origin of poetry from Suetonius, Origin. viii. 7. Chaucer's tale of Nero in the MONK'S TALE is taken from Suetonius, "as telleth us Suetonius." v. 491. p. 164. edit. Urr.

^a "Suis manibus apices literarum artificiose pinxit et illuminavit, necnon æreos umbones in tegminibus appinxit." MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin, Winton. Quatern. . . . In archiv. Wulves. Many of the monks were skilful illuminators. They were also taught to bind books. In the year 1277, these constitutions were given to the Benedictine monasteries of the province of Canterbury: "Abbatēs monachos suos claustrales, loco operis manualis, secundum suam habilitatem cæteris occupationibus deputent: in studendo, libros scribendo, corrigendo, illuminando, ligando." Capit. Gen. Ord. Benedictin. Provinc. Cant. 1277. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8vo. p. 272. archiv. Oxon. ^w Ibid.

^z Nicholas Antonius says, that Nicholas Fræneth, a Dominican, illustrated Seneca's tragedies with a gloss, soon after the year 1300. Bibl. Vet. Hispan. apud Fabric. Bibl. Lat. lib. ii. c. 9. He means Nicholas Trivet, an English Dominican, author of the ANNALS published by Anthony Hall.

^y John of Salisbury calls Martial Co-

cus, Policrat. vi. 3. As do several writers of the middle ages. Martial is cited by Jerom of Padua, a Latin poet and physician, who flourished about the year 1300. See Christian. Daumii Not. ad Catonis Distich. p. 140. One of the two famous manuscripts of Terence in the Vatican, is said to have been written in the time, perhaps under the encouragement, of Charlemagne; and to have been compared with the more antient copies by Calliopius Scholasticus. Fontanin. Vindic. Antiquit. Diplom. p. 37. Scholasticus means a master in the ecclesiastical schools. Engelbert, abbot of Trevoux, a writer of the tenth century, mentions *Terentius Poeta*, but in such a manner as shews he had but little or no knowledge of him. He confounds this poet with Terentius the Roman senator, whom Scipio delivered from prison at Carthage, and brought to Rome. Bibl. Patr. tom. xxv. edit. Lugd. p. 370.

^a See SECT. iii. infr. p. 132.

^b Swaffham, Hist. Cænob. Burg. ii. p. 97. per Jos. Sparke. "Epistolæ Senecæ cum aliis Senecis in uno volumine, Martialis totus et Terentius in uno volumine," &c. Sub Tit. *De Libris quæ* He died in 1193. In the library of Peterborough abbey, at the Dissolution, there were one thousand and seven hundred books in manuscript. Gunton's Peterb. p. 173.

^c See Chron. Joh. Glaston. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726. viz. *Numerus Librorum Glastoniensis ecclesiæ qui fuerunt de LIBRARIA anno graciæ M.CC.XL.VII.*

Livy^b, Sallust^c, Seneca, Tully *DE SENECTUTE* and *AMICITIA*^d, Virgil, Persius, and Claudian, in the year 1248. Among the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, is one of the twelve books of Statius's *Thebaid*, supposed to have been written in the tenth century, which once belonged to the cathedral convent of Rochester^e. And another of Virgil's *Eneid*, written in the thirteenth, which came from the library of Saint Austin's at Canterbury^f. Wallingford, abbot of Saint Alban's, gave or sold from the library of that monastery to Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, author of the *PHILOBIBLION*, and a great collector of books, Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, and Jerom against Rufinus, together with thirty-two other volumes valued at fifty pounds of silver^g. The scarcity of parchment undoubt-

p. 428. Leland, who visited all the monasteries just before their dissolution, seems to have been struck with the venerable air and amplitude of this room. *Script. Brit.* p. 196. See what is said of the monastery libraries above.

^b It is pretended, that Gregory the Great, in the year 580, ordered all the manuscripts of Livy to be burnt which could be found, as a writer who enforced the doctrine of prodigies. By the way, Livy himself often insinuates his disbelief of those superstitions. He studies to relate the most ridiculous portents; and he only meant, when it came in his way, to record the credulity of the people, not to propagate a belief of such absurdities. It was the superstition of the people, not of the historian. Antonio Beccastelli is said to have purchased of Poggius a beautiful manuscript of Livy, for which he gave the latter a large field, in the year 1455. *Gallæ. De Bibliothecis*, p. 186. See Liron, *Singularités Hist. et Litt.* tom. i. p. 166.

^c Fabricius mentions two manuscripts of Sallust, one written in the year 1178, and the other in the year 900. *Bibl. Lat.* l. i. c. 9. Sallust is cited by a Byzantine writer, Joannes Antiochenus, of an early century. *Excerpt. Petresc.* p. 393. Mr. Hume says, that Sallust's *larger history* is cited by Fitz-Stephens, in his description of London. *Hist. Engl.* ii. 440. 4to edit.

^d Paulus Jovius says, that Poggius, about the year 1420, first brought Tully's books *De Finibus* and *De Legibus* into Italy, transcribed by himself from other manuscripts. *Voss. Hist. Lat.* p. 550. About the same time Baurus *de Claris Oratoribus*, and some of the rhetorical pieces, with a complete copy of *De Oratore*, were discovered and circulated by Flavius Blondus, and his friends. *Flav. Blond. Ital. Illustrat.* p. 346. Leland says, that William Selling, a monk of Canterbury, about 1480, brought with him from Italy Cicero's book *De Republica*, but that it was burnt with other manuscripts. *Script. Brit. CELLINGUS.*

^e 15 C. x. 1.

^f 15 B. vi.

^g Vit. Abbat. S. Albani. *Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Claud. E. iv.* In the royal manuscripts in John of Salisbury's *EXTENTIVUS*, there is written, "Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon abbas S. Albani: quem postea vendit domino RICARDO DE BURY, episcopo Dunelmensi, emit Michael abbas S. Albani ab executoribus prædicti episcopi, A.D. 1345." *MSS. 13 D. iv. 3.* Richard de Bury, otherwise called Richard Aungerville, is said to have alone possessed more books than all the bishops of England together. Besides the fixed libraries which he had formed in his several palaces, the floor of his common apartment was so covered with books, that those who entered could not with due

edly prevented the transcription of many other books in these societies. About the year 1120, one master Hugh, being appointed by the convent of Saint Edmondsbury in Suffolk to write and illuminate a grand copy of the bible for their library, could procure no parchment for this purpose in England ^h.

reverence approach his presence. Gul. Chambre, Contin. Hist. Dunelm. apud Whart. Angl. Sacr. i. 765. He kept binders, illuminators, and writers in his palaces. "Antiquariorum, scriptorum, correctorum, colligatorum, illuminatorum," &c. Philobibl. cap. viii. p. 34. edit. 1599. Petrarch says, that he had once a conversation with Aungerville, concerning the island called by the ancients Thule, whom he calls *Virum ardentis ingenii*. Petrarch, Epist. i. 3. His book entitled *PHILOBLION, or De Amore librorum et institutione Bibliothecæ*, supposed to be really written by Robert Holcott a Dominican friar, was finished in his manor of Aulkland, A. D. 1343. He founded a library at Oxford: and it is remarkable, that in the book above mentioned, he apologises for admitting the poets into his collection. "*Quare non negleximus FABULAS POETARUM*." Cap. xiii. p. 43. xviii. p. 57. xix. 58. But he is more complaisant to the prejudices of his age, where he says, that the laity are unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books. "*Laici omnium librorum communione sunt indigni*." Cap. xvii. p. 55. He prefers books of the liberal arts to treatises in law. Cap. xi. p. 41. He laments that good literature had entirely ceased in the university of Paris. Cap. ix. p. 38. He admits *Panfletos exiguos* into his library. Cap. viii. 30. He employed *Stationarios* and *Librarios*, not only in England, but in France, Italy, and Germany. Cap. x. p. 34. He regrets the total ignorance of the Greek language; but adds, that he has provided for the students of his library both Greek and Hebrew grammars. Ibid. p. 40. He calls Paris *the paradise of the world*, and says, that he purchased there a variety of invaluable volumes in all sciences, which yet were neglected and perishing. Cap. viii. p. 31. While chancellor and treasurer of England, instead of the usual presents and new-year's gifts appendant

to his office, he chose to receive those perquisites in books. By the favour of Edward the Third he gained access to the libraries of the most capital monasteries; where he shook off the dust from volumes preserved in chests and presses which had not been opened for many ages. Ibid. 29, 30.

[To this note it may be added from Bp. Godwin, (Cat. of Eng. Bishops, 1601. p. 524-5) as has been suggested by Mr. Dibdin, (Bibliom. 1811. p. 248.) that De Bury was the son of Sir Richard Angaruill, knt.; that he said of himself "*exstatico quodam librorum amore potenter se abreptum*"—that he was mightily carried away, and even beside himself, with immoderate love of books and desire of reading. He had always in his house many chaplains, all great scholars. His manner was at dinner and supper-time to have some good book read to him, whereof he would discourse with his chaplains a great part of the day following, if business interrupted not his course. He was very bountiful unto the poor: weekly he bestowed for their relief 8 quarters of wheat made into bread, beside the offal and fragments of his tables. Riding between Newcastle and Durham, he would give 8*l.* in alms; and from Durham to Stockton 5*l.*, &c. He bequeathed a valuable library of MSS. to Durham, now Trinity college, Oxford: and upon the completion of the room to receive them, they were put into pews or studies, and chained to them. See Gutch's edit. of Wood's Hist. of the Univ. of Oxf. ii. 911.—*PAR.*]

^h Monast. Angl. i. p. 200. In the great revenue-roll of one year of John Gerveys, bishop of Winchester, I find expended "*in parchamento empto ad rotulos, &c.*" This was a considerable sum for such a commodity in the year 1266. But as the quantity or number of the rolls is not specified, no precise conclusion can be drawn. Comp. MS.

In consequence of the taste for letters and liberal studies introduced by the Normans, many of the monks became almost as good critics as catholics; and not only in France but in England, a great variety of Latin writers, who studied the elegancies of style, and the arts of classical composition, appeared soon after the Norman conquest. A view of the writers of this class who flourished in England for the two subsequent centuries, till the restless spirit of novelty brought on an attention to other studies, necessarily follows from what has been advanced, and naturally forms the conclusion of our present investigation.

Soon after the accession of the Conqueror, John commonly called Joannes Grammaticus, having studied polite literature at Paris, which not only from the Norman connection, but from the credit of its professors, became the fashionable university of our countrymen, was employed in educating the sons of the Norman and English nobility¹. He wrote an explanation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*², and a treatise on the art of metre or versification³. Among the manuscripts of the library of New College in Oxford, I have seen a book of Latin poetry, and many pieces in Greek, attributed to this writer^m. He flourished about the year 1070. In the reign of Henry the First, Laurence, prior of the church of Durham, wrote nine books of Latin elegies. But Leland, who had read all his works, prefers his compositions in oratory; and adds, that for

membran. in archiv. Wulves. Winton. Compare Anderson, *Comm.* i. 153. sub ann. 1313.

¹ See Bale, iv. 40.

² *Integumenta super Ovidii Metamorphoses*. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. sup. A 1. Art. 86. Where it is given to Johannes Gualensis, a Franciscan friar of Oxford, and afterwards a student at Paris. It is also MSS. Digb. 104. fol. 323. The same piece is extant under the name of this latter John, entitled, *Expositiones sive moralitates in Lib. 1. Metamorphoseos sive Fabularum, &c.* Printed at Paris 1599. But this Johannes Gualensis seems to have been chiefly a philosopher

and theologist. He flourished about A.D. 1250. Alexander Necham wrote in *Metamorphosin Ovidii*. Tann. Bibl. p. 540.

³ Another title of this piece is, *Poetria magna Johannis Anglici, &c.* Cantabr. MSS. More, 121. It is both in prose and verse. He begins with this panegyric on the university of Paris: "Parisiana jubar diffundit gloria clerus." He likewise wrote *Compendium Grammatices*.

^m MSS. Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 236, 237. But these are said to belong to Joannes Philoponus. See Phot. Bibl. Cod. lxxv. Cave, p. 441. edit. 1.

an improvement in rhetoric and eloquence, he frequently exercised his talents in framing Latin defences on dubious cases which occurred among his friends. He likewise, amongst a variety of other elaborate pieces on saints, confessors, and holy virgins, in which he humoured the times and his profession, composed a critical treatise on the method of writing Epistles, which appears to have been a favourite subject^a. He died in 1154^b. About the same time Robert Dunstable, a monk of Saint Alban's, wrote an elegant Latin poem in elegiac verse, containing two books^c, on the life of Saint Alban^d. The first book is opened thus:

Albani celebrem cœlo terrisque triumphum
Ruminat inculto carmine Clio rudis.

We are not to expect Leonine rhymes in these writers, which became fashionable some years afterwards^e. Their verses are

^a See what is said of John Hanvill below.

^b Lel. Script. Brit. p. 204, 205.

^c It is a long poem, containing thirteen hundred and sixty lines.

^d In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. JUL. D. iii. 2. CLAUD. E. 4. There are more of his Latin poems on sacred subjects in the British Museum. But most of them are of an inferior composition, and, as I suppose, of another hand.

^e Leonine verses are said to have been invented and first used by a French monk of Saint Victor at Marseilles, named Leoninus, or Leonine, about the year 1135. Pasquier, *Recherch. de la France*, vii. 2. p. 596. 3. p. 600. It is however certain, that rhymed Latin verses were in use much earlier. I have before observed, that the *Schola Salernitana* was published 1100. See Massieu, *Hist. Fr. Poes.* p. 77. Fauchet, *Rec.* p. 52. 76. seq. And I have seen a Latin poem of four hundred lines, "*Moyſis Mutii Bergomatis de rebus Bergomensibus, Justiniani hujus nominis secundi Byzantii Imperatoris jussu conscriptum, anno a salute nostra 707.*" The author was the emperor's scribe or secretary. It begins thus:

Almē Deus, rector qui mundi regna gubernas,
Nec sinis absque modo sedes fluitare supernas.

It is at the end of "*Achillis Mutii theatrum.* Bergomi, typis Comini Venturac, 1596." Pelloutier has given a very early specimen of Latin Rhymes, *Mem. sur la Lang. Celte*, part i. vol. i. ch. xii. p. 20. He quotes the writer of the *Life of S. Faron*, who relates, that Clotaricus the Second, having conquered the Saxons in the beginning of the seventh century, commanded a Latin panegyric song to be composed on that occasion, which was sung all over France. It is somewhat in the measure of their vernacular poetry, at that time made to be sung to the harp, and begins with this stanza,

De Clotario est canere rege Francorum
Qui ivit pugnare cum gente Saxonum
Quam graviter provenisset missis Saxo-
num
Si non fuisset inclitus Faro de gente
Burgundionum.

Latin rhymes seem to have been first used in the church-hymns. But Leonine verses are properly the Roman hexameters or pentameters rhymed. And

of a higher cast, and have a classical turn. The following line, which begins the second book, is remarkably flowing and harmonious, and much in the manner of Claudian.

Pieridum studiis claustris laxare rigorem.

Smoothness of versification was an excellence which, like their Saxon predecessors, they studied to a fault. Henry of Huntingdon, commonly known and celebrated as an historian, was likewise a terse and polite Latin poet of this period. He was educated under Alcuine of Anjou, a canon of Lincoln cathedral. His principal patrons were Aldwin and Reginald, both Normans, and abbots of Ramsey. His turn for poetry did not hinder his arriving to the dignity of an archdeacon. Leiland mentions eight books of his epigrams, amatorial verses¹, and poems on philosophical subjects². The proem to his book *DE HERBIS*, has this elegant invocation,

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor,
Vosque, quibus resonant Tempe jocosa, deæ!
Si mihi sarta prius hedera florente parastis,
Ecce meos flores, sarta parate, fero.

it is not improbable that they took their name from the monk above mentioned, who was the most popular and almost only Latin poet of his time in France. He wrote many Latin pieces not in rhyme, and in a good style of Latin versification. Particularly a Latin heroic poem in twelve books, containing the history of the bible from the creation of the world to the story of Ruth. Also some elegies, which have a tolerable degree of classic purity. Some suppose that pope Leo the Second, about the year 680, a great reformer of the chants and hymns of the church, invented this sort of verse.

It is remarkable that Bede, who lived in the eighth century, in his book *DE ARTI METRICA*, does not seem to have known that rhyme was a common ornament of the church-hymns of his time, many of which he quotes. See *Opp. tom. i. 34. cap. penult.* But this chapter, I think, is all taken from Marius Victo-

rinus, a much older writer. The hymns which Bede quotes are extremely barbarous, consisting of a modulated structure, or a certain number of feet without quantity, like the odes of the minstrels or scalds of that age. "Ut sunt," he says, "*CARMINA VULGARIBUS FORATUM.*" In the mean time we must not forget, that the early French troubadours mention a sort of rhyme in their vernacular poetry partly distinguished from the common species, which they call *Leonine* or *Leonime*. Thus Gualtier Arbalestrier de Belle-perche, in the beginning of his romance of Judas Maccabeus, written before the year 1280:

Je ne di pas k' aucun biau dit
Ni mette par faire la ryme
Ou *sonsonante* ou *leonime*.

But enough has been said on a subject of so little importance.

¹ See Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 29.

² *Lel. Script. Brit.* p. 197.

But Leland appears to have been most pleased with Henry's poetical epistle to Elfleda, the daughter of Alfred^u. In the Bodleian library, is a manuscript Latin poem of this writer, on the death of king Stephen, and the arrival of Henry the Second in England, which is by no means contemptible^w. He occurs as a witness to the charter of the monastery of Sautree in the year 1147^x. Geoffrey of Monmouth was bishop of Saint Asaph in the year 1152^y. He was indefatigable in his enquiries after British antiquity; and was patronised and assisted in this pursuit by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a diligent antiquarian, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln^z. His credulity as an historian has been deservedly censured: but fabulous histories were then the fashion, and he well knew the recommendation his work would receive from comprehending all the popular traditions^a. His latinity rises far above mediocrity, and his Latin poem on Merlin is much applauded by Leland^b.

We must not judge of the general state of society by the more ingenious and dignified churchmen of this period; who seem to have surpassed by the most disproportionate degrees in point of knowledge, all other members of the community. Thomas of Becket, who belongs to the twelfth century, and his friends, in their epistles, distinguish each other by the appellation of philosophers, in the course of their correspondence^c. By the present diffusion of literature, even those who are illiterate are yet so intelligent as to stand more on a level with men of professed science and knowledge; but the learned ecclesiastics of those times, as is evident from many passages in their writings, appear, and not without reason, to have considered the rest of the world as totally immersed in ignorance and barbarity. A most distinguished ornament of this age

^u Ut supr.

^w MSS. Digb. 65. fol. 27. His writings are numerous, and of various kinds. In Trinity college library at Oxford there is a fine copy of his book *De imagine Mundi*. MSS. Cod. 64. pergamen. This is a very common manuscript.

^x Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 872.

^y Wharton, *Eccles. Assav.* p. 306.

^z Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 190.

^a See *Sacr.* iii. infr. p. 127.

^b In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. Tit. A. xix. *Veneras. E.* iv.

^c See *Quadrilog. Vit. T. Becket*, Bruxell. 1682. 4to. And *Concil. Mag. Brit. et Hib. tom. i.* p. 441. Many of these epistles are still in manuscript.

was John of Salisbury^b. His style has a remarkable elegance and energy. His *POLICRATICON* is an extremely pleasant miscellany; replete with erudition, and a judgment of men and things, which properly belongs to a more sensible and reflecting period. His familiar acquaintance with the classics appears not only from the happy facility of his language, but from the many citations of the purest Roman authors with which his works are perpetually interspersed. Montfaucon asserts, that some parts of the supplement to Petronius, published as a genuine and valuable discovery a few years ago, but since supposed to be spurious, are quoted in the *POLICRATICON*^c. He was an illustrious rival of Peter of Blois, and the friend of many learned foreigners^d. I have not seen any specimens of his Latin poetry^e; but an able judge has pronounced, that nothing can be more easy, finished, and flowing than his verses^f. He was promoted to high stations in the church by Henry the Second, whose court was crowded with scholars, and almost equalled that of his cotemporary William king of Sicily, in the splendor which it derived from encouraging erudition, and assembling the learned of various countries^g. Eadmer was a monk of Canterbury, and endeared by the brilliancy

^b "Studuit in Italia omnium bonarum artium facile post Græciam parente." Leland, Script. Brit. p. 207. But he likewise spent some time at Oxford. *Policrat.* viii. 22.

^c Bibl. MSS. There is an allusion to the *Policraticon* in the *ROMAN DE LA ROSE*,

Et verras en *POLICRATIQUE*.

v. 7056.

^d *Lel. ibid.*

^e Except the Fable of the belly and members in long and short. Fabric. *Med. Æv.* iv. p. 877.

^f *Lel. ut supr.* p. 207.

^g See Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 210. Henry the Second sent Gualterus, styled *ANGLICUS*, his chaplain, into Sicily, to instruct William king of Sicily in literature. William was so pleased with his master, that he made him archbishop of Palermo. Bale, xiii. 73. He died in 1177. Peter of Blois was Gualter's

coadjutor; and he tells us, that he taught William the rudiments "*verificatoria artis et literaria*," *Epist. Petr. Blesens. ad Gualt.* Pitts mentions a piece of Gualterus *De lingua Latina rudimentis*, p. 141. There is a William of Blois, cotemporary with Peter and his brother, whom I mention here, as he appears to have written what were called *Comædia et Tragædia*, and to have been preferred to an abbacy in Sicily. [See *SECT. VI. INF. VOL. II. P. 67.*] Peter mentions this William in his *Epistles*, "*Illud nobile ingenium fratris mei magistri Gulielmi, quandoque in scribendis Comædiis et Tragædiis quadam occupatione servili degenerans*," &c. *Epist. lxxvi.* And again to the said William, "*Nomen vestrum diuturniore memoria quam quatuor abbatibus commendabile reddent Tragædia vestra de FLAURA et MARCO, versus de PULICE et MUSCA, Comædia vestra de ALDA*," &c. *Epist. xciii.*

of his genius, and the variety of his literature, to Anselm, archbishop of that see^b. He was an elegant writer of history, but exceeded in the artifices of composition, and the choice of matter, by his cotemporary William of Malmesbury. The latter was a monk of Malmesbury, and it reflects no small honour on his fraternity that they elected him their librarian¹. His merits as an historian have been justly displayed and recommended by lord Lyttelton^k. But his abilities were not confined to prose. He wrote many pieces of Latin poetry; and it is remarkable, that almost all the professed writers in prose of this age made experiments in verse. His patron was Robert earl of Gloucester; who, amidst the violent civil commotions which disquieted the reign of King Stephen, found leisure and opportunity to protect and promote literary merit^l. Till Malmesbury's works appeared, Bede had been the chief and principal writer of English history. But a general spirit of writing history, owing to that curiosity which more polished manners introduce to an acquaintance with the antient historians, and to the improved knowledge of a language in which facts could be recorded with grace and dignity, was now prevailing. Besides those I have mentioned, Simeon of Durlham, Roger Hoveden, and Benedict abbot of Peterborough, are historians whose narratives have a liberal cast, and whose details rise far above the dull uninteresting precision of patient annalists and regular chronologers. John Hanvill, a monk of Saint Alban's, about the year 1190, studied rhetoric at Paris, and was distinguished for his taste even among the numerous and polite scholars of that flourishing seminary^m. His *ARCHITRENIUS* is a learned, ingenious, and very entertaining performance. It is a long Latin poem in nine books, dedicated to Walter bishop of Rouen. The design of the work may be

^a Leland, Script. Brit. p. 178. There is a poem *DE LAUDINUS ANSELM*, and an epicedion on that prelate, commonly ascribed to Eadmer. See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat. ii. p. 210. seq. Leland doubts whether these pieces belong to him or to William of Chester, a learned monk,

patronised by Anselm. Script. Brit. p. 185.

¹ Lel. p. 195. But see Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. Præf. p. xii.

^k In his History of Henry the Second.

^l See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 661.

^m Lel. p. 259.

partly conjectured from its affected Greek title: but it is, on the whole, a mixture of satire and panegyric on public vice and virtue, with some historical digressions. In the exordium is the following nervous and spirited address:

Tu Cyrrhæ latices nostræ, deus, implue menti;
 Eloquii rorem siccis infunde labellis:
 Distillaque favos, quos nondum pallidus auro
 Scit Tagus, aut sitiens admotis Tantalus undis:
 Dirige quæ timide suscepit dextera, dextram
 Audacem pavidamque juva: Tu mentis habenas
 Fervoremque rege, &c.

In the fifth book the poet has the following allusions to the fables of Corineus, Brutus, king Arthur, and the population of Britain from Troy. He seems to have copied these traditions from Geoffrey of Monmouth^a.

———— Tamen Architrenius instat,
 Et genus et gentem quærit studiosius: illi
 Tros genus, et gentem tribuit Lodonesia, nutrix
 Præbuit irriguam morum Cornubia mammam,
 Post odium fati, Phrygiis inventa: Smaraudus
 Hanc domitor mundi Tyrrinthius, alter Achilles,
 Atridæque timor Corinæus, serra gygantum,
 Clavaque monstrifera, sociæ delegit alumnam
 Omnigenam Trojæ, pluvioque fluviflua lacte
 Filius exilio fessæ dedit ubera matri.
 A quo dicta prius Corineia, dicitur aucto
 Tempore corrupte Cornubia nominis hæres.
 Ille gygantæos attritis ossibus artus
 Implicuit letho, Tyrrheni littoris hospes,
 Indomita virtute gygas; non corpore mole
 Ad medium pressa, nec membris densior æquo,
 Sarcinâ terrifica tumultu Titania mente.
 Ad Ligeris ripas Aquitanos fudit, et amnes
 Francorum potuit lacrymis, et cæde vadoque

^a See Hist. Galfrid. Mon. i. xi. xvi. xvii. &c.

Sanguinis ense ruens, satiavit rura, togaque
Punicea vestivit agros, populique verendi
Grandiloquos fregit animosa cuspide fastus.
Integra, nec dubio hellorum naufraga fluctu,
Nec vice suspecta titubanti saucia fato,
Indilata dedit subitam victoria laurum.
Inde dato cursu, Bruto comitatus Achate,
Gallorum spolio cumulatus, navibus æquor
Exarat, et superis auraque faventibus utens,
Litora felices intrat Tolonesia portus :
Promissumque soli gremium monstrante Diana,
Incolumi census loculum ferit Albion alno.
Hæc eadem Bruto regnante Britannia nomen
Traxit in hoc tempus : solis Titanibus illa,
Sed paucis, habitata domus ; quibus uda ferarum
Terga dabant vestes, cruor haustus pocula, trunci
Antra lares, dumeta toros, cænacula rupes,
Præda cibos, raptus venerem, spectacula cædes,
Imperium vires, animum furor, impetus arma,
Mortem pugna, sepulchra rubus : monstisque gemebat
Monticolis tellus : sed eorum plurima tractus
Pars erat occidui terror ; majorque premebat
Te furor extremum zephyri, Cornubia, limen.
Hos avidum belli Corinæi robur Averno
Præcipites misit ; cubitis ter quatuor altum
Gogmagog Herculeæ suspendit in ære lucta,
Anthæumque suum scopulo demisit in æquor :
Potavitque dato Thetis ebria sanguine fluctus,
Divisumque tulit mare corpus, Cerberus umbram.
Nobilis a Phrygiæ tanto Cornubia gentem
Sanguine derivat, successio cujus Iulus
In generis partem recipit complexa Pelasgam
Anchisæque domum : ramos hinc Pandrasus, inde
Sylvius extendit, socioque a sidere sidus
Plenius effundit triplicate lampadis ignes.
Hoc trifido sola Corinæi postera mundum.

Præradiat pubes, quartique puerpera Phœbi
 Pullulat Arthurum, facie dum falsus adulter
 Tintagel irrumpit, nec amoris Pendragon æstu
 Vincit; et omnificas Merlini consulit artes,
 Mentiturque ducis habitus, et rege latente
 Induit absentis præsentia Gorlois ora°.

There is a false glare of expression, and no great justness of sentiment, in these verses; but they are animated, and flow in a strain of poetry. They are pompous and sonorous; but these faults have been reckoned beauties even in polished ages. In the same book our author thus characterises the different merits of the satires of Horace and Persius:

Persius in Flacci pelago decurrit, et audet
 Mendicasse stylum satyræ, serraque cruentus
 Rodit, et ignorat polientem pectora limam.^p

In the third book he describes the happy parsimony of the Cistercian monks:

O sancta, o felix, albis galeata cucullis,
 Libera paupertas! Nudo jejunia pastu
 Tracta diu solvens, nec corruptura palatum
 Mollitie mensæ. Bacchus convivia nullo
 Murmure conturbat, nec sacra cubilia mentis

* Milton appears to have been much struck with this part of the antient British History, and to have designed it for the subject of an epic poem. *ERITAPH. DAMONIS*, v. 162.

Ipse ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
 Brennumque Arriragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos:
 Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iogernen,
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus. —

See also Milton's *MANSUS*, v. 80.

^p Juvenal is also cited by John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Vincentius Bellovacensis, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the middle ages. They often call him *ETHICUS*. See particularly Petr. Bles. *Epist.* lxxvii. Some lines from Juvenal are cited by Honorius Augustodunus, a priest of Burgundy, who wrote about 1300, in his *De Philosophia Mundi*, Præfat. ad lib. iv. The tenth satire of Juvenal is quoted by Chaucer in *TROILUS AND CRESSIDE*, b. iv. v. 197. pag. 307. edit. Urr. There is an old Italian metaphrase of Juvenal done in 1475, and published soon afterwards, by Georgio Summaripa, of Verona. *Giornale de Letterati d'Italia*, tom. viii. p. 41. Juvenal was printed at Rome as early as 1474.

Inquinat adventu. Stomacho languente ministrat
 Solennes epulas ventris gravis hospita Thetis,
 Et paleis armata Ceres. Si tertia mensæ
 Copia succedat, truncantur oluscula, quorum
 Offendit macies oculos, pacemque meretur,
 Deterretque famem pallenti sobria cultu.^a

Among Digby's manuscripts in the Bodleian library, are Hanvill's Latin epigrams, epistles, and smaller poems, many of which have considerable merit^r. They are followed by a metrical tract, entitled *DE EPISTOLARUM COMPOSITIONE*. But this piece is written in rhyme, and seems to be posterior to the age, at least inferior to the genius, of Hanvill. He was buried in the abbey church of Saint Alban's, soon after the year 1200^s. Gyraldus Cambrensis deserves particular regard for the universality of his works, many of which are written with some degree of elegance. He abounds with quotations of the best Latin poets. He was an historian, an antiquary, a topographer, a divine, a philosopher, and a poet. His love of science was so great, that he refused two bishopricks; and from the midst of public business, with which his political talents gave him a considerable connection in the court of Richard the First, he retired to Lincoln for seven years, with a design of pursuing theological studies^t. He recited his book on the topography of Ireland in public at Oxford, for three days successively. On the first day of this recital he entertained all the poor of the city; on the second, all the doctors in the several faculties, and scholars of better note; and on the third, the whole body of students, with the citizens and soldiers of the garrison^u. It is probable that this was a ceremony practised on the like occasion in the university of Paris^v;

^a There are two manuscripts of this poem, from which I transcribe, in the Bodleian library. MSS. Digb. 64. and 157. One of these has a gloss, but not that of Hugo Legatus, mentioned by Baillet, Jugem. Sav. iv. p. 257. edit. 4to. This poem is said to have been printed at Paris 1517. 4to. Bibl. Thuan. tom. ii.

p. 286. This edition I have never seen, and believe it to be an extremely scarce book.

^r Cod. Digb. 64. ut supr.

^s Bale, iii. 49.

^t Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 374.

^u Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 56.

^v But Wood insinuates, that this

where Giraldus had studied for twenty years, and where he had been elected professor of canon law in the year 1189*. His account of Wales was written in consequence of the observations he made on that country, then almost unknown to the English, during his attendance on an archiepiscopal visitation. I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing from this book his picture of the romantic situation of the abbey of Lantony in Monmouthshire. I will give it in English, as my meaning is merely to show how great a master the author was of that selection of circumstances which forms an agreeable description, and which could only flow from a cultivated mind. "In the deep vale of Ewias, which is about a bowshot over, and enclosed on all sides with high mountains, stands the

sumptuous entertainment was partly given by Gyraldus, as an inceptor in the arts. Ubi *supr.* p. 25. col. 1. Which practice I have mentioned, *Socr.* ix. vol. ii. p. 126. *infr.* And I will here add other instances, especially as they are proofs of the estimation in which letters, at least literary honours, were held. In the year 1268, the inceptors in civil law at Oxford were so numerous, and attended by such a number of guests, that the academical houses or hostels were not sufficient for their accommodation: and the company filled not only these, but even the refectory, cloisters, and many apartments of Osney abbey, near the suburbs of Oxford. At which time many Italians studying at Oxford were admitted in that faculty. Wood, *ubi supr.* p. 25. col. 1. It appears that the mayor and citizens of Oxford were constantly invited to these solemnities. In the year 1400, two monks of the priory of Christ Church in Canterbury were severally admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity and civil law at Oxford. The expences were paid by their monastery, and amounted to 118*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* *Registr. Priorat. pergam.* MSS. Tanner, *Oxon. Num.* 165. fol. 212. a. Among other articles there is, "In solutione facta *HISTRIONIBUS.*" fol. 213. a. [See *Socr.* ii. p. 95. *infr.*] At length these scholastic banquets grew to such excess, that it was ordered in the year 1434, that no inceptor in arts should expend

more than "3000 grossos Turonenses." *Vet. Stat.* See Leland, *Coll. P. ii. tom. i.* p. 296, 297. edit. 1770. But the limitation was a considerable sum. Each is somewhat less than an English groat. Notwithstanding, Neville, afterwards archbishop of York, on his admission to the degree of master of arts in 1452, feasted the academics and many strangers for two successive days, at two entertainments, consisting of nine hundred costly dishes. Wood, *ibid.* 219. col. 1. 2. Nor was this reverence to learning, and attention to its institutions, confined to the circle of our universities. Such was the pedantry of the times, that in the year 1503, archbishop Wareham, chancellor of Oxford, at his feast of inthronisation, ordered to be introduced in the first course a curious dish, in which were exhibited the eight towers of the university. In every tower stood a bedell; and under the towers were figures of the king, to whom the chancellor Wareham, encircled with many doctors properly habited, presented four Latin verses, which were answered by his majesty. The eight towers were those of Merton, Magdalene, and New College, and of the monasteries of Osney, Rewley, the Dominican, Augustine, and Franciscan friars, which five last are now utterly destroyed. Wood, *ubi supr.* lib. i. p. 239. col. i. Compare Robertson's *Charles V.* i. 323. seq.

² Wharton, *ibid.*

abbey church of Saint John, a structure covered with lead, and not unhandsomely built for so lonesome a situation: on the very spot, where formerly stood a small chapel dedicated to Saint David, which had no other ornaments than green moss and ivy. It is a situation fit for the exercise of religion; and a religious edifice was first founded in this sequestered retreat to the honour of a solitary life, by two hermits, remote from the noise of the world, upon the banks of the river Hondy, which winds through the midst of the valley.—The rains which mountainous countries usually produce, are here very frequent, the winds exceedingly tempestuous, and the winters almost continually dark. Yet the air of the valley is so happily tempered, as scarcely to be the cause of any diseases. The monks sitting in the cloisters of the abbey, when they chuse for a momentary refreshment to cast their eyes abroad, have on every side a pleasing prospect of mountains ascending to an immense height, with numerous herds of wild deer feeding aloft on the highest extremity of this lofty horizon. The body of the sun is not visible above the hills till after the meridian hour, even when the air is most clear.” Giraldus adds, that Roger bishop of Salisbury, prime minister to Henry the First, having visited this place, on his return to court told the king, that all the treasure of his majesty’s kingdom would not suffice to build such another cloister. The bishop explained himself by saying, that he meant the circular ridge of mountains with which the vale of Ewias was enclosed¹. Alexander Neckham was the friend, the associate, and the correspondent of Peter of Blois already mentioned. He received the first part of his education in the abbey of Saint Alban’s, which he afterwards completed at Paris². His compositions are various, and croud the department of manuscripts in our public libraries. He has left numerous treatises of divinity, philosophy, and morality: but he was likewise a poet, a philologist, and a grammarian. He wrote a tract on the mythology of the antient poets, *Esopian*

¹ Girald. Cambrens. *ITIN. CAMBR.* Lib. i. c. 3. p. 89. seq. Lond. 1585. 12mo.

² *Lel. Script. Brit.* p. 240. seq.

fables, and a system of grammar and rhetoric. I have seen his elegiac poem on the monastic life^a, which contains some finished lines. But his capital piece of Latin poetry is *On the Praise of DIVINE WISDOM*, which consists of seven books. In the introduction he commemorates the innocent and unreturning pleasures of his early days, which he passed among the learned monks of Saint Alban's, in these perspicuous and unaffected elegiacs.

————— *Clastrum*

Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies.
Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos,
Felix eximio martyre, gente, situ.
Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori
Indulget sancto religiosa cohors.^b

Neckham died abbot of Cirencester in the year 1217^c. He was much attached to the studious repose of the monastic profession, yet he frequently travelled into Italy^d. Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, has been very happily styled the Anacreon of the eleventh century^e. He studied at Paris^f. His vein was chiefly festive and satirical^g: and as his wit was frequently levelled against the corruptions of the clergy, his poems often appeared under fictitious names, or have been ascribed to others^h. The celebrated drinking odeⁱ of this genial archdeacon has the regular returns of the monkish rhyme: but they are here applied with a characteristic propriety, are so happily invented, and so humourously introduced, that they

^a Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 65. f. 18.

^b Apud Lel. Script. Brit. p. 240.

^c Willis, Mitr. Abb. i. 61, 62.

^d Lel. Ibid.

^e Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. Not. B. ii. p. 133. 4to.

^f See infr. Sacr. ii. p. 67.

^g Tanner, Bibl. p. 507.

^h Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 706. Compare Tanner, Bibl. 351. 507. In return, many pieces went under the name of our author. As, for instance, *De Thetide et de Lyæo*, which is a ridiculous piece of scurrility. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 166. f. 104.

ⁱ See Camd. Rem. p. 436. RYTHMI.

not only suit the genius but heighten the spirit of the piece^k. He boasts that good wine inspires him to sing verses equal to those of Ovid. In another Latin ode of the same kind, he attacks with great liveliness the new injunction of pope Innocent, concerning the celibacy of the clergy; and hopes that every married priest with his bride, will say a pater noster for the soul of one who had thus hazarded his salvation in their defence.

Ecce jam pro clericis multum allegavi,
Necnon pro presbyteris plura comprobavi:
PATER NOSTER nunc pro me, quoniam peccavi,
Dicat quisque Presbyter, cum sua Suavi.^l

But a miracle of this age in classical composition was Joseph of Exeter, commonly called Josephus Iscanus. He wrote two epic poems in Latin heroics. The first is on the Trojan War; it is in six books, and dedicated to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury^m. The second is entitled ANTIOCHEIS, the War

^k In Bibl. Bodl. a piece *De Nugis Curialium* is given to Mapes. MSS. Arch. B. 52. It was written A.D. 1182. As appears from *Distinct.* iv. cap. 1. It is in five books. Many Latin poems in this manuscript are given to Mapes. One in particular, written in a flowing style, in short lines, preserving no fixed metrical rule, which seems to have been intended for singing. In another manuscript I find various pieces of Latin poetry, by some attributed to Mapes, Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. iii. Some of these are in a good taste. Camden has printed his *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum*. Rem. p. 439. It is written in a sort of Anacreontic verse, and has some humour. It is in MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. ut supr. 166. See also Camd. *ibid.* p. 437.

[It appears from several of the MS. copies of Lancelot du Lac, Le Saint Graal, and other romances, that Walter de Mapes translated them into French prose, at the instance of Henry II. He also composed the Mort Artur at the particular desire of that monarch. Many

of his poems remain in MS. (See Index to Harl. MSS.) Some of them have been printed in Leyser, *Hist. Poetarum mediæ ævi*, in Flacius *de corrupto ecclesiæ statu*. Basil 1557. and in Wolfii *Lectiones memorabiles*. There is reason to suppose that a piece entitled variously as follows, was written by him: *Visio lamentabilis cujusdam heremite super disceptatione animæ contra corpus.—Disputatio inter corpus et animam aliqujus repbati et damnati: Conflictio inter corpus et animam*. See Harl. MSS. 978. 2851. Cotton MSS. Titus, A. xx. —Douvz.] [There is however reason to believe that Mapes only gave a Latin version of a very popular theme. See the same idea exemplified in a Saxon poem from the Exon MS. given by Mr. Conybeare in the *Archæologia*, vol. 17.—EMER.]

^l Camd. Rem. ut supr.

^m See lib. i. 32. It was first printed at Basil, but very corruptly, in the year 1541. 8vo. under the name of Cornelius Nepos. The existence and name of this poem seem to have been utterly

of Antioch, or the Crusade; in which his patron the archbishop was an actorⁿ. The poem of the Trojan war is founded on Dares Phrygius, a favorite fabulous historian of that time^o. The diction of this poem is generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious: and on the whole, the structure of the versification approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry. The writer appears to have possessed no common command of poetical phraseology, and wanted nothing but a knowledge of the Virgilian chastity. His style is a mixture of Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, who seem then to have been the popular patterns^p. But a few specimens will best illustrate this criticism. He thus, in a strain of much spirit and dignity,

unknown in England when Leland wrote. He first met with a manuscript copy of it by mere accident in Magdalen college library at Oxford. He never had even heard of it before. He afterwards found two more copies at Paris. But these were all imperfect, and without the name of the author, except a marginal hint. At length he discovered a complete copy of it in the library of Thorney abbey in Cambridgeshire, which seems to have ascertained the author's name, but not his country, Script. Brit. p. 238. The neglect of this poem among our ancestors, I mean in the ages which followed Iscanus, appears from the few manuscripts of it now remaining in England. Leland, who searched all our libraries, could find only two. There is at present one in the church of Westminster. Another in Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 157. That in Magdalen college is MSS. Cod. 50. The best edition is at the end of "Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius, in us. Sereniss. Delph. cum Interpret. A. Daceriæ, &c. Amstæl. 1702." 4to. But all the printed copies have omitted passages which I find in the Digby manuscript. Particularly they omit, in the address to Baldwin, four lines after v. 32. lib. i. Thirteen lines, in which the poet alludes to his intended *Αντιοχίτις*, are omitted before v. 962. lib. vi. Nor have they the verses in which he compliments Henry the Second, said by Leland to be at the end of the fourth book, Script. Brit. p. 238. The truth is, these pas-

sages would have betrayed their first editor's pretence of this poem being written by Cornelius Nepos. As it is, he was obliged in the address to Baldwin, to change *Cantia*, *KENT*, into *Tantia*; for which he substitutes *Pontia* in the margin, as an ingenious conjecture.

ⁿ Leland, p. 224, 225.

^o The manuscript at Magdalen college, mentioned by Leland, is entitled *Dares Phrygius de bello Trojano*. Lel. p. 236. As also MSS. Digb. supr. citat. But see *Sacr.* iii. p. 140. *infr.*

^p Statius is cited in the epistles of Stephen of Tournay, a writer of the twelfth century. "Divinam ejus responsonem, ut *Thebais Æneida, longa sequor, et vestigia semper adoro*." He died in 1200. *EPISTOLÆ*, Paris. 1611. 4to. Epist. v. p. 535. On account of the variety of his matter, and the facility of his manner, none of the antient poets are more frequently cited in the writers of the dark ages than Ovid. His *FASTI* seems to have been their favourite: a work thus admirably characterised by an ingenious French writer, "*Les Fastes d'Ovide renferment plus d'érudition qu'aucun autre ouvrage de l'antiquité. C'est le chef d'œuvre de ce poète, et une espèce de devotion païenne*," Vigneul Marville, *Misc. Hist. et Lit.* tom. ii. p. 306. A writer of the thirteenth century, *DE MIRABILIBUS ROMÆ*, published by Montfaucon, calls this work *MARTYROLOGIUM Orulii de Fastis*. *Montf. Diar. Italic.* c. xx. p. 293.

addresses king Henry the Second, who was going to the holy war^q, the intended subject of his *ANTIOCHEIS*.

———Tuque, oro, tuo da, maxime, vati
Ire iter inceptum, Trojamque aperire jacentem :
Te sacræ assument acies, divinaque bella,
Tunc dignum majore tuba ; tunc pectore toto
Nitar, et immensum mecum spargere per orbem.^r

The tomb or mausoleum of Teuthras is feigned with a brilliancy of imagination and expression ; and our poet's classical ideas seem here to have been tintured with the description of some magnificent oriental palace, which he had seen in the romances of his age.

Regia conspicuis moles inscripta figuris
Exceptura ducem, senis affulta columnis,
Tollitur : electro vernat basis, arduus auro
Ardet apex, radioque stylus candescit eburno.

—Gemmæ quas littoris Indi
Dives arena tegit, aurum quod parturit Hermus,
In varias vivunt species, ditique decorum
Materie contendit opus : quod nobile ductor
Quod clarum gessit, ars explicat, ardua pandit
Moles, et totum reserat sculptura tyrannum.^s

He thus describes Penthesilea and Pyrrhus :

Eminet, horrificas rapiens post terga secures,
Virginei regina chori : non provida cultus
Cura trahit, non forma juvat, frons aspera, vestis
Discolor, insertumque armis irascitur aurum.
Si visum, si verba notes, si lumina pendas,
Nil leve, nil fractum : latet omni foemina facto.
Obvius ultrices accendit in arma cohortes,
Myrmidonasque suos, curru prævectus anhelos,
Pyrrhus, &c.

^q Voltaire has expressed his admiration of the happy choice of subject which Tasso made. We here see a poet of an

age much earlier than Tasso celebrating the same sort of expedition.

^r Lib. 1. 47.

^s Lib. iv. 451.

—— Meritosque offensus in hostes
 Arma patris, nunc ultor, habet: sed tanta recusant
 Pondera crescentes humeri, majoraque cassis
 Colla petit, breviorque manus vix colligit hastam.[†]

Afterwards a Grecian leader, whose character is invective, insults Penthesilea, and her troop of heroines, with these reproaches,

Tunc sic increpitans, Pudeat, Mars inclyte, dixit:
 En! tua signa gerit, quin nostra effœminat arma
 Staminibus vix apta manus. Nunc stabitis hercle
 Perjuræ turres; calathos et pensa puellæ
 Plena rotant, sparguntque colos. Hoc milite Troja,
 His fidit telis. At non patiemur Achivi:
 Etsi turpe viris timidas calcare puellas,
 Ibo tamen contra. Sic ille: At virgo loquacem
 Tarda sequi sexum, velox ad prælia, solo
 Respondet jaculo[‡], &c.——

I will add one of his comparisons. The poet is speaking of the reluctant advances of the Trojans under their new leader Memnon, after the fall of Hector:

Qualiter Hyblæi mellita pericula reges,
 Si signis iniere datis, labente tyranno
 Alterutro, viduos dant agmina stridula questus;
 Et, subitum vix nacta ducem, metuentia vibrant
 Spicula, et imbelli remeant in prælia rostro.[‡]

His ANTIOCHEIS was written in the same strain, and had equal merit. All that remains of it is the following fragment[¶], in which the poet celebrates the heroes of Britain, and particularly king Arthur.

[†] Lib. vi. p. 589.

[‡] Lib. vi. 609.

[¶] Lib. vi. 19.

[¶] Camd. Rem. p. 410. *POEMS*. See also Camd. Brit. Leland having learned from the *Bellum Trojanum* that Josephus had likewise written a poem on the Crusade, searched for it in many places, but without success. At length

he found a piece of it in the library of Abingdon abbey in Berkshire. "Cum excuterem pulverem et tineas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ." Ut *supr.* p. 238. Here he discovered that Josephus was a native of Exeter, which city was highly celebrated in that fragment.

——— Inclyta fulsit

Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot dives alumnis,
 Tot fecunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem
 Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus
 Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
 Hinc, Senonum ductor, captiva Brennius urbe^u
 Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces.
 Hinc et Scæva satus, pars non obscura tumultus
 Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
 Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
 Hinc, celebri fato, felici floruit ortu,
 Flos regum Arthurus^w, cujus tamen acta stupori
 Non micuere minus: totus quod in aure voluptas,
 Et populo plaudente favor^x. Quæcunque^y priorum
 Inspice: Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum,
 Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos;
 Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstis;
 Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
 Æquant. Annales Graios Latiosque revolve,
 Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
 Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes:
 Solus præteritis melior, majorque futuris.

Camden asserts, that Joseph accompanied king Richard the First to the holy land^a, and was an eye-witness of that heroic monarch's exploits among the Saracens, which afterwards he celebrated in the *ANTIOCHEIS*. Leland mentions his love-verses and epigrams, which are long since perished^a. He^b flourished in the year 1210^c.

^u f. "Captiva Brennus in."

^w From this circumstance, Pitt absurdly recites the title of this poem thus, *Antiocheis in Regem Arthurum*. Jos. Isc.

^x The text seems to be corrupt in this sentence. Or perhaps somewhat is wanting. I have changed *favor*, which is in Camden, into *favor*.

^y f. *quemcunque*.

^a Rem. ut supr. p. 407.

^b Leland, ut supr. p. 239. Our bio-

graphers mention *Panegyricum in Henricum*. But the notion of this poem seems to have taken rise from the verses on Henry the Second, quoted by Leland from the *Bellum Trojanum*. He is likewise said to have written in Latin verse *De Institutione Cyri*.

^b Italy had at that time produced no writer comparable to Iscanus.

^c Bale, iii. 60. Compare *Dresenius ad Lectorem*. Prefixed to the *De Bello*

There seems to have been a rival spirit of writing Latin heroic poems about this period. In France, Guillaume le Breton, or William of Bretagny, about the year 1230, wrote a Latin heroic poem on Philip Augustus king of France about the commencement of the thirteenth century, in twelve books, entitled *PHILIPPIS*^d. Barthius gives a prodigious character of this poem; and affirms that the author, a few gallicisms excepted, has expressed the facility of Ovid with singular happiness^e. The versification much resembles that of Joseph Iscanus. He appears to have drawn a great part of his materials from Roger Hoveden's annals. But I am of opinion, that the *PHILIPPID* is greatly exceeded by the *ALEXANDREID* of Philip Gualtier de Chatillon, who flourished likewise in France, and was provost of the canons of Tournay, about the year 1200^f. This poem celebrates the actions of Alexander the Great, is founded on Quintus Curtius^g, consists of ten books, and is dedicated to Guillelm archbishop of Rheims. To give the reader an opportunity of comparing Gualtier's style and manner with those of our countryman Josephus, I will transcribe a few specimens from a beautiful and antient manuscript of the *ALEXANDREID* in the Bodleian library^h. This is the exordium:

Gesta ducis Macedum totum digesta per orbem,
Quam large dispersit opes, quo milite Porum
Vicit aut Darium; quo principe Græcia victrix
Risit, et a Persis rediere tributa Corinthum,
Musa, refer.ⁱ

TAOJANO. Francof. 1620. 4to. Mr. Wise, the late Radcliffe librarian, told me that a manuscript of the *ANTIOCHIS* was in the library of the duke of Chandois at Canons.

^d He wrote it at fifty-five years of age. *PHILIPP.* lib. iii. v. 381. It was first printed in Pithou's "Eleven Historians of France," Francof. 1596. fol. Next in Du Chesne, *SCRIPT. FRANC.* tom. v. p. 93. Paris. 1694. fol. But the best edition is with Barthius's notes, Cygn. 1657. 4to. Brito says in the *PHILIPPIS*, that he wrote a poem called *KARLOTTIS*, in praise of

Petri Carlotti sui, then not fifteen years old. *PHILIPP.* lib. i. v. 10. This poem was never printed, and is hardly known.

^e In Not. p. 7. See also *Adversar.* xliii. 7. He prefers it to the *ALEXANDREIS* mentioned below, in Not. p. 528. See *Mem. Lit.* viii. 536. edit. 4to.

^f It was first printed, Argent. 1513. 8vo. And two or three times since.

^g See *infr.* *SECT.* iii. p. 143. And *Barth. Advers.* lii. 16.

^h MSS. Digb. 52. 4to.

ⁱ fol. 1. a.

A beautiful rural scene is thus described :

———Patulis ubi frondea ramis
 Laurus odoriferas celabat crinibus herbas :
 Sæpe sub hac memorant carmen sylvestre canentes
 Nympharum vidisse choros, Satyrosque procaces.
 Fons cadit a læva, quem cespite gramen obumbrat
 Purpureo, verisque latens sub veste jocatur,
 Rivulus et lento rigat inferiora meatu,
 Garrulus, et strepitu facit obsurdescere montes.
 Hic mater Cybele Zephyrum tibi, Flora, maritans,
 Pullulat, et vallem fecundat gratia fontis.
 Qualiter Alpinis spumoso vortice saxis
 Descendit Rhodanus, ubi Maximianus Eoos
 Extinxit cuneos, cum sanguinis unda meatum
 Fluminis adjuvit.¹———

He excells in similies. Alexánder, when a stripling, is thus compared to a young lion :

Qualiter Hyrcanis cum forte leunculis arvis
 Cornibus elatos videt ire ad pabula cervos,
 Cui nondum totos descendit robur in artus,
 Nec bene firmus adhuc, nec dentibus asper aduncis,
 Palpitat, et vacuum ferit improba lingua palatum ;
 Effunditque prius animis quam dente cruorem.^k

The ALEXANDREID soon became so popular, that Henry of Gaunt, archdeacon of Tournay, about the year 1330, complains that this poem was commonly taught in the rhetorical schools, instead of Lucan¹ and Virgil^m. The learned Charpentier

¹ fol. xiii. a.

^k fol. xxi. a.

¹ Here, among many other proofs which might be given, and which will occur hereafter, is a proof of the estimation in which Lucan was held during the middle ages. He is quoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth and John of Salisbury, writers of the eleventh century. Hist. Brit. iv. 9. and Policrat. p. 215. edit. 1515. &c. &c. There is an anonymous Italian translation of Lucan, as early as

the year 1310. The Italians have also *Lucano in volgare*, by cardinal Monticelli, at Milan 1492. It is in the octave rime, and in ten books. But the translator has so much departed from the original, as to form a sort of romance of his own. He was translated into Spanish prose, *Lucano poeta y historiador antiguo*, by Martin Lasse de Orespe, at Antwerp, 1585. Lucan was first printed in the year 1469. And before the year 1500,

cites a passage from the manuscript statutes of the university of Tholouse, dated 1328, in which the professors of grammar are directed to read to their pupils "*De Historiis Alexandri*." Among which I include Gualtier's poem°. It is quoted as a familiar classic by Thomas Rodburn, a monkish chronicler, who wrote about the year 1420^p. An anonymous Latin poet, seemingly of the thirteenth century, who has left a poem on the life and miracles of Saint Oswald, mentions Homer, Gualtier, and Lucan, as the three capital heroic poets. Homer, he says, has celebrated Hercules, Gualtier the son of Philip, and Lucan has sung the praises of Cesar. But, adds he, these heroes much less deserve to be immortalised in verse, than the deeds of the holy confessor Oswald.

In nova fert animus antiquas vertere prosas
Carmina, &c.

Alciden hyperbolice commendat HOMERUS,
GUALTERUS pingit torvo Philippida vultu,
Cæsareas late laudes LUCANUS adauget:
TRES illi famam meruerunt, tresque poetas
Auctores habuere suos, multo magis autem
Oswaldi regis debent insignia dici.^a

I do not cite this writer as a proof of the elegant versification which had now become fashionable, but to shew the popularity of the ALEXANDREID, at least among scholars. About the year 1206, Gunther a German, and a Cistercian monk of the

there were six other editions of this classic, whose declamatory manner rendered him very popular. He was published at Paris in French in 1500. Labb. Bibl. p. 339.

^m See Hen. Gandav. Monasticon. c. 20. and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ii. 218. Alanus de Insulis, who died in 1202, in his poem called ANTI-CLAUDIANUS, a Latin poem of nine books, much in the manner of Claudian, and written in defence of divine providence against a passage in that poet's RUFINUS, thus attacks the rising reputation of the ALEXANDREID:

Mævius in cælis ardens os ponere mutum,

GESTA DUCIS MACEDUM, tenebrosi carminis umbra,

Dicere dum tentat.——

^a Suppl. Du Cang. Lat. Gloss. tom. ii. p. 1256. V. METRIFICATURA. By which barbarous word they signified the Art of poetry, or rather the Art of writing Latin verses.

^o See SECR. iii. p. 132. infr.

^p Hist. Maj. Winton. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 242.

^q I will add some of the exordial lines almost immediately following, as they

diocese of Basil, wrote an heroic poem in Latin verse, entitled *LIGURINUS*, which is scarce inferior to the *PHILIPPID* of Guillaume le Breton, or the *ALEXANDREID* of Gualtier: but not so polished and classical as the *TROJAN WAR* of our Josephus Iscanus. It is in ten books, and the subject is the war of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa against the Milanese in Liguria^q. He had before written a Latin poem on the expedition of the emperor Conrade against the Saracens, and the recovery of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign, which he called *SOLYMARIUM*^r. The subject is much like that of the *ANTIOCHEIS*; but which of the two pieces was written first it is difficult to ascertain.

While this spirit of classical Latin poetry was universally prevailing, our countryman Geoffrey de Vinesauf, an accom-

contain names, and other circumstances, which perhaps may lead to point out the age if not the name of the author. They were never before printed.

Tu quoque digneris, precor, aspirare labori,

Flos cleri, MARTINE, meo; qui talis es inter

Abbatess, qualis est patronus tuus inter Pontifices: hic est primas, tu primus eorum, &c.

Hic per Aidanum sua munificentia munus

Illi promeruit, &c.

Tuque benigne Prior, primas, et prime Priorum,

Qui cleri, ROGERE, rosam geris, annue vati, &c.

Tuque Sacrista, sacris instans, qui jure vocaris

SYMON, id est humilis, quo nemo benignior alter

Abbatiss præcepta sui velocius audit, Tardius obloquitur: qui tot mea carmina servas

Scripta voluminibus, nec plura requirere cessas.

Præteritos laudas, præsentibus dilige versus, &c.

The manuscript is Bibl. Bodl. A. 1. 2. B. (Langb. 5. p. 6.) This piece begins at f. 57. Other pieces precede, in Latin poetry: as *VITÆ SANCTORUM*. T. Becket. f. 3.

Qui moritur? Præsul. Cur? pro Grege, &c.

Prologus. f. 23.

Detineant alios Parnassi culmina Cynrhus

Plausus, Pieridum vox, Heliconis opes.

De partu Virginis. f. 28. b.

Nectareum rorem terris, &c.

S. Birinus, f. 42.

Et pudet, et fateor, &c.

The author of the life of Birinus says, he was commanded to write by Peter, probably Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. Perhaps he is Michael Blaunpayne. Alexander Esseyby wrote lives of saints in Latin verse. See MSS. Harl. 1819. 591.

^q First printed August. Vindel. 1507. fol. And frequently since.

^r He mentions it in his *LIGURINUS*, lib. i. v. 13. seq. v. 648. seq. See also Voss. Poet. Lat. c. vi. p. 73. It was never printed. Gunther wrote a prose history of the sack of Constantinople by Baldwin: The materials were taken from the mouth of abbot Martin, who was present at the siege, in 1204. It was printed by Canisius, *Antiqu. Lect.* tom. iv. P. ii. p. 358. Ingolstadt. 1604. 4to. Again, in a new edition of that compilation, Amst. 1725. fol. tom. iv. See also Pagi, ad A. D. 1519, n. xiv.

plished scholar, and educated not only in the priory of Saint Frideswide at Oxford, but in the universities of France and Italy, published while at Rome a critical didactic poem entitled *DE NOVA POETRIA**. This book is dedicated to pope Innocent the Third: and its intention was to recommend and illustrate the new and legitimate mode of versification which had lately begun to flourish in Europe, in opposition to the Leonine or barbarous species. This he compendiously styles, and by way of distinction, *The New Poetry*. We must not be surprised to find Horace's Art of Poetry entitled *HORATII NOVA POETRIA*, so late as the year 1389, in a catalogue of the library of a monastery at Dover†.

Even a knowledge of the Greek language imported from France, but chiefly from Italy, was now beginning to be diffused in England. I am inclined to think, that many Greek manuscripts found their way into Europe from Constantinople in the time of the Crusades: and we might observe that the Italians, who seem to have been the most polished and intelligent people of Europe during the barbarous ages, carried on communications with the Greek empire as early as the reign of Charlemagne. Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, an universal scholar, and no less conversant in polite letters than the most abstruse sciences, cultivated and patronised the study of the Greek language. This illustrious prelate, who is said to have composed almost two hundred books, read lectures in the school of the Franciscan friars at Oxford about the year 1230‡. He translated Dionysius the Areopagite and Damascenus into Latin§. He greatly facilitated the knowledge of

* It has been often printed. I think it is called in some manuscripts, *De Arte dictandi, versificandi, et transferendi*. See Selden, *Præfat. Dec. Scæptor.* p. xxxix. And Selden, *Op. ii.* 168. He is himself no contemptible Latin poet, and is celebrated by Chaucer. See Urry's edit. p. 468. 560. He seems to have lived about 1200.

† Ex *Matricula Monach. Monast. Dover.* apud MSS. Br. Twyne, notat. 8.

p. 758. archiv. Oxon. Yet all Horace's writings were often transcribed, and not unfamiliar, in the dark ages. His odes are quoted by Fitz-Stephens in his *Description of London*. Rabanus Maurus above mentioned quotes two verses from the *Art of Poetry*. *Op. tom. ii.* p. 46. edit. Colon. 1627. fol.

‡ Kennet, *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 217.

§ Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 283.

Greek by a translation of Suidas's Lexicon, a book in high repute among the lower Greeks, and at that time almost a recent compilation¹. He promoted John of Basingstoke to the archdeaconry of Leicester; chiefly because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed many Greek manuscripts, which he is said to have brought from Athens into England². He entertained, as a domestic in his palace, Nicholas chaplain of the abbot of Saint Alban's, surnamed GRÆCUS, from his uncommon proficiency in Greek; and by his assistance he translated from

¹ Boston of Bury says, that he translated the book called *SUDA*. Catal. Script. Eccles. ROBERT. LINCOLN. Boston lived in the year 1410. Such was their ignorance at this time even of the name of this lexicographer.

² *Lel. Script. Brit.* p. 266. Matthew Paris asserts, that he introduced into England a knowledge of the Greek numeral letters. That historian adds, "De quibus figuris HOC MAXIME ADMIRANDUM, quod unica figura quilibet numerus representatur: quod non est in Latino vel in Algorithmo." Hist. edit. Lond. 1684. p. 721. He translated from Greek into Latin a grammar which he called *DONATUS GRÆCORUM*. See Pegge's Life of Roger de Weseham, p. 46, 47. 51. And *infr.* p. 281. He seems to have flourished about the year 1330. Bacon also wrote a Greek grammar, in which is the following curious passage: "Episcopus consecrans ecclesiam, scribat Alphabetum Græcum in pulvere cum cuspidē baculi pastoralis: sed omnes episcopi QUI GRÆCUM IGNORANT, scribant tres notas numerorum quæ non sunt literæ," &c. *GA. GRAM.* cap. ult. p. iii. MSS. Apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8vo. p. 649. archiv. Oxon. See what is said of the new translations of Aristotle, from the original Greek into Latin, about the twelfth century. *SECT. IX.* vol. ii. p. 128. *infr.* I believe the translators understood very little Greek. Our countryman Michael Scotus was one of the first of them; who was assisted by Andrew a Jew. Michael was astrologer to Frederick emperor of Germany, and appears to have executed his translations at Toledo in Spain, about the year 1220.

These new versions were perhaps little more than corrections from those of the early Arabians, made under the inspection of the learned Spanish Saracens. To the want of a true knowledge of the original language of the antient Greek philosophers, Roger Bacon attributes the slow and imperfect advances of real science at this period. On this account their improvements were very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the appearance of erudition, and the fervour with which almost every branch of philosophy had been now studied in various countries for near half a century. See Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 120. seq. Dempster, xii. 940. Baconi Op. Maj. per Jebb, l. 15. ii. 8. Tanner, Bibl. p. 526. And MSS. Cotton. C. 5. fol. 138. Brit. Mus.

A learned writer affirms, that Aristotle's books in the original Greek were brought out of the east into Europe about the year 1200. He is also of opinion, that during the crusades many Europeans, from their commerce with the Syrian Palestines, got a knowledge of Arabic: and that importing into Europe Arabic versions of some parts of Aristotle's works, which they found in the east, they turned them into Latin. These were chiefly his Ethics and Politics. And these NEW TRANSLATORS he further supposes were employed at their return into Europe in revising the old translations of other parts of Aristotle, made from Arabic into Latin. Euseb. Renaudot, De Barbar. Aristot. Versionib. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 248. See also Murator. Antiq. Ital. Med. Æv. iii. 936.

Greek into Latin the testaments of the twelve patriarchs^a. Grosthead had almost incurred the censure of excommunication for preferring a complaint to the pope, that most of the opulent benefices in England were occupied by Italians^b. But this practice, although notoriously founded on the monopolising and arbitrary spirit of papal imposition, and a manifest act of injustice to the English clergy, probably contributed to introduce many learned foreigners into England, and to propagate philological literature.

Bishop Grosthead is also said to have been profoundly skilled in the Hebrew language^c. William the Conqueror permitted great numbers of Jews to come over from Rouen, and to settle in England about the year 1087^d. Their multitude soon encreased, and they spread themselves in vast bodies throughout most of the cities and capital towns in England, where they built synagogues. There were fifteen hundred at York about the year 1189^e. At Bury in Suffolk is a very complete remain of a Jewish synagogue of stone in the Norman style, large and magnificent. Hence it was that many of the learned English ecclesiastics of these times became acquainted with their books and language. In the reign of William Rufus, at Oxford the Jews were remarkably numerous, and had acquired a considerable property; and some of their rabbis were permitted to open a school in the university, where they instructed not only their own people, but many Christian students, in the Hebrew literature, about the year 1054^f. Within two hundred years after their admission or establishment by the Conqueror, they were banished the kingdom^g. This circumstance was highly favourable to the circulation of their learning in England. The suddenness of their dismissal

^a See MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 4 D. vii. 4. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 82. And M. Paris, sub anno 1242.

^b Godwin, Episc. p. 348, edit. 1616.

^c He is mentioned again, Sact. ii. p. 63. 81. infr.

^d Hollinsh. Chron. sub ann. p. 15. a.

^e Anders. Comm. i. 93.

^f Angl. Judaic. p. 8.

^g Hollinsh. *ibid.* sub ann. 1289. p. 285. a. Matthew of Westminster says that 16511 were banished. Flor. Hist. ad an. 1290. Great numbers of Hebrew rolls and charts, relating to their estates in England, and escheated to the king, are now remaining in the Tower among the royal records.

obliged them for present subsistence, and other reasons, to sell their moveable goods of all kinds, among which were large quantities of rabbinical books. The monks in various parts availed themselves of the distribution of these treasures. At Huntingdon and Stamford there was a prodigious sale of their effects, containing immense stores of Hebrew manuscripts, which were immediately purchased by Gregory of Huntingdon, prior of the abbey of Ramsey. Gregory speedily became an adept in the Hebrew, by means of these valuable acquisitions, which he bequeathed to his monastery about the year 1250^b. Other members of the same convent, in consequence of these advantages, are said to have been equal proficient in the same language, soon after the death of prior Gregory: among which were Robert Dodford, librarian of Ramsey, and Laurence Holbech, who compiled a Hebrew Lexicon^c. At Oxford, great multitudes of their books fell into the hands of Roger Bacon, or were bought by his brethren the Franciscan friars of that university^d.

But, to return to the leading point of our enquiry, this promising dawn of polite letters and rational knowledge was soon obscured. The temporary gleam of light did not arrive to perfect day. The minds of scholars were diverted from these liberal studies in the rapidity of their career; and the arts of composition and the ornaments of language were neglected, to make way for the barbarous and barren subtleties of scholastic divinity. The first teachers of this art, originally founded on that spirit of intricate and metaphysical enquiry which the Arabians had communicated to philosophy, and which now became almost absolutely necessary for defending the doctrines of Rome, were Peter Lombard archbishop of Paris, and the celebrated Abelard: men whose consummate abilities were rather qualified to reform the church, and to restore useful

^a Leland, Script. Brit. p. 321. And MSS. Bibl. Lambeth. Wharton, L. p. 661. "*Libri Prioris Gregorii de Ramsey. Prima pars Bibliothecæ Hebraicæ*," &c.

^b Bale, iv. 41. ix. 9. Lel. ubi supr. p. 452.

^c Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 77. 132. See also Socr. ix. vol. ii. p. 126. infr.

science, than to corrupt both, by confounding the common sense of mankind with frivolous speculation¹. These visionary theologists never explained or illustrated any scriptural topic: on the contrary, they perverted the simplest expressions of the sacred text, and embarrassed the most evident truths of the Gospel by laboured distinctions and unintelligible solutions. From the universities of France, which were then filled with multitudes of English students, this admired species of sophistry was adopted in England, and encouraged by Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury^m. And so successful was its progress at Oxford, that before the reign of Edward the Second, no foreign university could boast so conspicuous a catalogue of subtle and invincible doctors.

Nor was the profession of the civil and canonical laws a small impediment to the propagation of those letters which humanize the mind, and cultivate the manners. I do not mean to deny, that the accidental discovery of the imperial code in the twelfth century contributed in a considerable degree to civilise Europe, by introducing, among other beneficial consequences, more legitimate ideas concerning the nature of government and the administration of justice, by creating a necessity of transferring judicial decrees from an illiterate nobility to the cognisance of scholars, by lessening the attachment to the military profession, and by giving honour and importance to civil employments: but to suggest, that the mode in which this invaluable system of jurisprudence was studied, proved injurious to polite literature. It was no sooner revived, than it was received as a scholastic science, and taught by regular professors, in most of the universities of Europe. To be skilled in the theology of the schools was the chief and general ambition of scholars: but at the same time a knowledge of both the laws was become an indispensable requisite, at least an essential recommendation, for obtaining the most opulent ecclesiastical

¹ They both flourished about the year 1150.

^m "Baccalaureus qui legit textum (sc. S. Scripturæ) succumbit lectori

SENTENTIARUM Parisiis," &c. Rog. Bacon, apud A. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 53. Lombard was the author of the *Sentences*.

dignities. Hence it was cultivated with universal avidity. It became so considerable a branch of study in the plan of academical discipline, that twenty scholars out of seventy were destined to the study of the civil and canon laws, in one of the most ample colleges at Oxford, founded in the year 1385. And it is easy to conceive the pedantry with which it was pursued in these seminaries during the middle ages. It was treated with the same spirit of idle speculation which had been carried into philosophy and theology, it was overwhelmed with endless commentaries which disclaimed all elegance of language, and served only to exercise genius, as it afforded materials for framing the flimsy labyrinths of casuistry.

It was not indeed probable, that these attempts in elegant literature which I have mentioned should have any permanent effects. The change, like a sudden revolution in government, was too rapid for duration. It was moreover premature, and on that account not likely to be lasting. The habits of superstition and ignorance were as yet too powerful for a reformation of this kind to be effected by a few polite scholars. It was necessary that many circumstances and events, yet in the womb of time, should take place, before the minds of men could be so far enlightened as to receive these improvements.

But perhaps inventive poetry lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgement been now established, imagination would have suffered, and too early a check would have been given to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. In a word, truth and reason would have chased before their time those spectres of illusive fancy, so pleasing to the imagination, which delight to hover in the gloom of ignorance and superstition, and which form so considerable a part of the poetry of the succeeding centuries.

ON THE
GESTA ROMANORUM.

DISSERTATION III.

TALES are the learning of a rude age. In the progress of letters, speculation and enquiry commence with refinement of manners. Literature becomes sentimental and discursive, in proportion as a people is polished: and men must be instructed by facts, either real or imaginary, before they can apprehend the subtleties of argument, and the force of reflection.

Vincent of Beauvais, a learned Dominican of France, who flourished in the thirteenth century, observes in his *MIRROR OF HISTORY*, that it was a practice of the preachers of his age, to rouse the indifference and relieve the languor of their hearers, by quoting the fables of Esop: yet, at the same time, he recommends a sparing and prudent application of these profane fancies in the discussion of sacred subjects^a. Among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum we find a very antient collection of two hundred and fifteen stories, romantic, allegorical, religious, and legendary, which were evidently compiled by a professed preacher, for the use of monastic societies. Some of these appear to have been committed to writing from the recitals of bards and minstrels: others to have been invented and written by troubadours and monks^b. In the year 1389, a grand system of divinity appeared at Paris, afterwards translated by Caxton under the title of the *COURT OF SAPHYENCE*, which abounds with a multitude of historical examples, parables, and apologues; and which the writer wisely supposes, to

^a *SPECUL. HIST.* lib. iv. c. viii. fol. 91. b. edit. Ven. 1591.

^b *MSS. HARL.* 463. membran. fol.

be much more likely to interest the attention and excite the devotion of the people, than the authority of science, and the parade of theology. In consequence of the expediency of this mode of instruction, the Legends of the Saints were received into the ritual, and rehearsed in the course of public worship. For religious romances were nearly allied to songs of chivalry; and the same gross ignorance of the people, which in the early centuries of Christianity created a necessity of introducing the visible pomp of theatrical ceremonies into the churches, was taught the duties of devotion, by being amused with the achievements of spiritual knight-errantry, and impressed with the examples of pious heroism. In more cultivated periods, the *DE-CAMERON* of Boccace, and other books of that kind, ought to be considered as the remnant of a species of writing which was founded on the simplicity of mankind, and was adapted to the exigencies of the infancy of society.

Many obsolete collections of this sort still remain, both printed and manuscript, containing narratives either fictitious or historical,

— Of king and heroes old,
Such as the wise Demodocus once told
In solemn songs at king Alcinous' feast.^c

But among the antient story-books of this character, a Latin compilation entitled *GESTA ROMANORUM* seems to have been the favourite.

This piece has been before incidentally noticed: but as it operated powerfully on the general body of our old poetry, affording a variety of inventions not only to Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, but to their distant successors, I have judged it of sufficient importance to be examined at large in a separate dissertation: which has been designedly reserved for this place*, for the purpose both of recapitulation and illustration, and of

^c Milton. *AT A VACATION EXERCISE*, &c.

the beginning of his Third Volume, which was published seven years after the First: it has now been thought best to let it follow the other Dissertations.—*ERR.*]

* [This Dissertation on the *Gesta Romanorum* was placed by the author at

giving the reader a more commodious opportunity of surveying at leisure, from this intermediate point of view, and under one comprehensive detail, a connected display of the materials and original subjects of many of our past and future poets.

Indeed, in the times with which we are now about to be concerned, it seems to have been growing more into esteem. At the commencement of typography, Wynkyn de Worde published this book in English. This translation was reprinted, by one Robinson, in 1577. And afterwards, of the same translation there were six impressions before the year 1601^d. There is an edition in black letter so late as the year 1689. About the year 1596, an English version appeared of "Epitomés des cent HISTOIRES TRAGIQUES, partie extraictes des ACTES DES ROMAINS et autres," &c. From the popularity, or rather familiarity, of this work in the reign of queen Elisabeth, the title of GESTA GRAYORUM was affixed to the history of the acts of the Christmas Prince at Grays-inn, in 1594^e. In Sir GILES GOOSECAP, an anonymous comedy, presented by the Children of the Chapel in the year 1606, we have, "Then for your lordship's quips and quick jests, why GESTA ROMANORUM were nothing to them^f." And in George Chapman's MAY-DAY, a comedy, printed at London in 1611, a man of the highest literary taste for the pieces in vogue is characterised, "One that has read Marcus Aurelius, GESTA ROMANORUM, the Mirrour of Magistrates, &c.—to be led by the nose like a blind beare that has read nothing^g!" The critics and collectors in black-letter, I believe, could produce many other proofs.

The GESTA ROMANORUM were first printed without date, but as it is supposed before or about the year 1473, in folio, with this title, *Incipiunt HISTORIE NOTABILES collecte ex GESTIS ROMANORUM et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem*^h. This edition has one hundred and fifty-two

^d See vol. ii. p. 322. seq.

^e Printed, or reprinted, in 1688. 4to.

^f Lond. Printed for John Windet, 1606. 4to.

^g Act iii. pag. 39.

^h Much the same title occurs to a manuscript of this work in the Vatican, "Historiæ Notabilæ collectæ ex Gestis

chapters, or GESTS, and one hundred and seventeen leaves¹. It is in the Gothic letter, and in two columns. The first chapter is of king Pompey, and the last of prince, or king, Cleonicus. The initials are written in red and blue ink. This edition, slightly mutilated, is among bishop Tanner's printed books in the Bodleian library. The reverend and learned doctor Farmer, master of Emanuel college in Cambridge, has the second (?) edition, as it seems, printed at Louvain, in quarto, the same or the subsequent year, by John de Westfalia, under the title, *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis*. And with this colophon, *GESTA ROMANORUM cum quibusdam aliis HISTORIIS eisdem annexis ad MORALITATES dilucide redacta hic finem habent. Quæ, diligenter correctis aliorum viciis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia in alma Universitate Louvaniensi*. It has one hundred and eighty-one chapters². That is, twenty-nine more than are contained in the former edition: the first of the additional chapters being the story of Antiochus, or the substance of the romance of APOLLONIUS OF TYRE. The initials are inserted in red ink¹. Another followed soon afterwards, in quarto, *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM Historie notabiles moralizatae, per Girardum Lieu, Goudæ, 1480*. The next edition, with the use of which I have been politely favoured by George Mason, esquire, of Aldenham-lodge, in Hertfordshire, was printed in folio, and in the year 1488*, with this title, *GESTA RHOMANORUM cum Applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis*. The colophon is, *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM cum pluribus applicatis Historiis de virtutibus et viciis mystice ad intellectum transumptis Recollectorii finis. Anno nre salutis MCCCCLXXX viij kalendas vero februarii xvij*. A general, and alphabetical, table are subjoined. The book, which

Romanorum et quibusdam aliis libris cum explicationibus eorundem." Montfaucon. Bibl. MANUSCR. tom. i. pag. 17. Num. 172.

¹ Without initials, paging, signatures, or catch-words.

² The first is of king Pompey, as be-

fore. The last is entitled *De ADULTERIO*.

¹ It has signatures to K k.

* [Mr. Douce enumerates two editions between this and Lieu's; namely, one printed at Hasselt in 1481, and another in 1482 without the name of the place.—EDD.]

is printed in two columns, and in the Gothic character, abounding with abbreviations, contains ninety-three leaves. The initials are written or flourished in red and blue, and all the capitals in the body of the text are miniated with a pen. There were many other later editions^m. I must add, that the *GESTA ROMANORUM* were translated into Dutch, so early as the year 1484. There is an old French version in the British Museum.

This work is compiled from the obsolete Latin chronicles of the later Roman or rather German story, heightened by romantic inventions, from Legends of the Saints, oriental apologues, and many of the shorter fictitious narratives which came into Europe with the Arabian literature, and were familiar in the ages of ignorance and imagination. The classics are sometimes cited for authorities; but these are of the lower order, such as Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Pliny, and Boethius. To every tale a MORALISATION is subjoined, reducing it into a christian or moral lesson.

Most of the oriental apologues are taken from the *CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA*, or a Latin dialogue between an Arabian philosopher and Edricⁿ his son, never printed^o, written by Peter Alphonsus, a baptised Jew, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and collected from Arabian fables, apothegms, and examples^p. Some are also borrowed from an old Latin translation of the *CALILAH U DAMNAH*, a celebrated set of eastern fables, to which Alphonsus was indebted.

On the whole, this is the collection in which a curious inquirer might expect to find the original of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*:

^m For which see vol. ii. p. 319: and Mr. Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, vol. ii. p. 358.

ⁿ Edric was the name of ENOCH among the Arabians, to whom they attribute many fabulous compositions. Herbelot, in V. Lydgate's *CHORLE* and *THE BIRD*, mentioned above, is taken from the *CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA* of Al-

phonsus.

^o MSS. HARL. 3861. And in many other libraries. It occurs in old French verse, MSS. Dier. 86. membran. "*Le Romauns de Peres Ausfour coment il aprist et chastia son fils belement*," [See vol. ii. p. 430.]

^p See Tyrwhitt's *CHAUCER*, vol. iv. p. 325. seq.

Or,—if aught else great bards beside
 In sage and solemn tunes have sung,
 Of turneys and of trophies hung,
 Of forests and enchantments drear,
 Where more is meant than meets the ear.^a

Our author frequently cites *GESTA ROMANORUM*, the title of his own work. By which I understand no particular book of that name, but the Roman history in general. Thus in the title of the *SAINT ALBANS CHRONICLE*, printed by Caxton, *Titus Livius* de *GESTIS ROMANORUM* is recited. In the year 1544, *Lucius Florus* was printed at Paris under the same title^r. In the British Museum we find "*LES FAIS DE ROMAINS* jusques a la fin de l'empire Domician, selon Orose, Justin, Lucan, &c." A plain historical deduction^s. The *ROMULEON*, an old manuscript history of Rome from the foundation of the city to Constantine the Great, is also called de *GESTIS ROMANORUM*. This manuscript occurs both in Latin and French: and a French copy, among the royal manuscripts, has the title, "*ROMULEON, ou des FAIS DE ROMAINS*"^t. Among the manuscript books written by Lapus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, who flourished about the year 1350, there is one, *De Origine URBIS ROMÆ et de GESTIS ROMANORUM*^u. Gower, in the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, often introduces Roman stories with the Latin preamble, *Hic secundum GESTA*. Where he certainly means the Roman History, which by degrees had acquired simply the appellation of *GESTA*. Herman Korner, in his *CHRONICA NOVELLA*, written about the year 1438, refers for his vouchers to Bede, Orosius, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Eusebius, and the *Chronicon* et *GESTA ROMANORUM*. Most probably, to say no more, by the *CHRONICON* he means the later writers of the Roman affairs, such as Isidore and the monkish compilers; and by *GESTA* the antient Roman history, as related by Livy and the more established Latin historians.

^a Milton's *IL PENNEROSO*.

^r Apud Vascosan. 4to.

^s MSS. REG. 20. C. i.

^t MS. 19 E. v.

^u See vol. ii. p. 322.

Neither is it possible that this work could have been brought as a proof or authority, by any serious annalist, for the Roman story.

For though it bears the title of *GESTA ROMANORUM*, yet this title by no means properly corresponds with the contents of the collection: which, as has been already hinted, comprehends a multitude of narratives, either not historical; or, in another respect, such as are either totally unconnected with the Roman people, or perhaps the most preposterous misrepresentations of their history. To cover this deviation from the promised plan, which, by introducing a more ample variety of matter, has contributed to encrease the reader's entertainment, our collector has taken care to preface almost every story with the name or reign of a Roman emperor; who, at the same time, is often a monarch that never existed, and who seldom, whether real or suppositious, has any concern with the circumstances of the narrative.

But I hasten to exhibit a compendious analysis of the chapters which form this very singular compilation: intermixing occasional illustrations arising from the subject, and shortening or lengthening my abridgement of the stories, in proportion as I judge they are likely to interest the reader. Where, for that reason, I have been very concise, I have yet said enough to direct the critical antiquarian to this collection, in case he should find a similar tale occurring in any of our old poets. I have omitted the mention of a very few chapters, which were beneath notice. Sometimes, where common authors are quoted, I have only mentioned the author's name, without specifying the substance of the quotation. For it was necessary that the reader should be made acquainted with our collector's track of reading, and the books which he used. In the mean time, this review will serve as a full notification of the edition of 1488, which is more comprehensive and complete than some others of later publication, and to which all the rest, as to a general criterion, may be now comparatively referred.

CHAP. i. Of a daughter of king Pompey, whose chamber

was guarded by five armed knights and a dog. Being permitted to be present at a public show, she is seduced by a duke, who is afterwards killed by the champion of her father's court. She is reconciled to her father, and betrothed to a nobleman: on which occasion, she receives from her father an embroidered robe and a crown of gold, from the champion a gold ring, another from the wise man who pacified the king's anger, another from the king's son, another from her cousin, and from her spouse a seal of gold. All these presents are inscribed with proverbial sentences, suitable to the circumstances of the princess.

The latter part of this story is evidently oriental. The feudal manners, in a book which professes to record the achievements of the Roman people, are remarkable in the introductory circumstances. But of this mixture we shall see many striking instances.

CHAP. ii. Of a youth taken captive by pirates. The king's daughter falls in love with him; and having procured his escape, accompanies him to his own country, where they are married.

CHAP. vi. An emperor is married to a beautiful young princess. In case of death, they mutually agree not to survive one another. To try the truth of his wife, the emperor going into a distant country, orders a report of his death to be circulated. In remembrance of her vow, and in imitation of the wives of India, she prepares to throw herself headlong from a high precipice. She is prevented by her father; who interposes his paternal authority, as predominating over a rash and unlawful promise.

CHAP. vii. Under the reign of Dioclesian, a noble knight had two sons, the youngest of which marries a harlot.

This story, but with a difference of circumstances, ends like the beautiful apologue of the Prodigal Son.

CHAP. viii. The emperor Leo commands three female statues to be made. One has a gold ring on a finger pointing forward, another a beard of gold, and the third a golden cloak

and purple tunic. Whoever steals any of these ornaments, is to be punished with an ignominious death.

This story is copied by Gower, in the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*: but he has altered some of the circumstances. He supposes a statue of Apollo.

Of plate of golde a berde he hadde,
The wiche his brest all ovir spradde :
Of golde also, without fayle,
His mantell was, of large entayle,
Besette with perrey all aboute :
Forth ryght he straught his fynger oute,
Upon the whiche he had a rynge,
To seen it was a ryche thyng,
A fyne carbuncle for the nones
Moste precious of all stones *.

In the sequel, Gower follows the substance of our author.

CHAP. x. Vespasian marries a wife in a distant country, who refuses to return home with him, and yet declares she will kill herself if he goes. The emperor ordered two rings to be made, of a wonderous efficacy; one of which, in the stone, has the image of Oblivion, the other the image of Memory: the ring of Oblivion he gave to the empress, and returned home with the ring of Memory.

CHAP. xi. The queen of the south sends her daughter to king Alexander, to be his concubine. She was exceedingly beautiful, but had been nourished with poison from her birth. Alexander's master, Aristotle, whose sagacity nothing could escape, knowing this, entreated, that before she was admitted to the king's bed, a malefactor condemned to death might be sent for, who should give her a kiss, in the presence of the king. The malefactor, on kissing her, instantly dropped down dead. Aristotle, having explained his reasons for what he had done, was loaded with honours by the king, and the princess was dismissed to her mother.

* Lib. v. fol. 122. b.

This story is founded on the twenty-eighth chapter of Aristotle's *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*: in which, a queen of India is said to have treacherously sent to Alexander, among other costly presents, the pretended testimonies of her friendship, a girl of exquisite beauty, who having been fed with serpents from her infancy, partook of their nature⁷. If I recollect right, in Pliny there are accounts of nations whose natural food was poison. Mithridates, king of Pontus, the land of venomous herbs, and the country of the sorceress Medea, was supposed to eat poison. Sir John Maundeville's *Travels*, I believe, will afford other instances.

CHAP. xii. A profligate priest, in the reign of the emperor Otto, or Otho, walking in the fields, and neglecting to say mass, is reformed by a vision of a comely old man.

CHAP. xiii. An empress having lost her husband, becomes so dotingly fond of her only son, then three years of age, as not to bear his absence for a moment. They sleep together every night, and when he was eighteen years of age, she proves with child by him. She murders the infant, and her left hand is immediately marked with four circles of blood. Her repentance is related, in consequence of a vision of the holy virgin.

This story is in the *SPECULUM HISTORIALE* of Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about the year 1250⁸.

CHAP. xiv. Under the reign of the emperor Dorotheus, a remarkable example of the filial piety of a young man, who redeems his father, a knight, from captivity.

CHAP. xv. Eufemian, a nobleman in the court of the emperor of Rome, is attended by three thousand servants girt with golden belts, and clothed in silken vestments. His house

⁷ [See p. 136.] This I now cite from a Latin translation, without date, but evidently printed before 1500. It is dedicated to Guido Vere de Valencia, bishop of Tripoly, by his most humble Clerk, Philippus: who says, that he found this treatise in Arabic at Antioch, *quo carebant Latini*, and that therefore, and because the Arabic copies were

scarce, he translated it into Latin.

This printed copy does not exactly correspond with MS. Bodl. 495. membr. 4to. In the last, Alexander's miraculous horn is mentioned at fol. 45. b. In the former, in ch. lxxii. The dedication is the same in both.

⁸ Lib. vii. cap. 93. seq. f. 86. b. edit. Ven.

was crouded with pilgrims, orphans, and widows, for whom three tables were kept every day. He has a son, Allexius; who quits his father's palace, and lives unknown seventeen years in a monastery in Syria. He then returns, and lives seventeen years undiscovered as a pilgrim in his father's family, where he suffers many indignities from the servants.

Allexius, or Alexis, was canonised. The story is taken from his Legend^a. In the metrical Lives of the Saints, his life is told in a sort of measure different from that of the rest, and not very common in the earlier stages of our poetry. It begins thus.

Lesteneth alle and herkeneth me,
Zonge and olde, bonde and fre,
And ich zow telle sone,
How a zought man, gent and fre,
By gan this worldis wele to fle,
Y born he was in Rome.

In Rome was a dozty man
That was y cleped Eufemian,
Man of moche myzte;
Gold and seluer he hadde ynouz,
Hall and boures, oxse and plouz,
And swith wel it dyzte.

When Alexius returns home in disguise, and asks his father about his son, the father's feelings are thus described.

So sone so he spake of his sone,
The guode man, as was his wone,
Gan to sike sore^b;
His herte fel^c so colde so ston,
The teres felle to his ton^d,
On her berd hore.

At his burial, many miracles are wrought on the sick.

With mochel sizt^e, and mochel song,
That holy cors, hem alle among,
Bischoppis to cherche bere.

^a See Caxton, GOLD. LEG. f. cclxliii. b. ^b sigh. ^c felt. ^d feet. ^e sighs.

Amyddes rizt the heze strete^f,
 So moche folke hym gone mete
 That they resten a stonde,
 All the sike^g that to him come,
 I heled wer swithe sone
 Of fet^h and eke of honde:

The blinde come to hareⁱ sizt,
 The croked gonne sone rizt^k,
 The lame for to go:
 That dombe wer fonge^l speche,
 Thez herede^m God the sothe lecheⁿ,
 And that halwe^o also.

The day zede and drouz to nyzt,
 No lenger dwelle^p they ne myzt,
 To cherche they moste wende;
 The bellen they gonne to ryng,
 The clerkes heze^q to synge,
 Everich in his ende^r.

Tho the corse to cherche com
 Glad they wer everichon
 That there ycure wer,
 The pope and the emperour
 By fore an auter of seynt Savour
 Ther sette they the bere.

Aboute the bere was moche lizt
 With proude palle was bedizt,
 I beten al with golde^s.

The history of saint Alexius is told entirely in the same words in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, and in the *LEGENDA AU-*

^f high-street.
^g they sighed. [All the sick.—Rrx-
 son.] ^h feet. ⁱ their. ^k straight.
^l found [took, received].
^m heried, blessed.

ⁿ the true physician. ^o hallow.
^p tarry. ^q high.
^r at his seat in the choir.
^s MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Cod. 57.
 supr. citat.

REA of Jacobus de Voragine¹, translated, through a French medium, by Caxton. This work of Jacobus does not consist solely of the legends of the saints, but is interspersed with *multis aliis pulcherrimis et peregrinis historiis*, with many other most beautiful and strange histories².

CHAP. xvi. A Roman emperor in digging for the foundation of a new palace, finds a golden sarcophagus, or coffin, inscribed with mysterious words and sentences. Which being explained, prove to be so many moral lessons of instruction for the emperor's future conduct.

CHAP. xvii. A poor man named Guido, engages to serve an emperor of Rome in six several capacities, or employments. One of these services is, to show the best way to the holy land. Acquitting himself in all with singular address and fidelity, he is made a knight, and loaded with riches.

CHAP. xviii. A knight named Julian is hunting a stag, who turns and says, "You will kill your father and mother." On this he went into a distant country, where he married a rich lady of a castle. Julian's father and mother travelled into various lands to find their son, and at length accidentally came to this castle, in his absence; where telling their story to the lady, who had heard it from her husband, she discovered who they were, and gave them her own bed to sleep in. Early in the morning, while she was at mass in the chapel, her husband Julian unexpectedly returned; and entering his wife's chamber, perceived two persons in the bed, whom he immediately slew with his sword, hastily supposing them to be his wife and her adulterer. At leaving the chamber, he met his wife coming from the chapel; and with great astonishment asked her, who the persons were sleeping in her bed? She answered, "They are your parents, who have been seeking you so long, and whom I have honoured with a place in our own bed." After-

¹ Hystor. lxxxix. f. clviii. edit. 1479. quotes Gesta Allenii. Specul. Hist. fol. And in Vincent of Beauvais, who Lib. xviii. cap. 43. seq. f. 241. b.

² In the Colophon.

wards they founded a sumptuous hospital for the accommodation of travellers, on the banks of a dangerous river.

This story is told in Caxton's *GOLDEN LEGENDE*^u, and in the metrical *Lives of the Saints*^v. Hence Julian, or Saint Julian, was called *hospitator*, or the *gode herberjour*; and the *Pater Noster* became famous, which he used to say for the souls of his father and mother whom he had thus unfortunately killed^z. The peculiar excellencies of this prayer are displayed by Boccace^y. Chaucer speaking of the hospitable disposition of his FRANKLEIN, says,

Saint Julian he was in his own countre^z.

This history is, like the last, related by our compiler, in the words of Julian's Legend, as it stands in Jacobus de Voragine^a. Bollandus has inserted Antoninus's account of this saint, which appears also to be literally the same^b. It is told, yet not exactly in the same words, by Vincent of Beauvais^c.

I take this opportunity of observing, that the Legends of the Saints, so frequently referred to in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, often contain high strokes of fancy, both in the structure and decorations of the story. That they should abound in extravagant conceptions, may be partly accounted for, from the superstitious and visionary cast of the writer: but the truth is, they derive this complexion from the east. Some were originally forged by monks of the Greek church, to whom the oriental fictions and mode of fabling were familiar. The more early of the Latin lives were carried over to Constantinople, where they were translated into Greek with new embellishments of eastern imagination. These being returned into Europe, were translated into Latin, where they naturally superseded the old Latin archetypes. Others of the Latin lives con-

^u Fol. 90. edit. 1493.

^v MSS. BODL. 1596. f. 4.

^z Ibid. ^y DECAM. D. ii. N. 2.

^a PROL. v. 342. See vol. ii. SECT. xvii. p. 273.

^a HISTOR. xxxii. f. lxii. a.

^b ACT. SANCTOR. tom. ii. JANUAR. p. 974. Antv. 1643.

^c SPECUL. HIST. lib. ix. c. 115. f. 115. Venet. 1591.

tracted this tincture, from being written after the Arabian literature became common in Europe. The following ideas in the Life of Saint Pelagian evidently betray their original. "As the bysshop sange masse in the cyte of Usanance, he saw thre dropes ryghte clere all of one gratenesse whiche were upon the aulter, and al thre ranne to gyder in to a precyous gemme: and whan they had set thys gemme in a crosse of golde, al the other precyous stones that were there, fyllen^d out, and thys gemme was clere to them that were clene out of synne, and it was obscure and dark to synners^e," &c. The peculiar cast of romantic invention was admirably suited to serve the purposes of superstition.

Possevin, a learned Jesuit, who wrote about the close of the sixteenth century, complains, that for the last five hundred years the courts of all the princes in Europe had been infatuated by reading romances: and that, in his time, it was a mark of inelegance, not to be familiarly acquainted with Lancelot du Lake, Perceforest, Tristan, Giron the Courteous, Amadis de Gaul, Primaleon, Boccace's Decameron, and Ariosto. He even goes so far as to say, that the devil instigated Luther to procure a translation of Amadis from Spanish into French; for the purpose of facilitating his grand scheme of overthrowing the catholic religion. The popularity of this book, he adds, warped the minds of the French nation from their ancient notions and studies; introduced a neglect of the Scriptures, and propagated a love for astrology, and other fantastic arts^f. But with the leave of this zealous catholic I would observe, that this sort of reading was likely to produce, if any, an effect quite contrary. The genius of romance and of popery was the same; and both were strengthened by the reciprocation of a similar spirit of credulity. The dragons and the castles of the one, were of a piece with the visions and pretended miracles of the other. The ridiculous theories of false and unsolid science, which, by the way, had been familiarised to the French by

^d fell out.

^f BIBLIOTH. SELECT. lib. i. cap. 25.

* Caxton's GOLD. LEG. f. ccclxxxviii. p. 113. edit. 1593.

other romances, long before the translation of Amadis, were surely more likely to be advanced under the influence of a religion founded on deception, than in consequence of Luther's reformed system, which aimed at purity and truth, and which was to gain its end by the suppression of antient prejudices.

Many of the absurdities of the catholic worship were perhaps, as I have hinted, in some degree necessary in the early ages of the church, on account of the ignorance of the people; at least, under such circumstances they were natural, and therefore excusable. But when the world became wiser, those mummeries should have been abolished, for the same reason that the preachers left off quoting Esop's fables in their sermons, and the stage ceased to instruct the people in the scripture-history by the representation of the MYSTERIES. The advocates of the papal communion do not consider, that in a cultivated age, abounding with every species of knowledge, they continue to retain those fooleries which were calculated only for Christians in a condition of barbarism, and of which the use now no longer subsists.

CHAP. xix. When Julius Cesar was preparing to pass the Rubicon, a gigantic spectre appeared from the middle of the river, threatening to interrupt his passage, if he came not to establish the peace of Rome. Our author cites the *GESTA ROMANORUM* for this story.

It was impossible that the Roman history could pass through the dark ages, without being infected with many romantic corruptions. Indeed, the Roman was almost the only antient history, which the readers of those ages knew: and what related even to pagan Rome, the parent of the more modern papal metropolis of Christianity, was regarded with a superstitious veneration, and often magnified with miraculous additions.

CHAP. xx. The birth of the emperor Henry, son of earl Leopold, and his wonderful preservation from the stratagems of the emperor Conrade, till his accession to the imperial throne.

This story is told by Caxton in the *GOLDEN LEGENDE*, under the life of Pelagian the pope, entitled, *Here foloweth the lyf of Saynt Pelagien the pope, with many other hystories and gestys of the Lombardes, and of Machomete, with other cronycles*⁵. The *GESTA LONGOBARDORUM* are fertile in legendary matter, and furnished Jacobus de Voragine, Caxton's original, with many marvellous histories⁶. Caxton, from the *gestes of the Lombardis*, gives a wonderful account of a pestilence in Italy, under the reign of king Gilbert¹.

There is a *LEGENDA SANCTORUM*, sive *HISTORIA LOMBARICA*, printed in 1483. This very uncommon book is not mentioned by Maittaire. It has this colophon. "Explicit quorundam Sanctorum Legende adjuncte post Lombardicam historiam. Impressa Argentine, M.CCCC.LXXXIII."² That is, the latter part of the book contains a few saints not in the history of the Lombards, which forms the first part. I have neither time nor inclination to examine whether this is Jacobus's *LEGENDA*: but I believe it to be the same. I think I have seen an older edition of the work, at Cologne 1470¹.

I have observed that Caxton's *GOLDEN LEGENDE* is taken from Jacobus de Voragine. This perhaps is not precisely true. Caxton informs us in his first preface to the first edition of 1483^m, that he had in his possession a Legend in French, another in Latin, and a third in English, which varied from the other two in many places: and that *MANY HISTORIES* were contained in the English collection, which did not occur in the French and Latin. Therefore, says he, "I have wryton *ONE OUTE* of the sayd three bookes: which I have orderyd otherwyse than in the sayd *Englysshe Legende*, which was so to fore made." Caxton's English original might have been the old *METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS*.

CHAP. xxi. A story from Justin, concerning a conspiracy of the Spartans against their king.

⁵ Fol. cccxxxvii. b.

que et *LOMBARDICA* dicitur." Lugd. 1509. fol.

⁶ See his *LEGEND. AUR.* fol. cccxv.

¹ Ubi supr. f. lxxvi.

² Fol.

^m Fol. at Westminster.

¹ Fol. See also "*Legenda Sanctorum*" of the finest of Caxton's publications.

CHAP. xxii. How the Egyptians deified Isis and Osiris. From saint Austin. As is the following chapter.

CHAP. xxiv. Of a magician and his delicious garden, which he shews only to fools and to his enemies.

CHAP. xxv. Of a lady who keeps the staff and scrip of a stranger, who rescued her from the oppressions of a tyrant: but being afterwards courted by three kings, she destroys those memorials of her greatest benefactor.

CHAP. xxvi. An emperor, visiting the holy land, commits his daughter and his favorite dog, who is very fierce, to the custody of five knights, under the superintendence of his seneshall. The seneshall neglects his charge: the knights are obliged to quit their post for want of necessaries; and the dog, being fed with the provisions assigned to the knights, grows fiercer, breaks his three chains, and kills the lady who was permitted to wander at large in her father's hall. When the emperor returns, the seneshall is thrown into a burning furnace.

CHAP. xxviii. The old woman and her little dog.

CHAP. xxx. The three honours and three dishonours, decreed by a certain king to every conqueror returning from war.

CHAP. xxxi. The speeches of the philosophers on seeing king Alexander's golden sepulchre.

CHAP. xxxiii. A man had three trees in his garden, on which his three wives successively hanged themselves. Another begs an offset from each of the trees, to be planted in the gardens of his married neighbours. From Valerius Maximus, who is cited.

CHAP. xxxiv. Aristotle's seven rules to his pupil Alexander.

This, I think, is from the *SECRETA SECRETORUM*. Aristotle, for two reasons, was a popular character in the dark ages. He was the father of their philosophy: and had been the preceptor of Alexander the Great, one of the principal heroes of romance. Nor was Aristotle himself without his romantic history; in which he falls in love with a queen of Greece, who quickly confutes his subtlest syllogisms.

CHAP. xxxv. The *GESTA ROMANORUM* cited, for the cus-

tom among the antient Romans of killing a lamb for pacifying quarrels.

CHAP. xxxvi. Of a king who desires to know the nature of man. Solinus, de MIRABILIBUS MUNDI, is here quoted.

CHAP. xxxvii. Pliny's account of the stone which the eagle places in her nest, to avoid the poison of a serpent.

CHAP. xxxix. Julius Cesar's mediation between two brothers. From the GESTA ROMANORUM.

We must not forget, that there was the Romance of JULIUS CESAR. And I believe Antony and Cleopatra were more known characters in the dark ages, than is commonly supposed. Shakespeare is thought to have formed his play on this story from North's translation of Amyot's unauthentic French Plutarch, published at London in 1579. Montfaucon, among the manuscripts of Monsieur Lancelot, recites an old piece written about the year 1500, "*LA VIE ET FAIS DE MARC ANTOINE le triumvir et de sa mie CLEOPATRA, translaté de l'historien Plutarque pour tres illustre haute et puissante dame Madame Françoisse de Fouez Dame de Châteaubriand*." I know not whether this piece was ever printed. At least it shews, that the story was familiar at a more early period than is imagined; and leads us to suspect, that there might have been other materials used by Shakespeare on this subject, than those hitherto pointed out by his commentators.

That Amyot's French version of Plutarch should contain corruptions and innovations, will easily be conceived, when it is remembered that he probably translated from an old Italian version*. A new exhibition in English of the French caricature of this most valuable biographer by North, must have still more widely extended the deviation from the original.

CHAP. xl. The infidelity of a wife proved by feeling her pulse in conversation. From Macrobius.

* Bibl. MANUSCR. tom. ii. p. 1669. col. 2.

° See BIEL. Fr. de la Croix, &c. tom. i. p. 388. Amyot was a great translator of Greek books; but I fear, not always from the Greek. It is re-

markable, that he was rewarded with an abbacy for translating the THEAGENES and CHARICLEA of Heliodorus: for writing which, the author was deprived of a bishoprick. He died about 1580.

CHAP. xlii. Valerius Maximus is cited, concerning a column at Rome inscribed with four letters four times written.

CHAP. xliv. Tiberius orders a maker of ductile glass, which could not be broken, to be beheaded, lest it should become more valuable than silver and gold.

This piece of history, which appears also in Cornelius Agrippa DE VANITATE SCIENTIARUM^p, is taken from Pliny, or rather from his transcriber Isidore^q. Pliny, in relating this story, says, that the temperature of glass, so as to render it flexible, was discovered under the reign of Tiberius.

In the same chapter Pliny observes, that glass is susceptible of all colours. "Fit et album, et murrhinum, aut hyacinthos sapphirosque imitatum, et omnibus aliis coloribus. Nec est alia nunc materia sequacior, aut etiam PICTURE ACCOMMODATIOR. Maximus tamen honor in candido^r." But the Romans, as the last sentence partly proves, probably never used any coloured glass for windows. The first notice of windows of a church made of coloured glass occurs in chronicles quoted by Muratori. In the year 802, a pope built a church at Rome, and, "fenestras ex vitro diversis coloribus conclusit atque decoravit^s." And in 856, he produces "fenestras vero vitreis coloribus^t," &c. This however was a sort of mosaic in glass. To express figures in glass, or what we now call the art of painting in glass, was a very different work: and, I believe, I can shew it was brought from Constantinople to Rome before the tenth century, with other ornamental arts. Guicciardini, who wrote about 1560, in his *Descrittione de tutti Paesi Bassi*, ascribes the invention of baking colours in glass for church-windows to the Netherlanders^u: but he does not mention the

^p ORIG. lib. xvi. cap. xv. p. 1224. Apud Auct. LING. LAT. 1602.

Isidore's was a favorite REPERTORY of the middle age. He is cited for an account of the nature and qualities of the Falcon, in the Prologue to the second or metrical part of the old *Phebus de deduis de la chasse des Bestes sauvages et des oyseaux de Proye*, printed early at Paris without date, and written, as ap-

pears by the rubric of the last section, by *Le Comte de Tankerville*.

^q Sandford's English TRANSLAT. cap. 90. p. 159. a. edit. Lond. 1569. 4to.

^r NAT. HIST. lib. xxxvi. cap. xvi. p. 725. edit. Lugd. 1615.

^s DISSERT. ANTICHIT. ITAL. tom. i. c. xxiv. p. 287.

^t Ibid. p. 281.

^u Antw. Plantin. 1580. fol.

period, and I think he must be mistaken. It is certain that this art owed much to the laborious and mechanical genius of the Germans; and, in particular, their deep researches and experiments in chemistry, which they cultivated in the dark ages with the most indefatigable assiduity, must have greatly assisted its operations. I could give very early anecdotes of this art in England. But, with the careless haste of a lover, I am anticipating what I have to say of it in my *HISTORY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND*.

CHAP. xlv. A king leaves four sons by his wife, only one which is lawfully begotten. They have a contest for the throne. The dispute is referred to the deceased king's secretary, who orders the body to be taken from the tomb; and decrees, that the son who can shoot an arrow deepest into it shall be king. The first wounds the king's right hand; the second his mouth: the third his heart. The last wound is supposed to be the successful one. At length the fourth, approaching the body, cried out with a lamentable voice, "Far be it from me to wound my father's body!" In consequence of this speech, he is pronounced by the nobles and people present to be the true heir, and placed on the throne.

CHAP. xlviii. Dionysius is quoted for the story of Perillus's brasen bull.

Gower in the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS* has this story; which he prefaces by saying that he found it in a *Cronike*^w. In Caxton's *Golden Legende*, Macrobius is called a chronicle. "Macrobius sayth in a cronike^x." Chronicles are naturally the first efforts of the literature of a barbarous age. The writers, if any, of those periods are seldom equal to any thing more than a bare narration of facts: and such sort of matter is suitable to the taste and capacity of their cotemporary readers. A further proof of the principles advanced in the beginning of this Dissertation.

CHAP. xlix. The duchess Rosmilla falls in love with Conan, king of Hungary, whom she sees from the walls of the city of

^w Lib. vii. f. 161. b. col. 1.

^x Fol. lxii. b.

Foro-Julii, which he is besieging. She has four sons and two daughters. She betrays the city to Conan, on condition that he will marry her the next day. Conan, a barbarian, executed the contract; but on the third day exposed her to his whole army, saying, "Such a wife deserves such a husband."

Paulus, that is, Paulus Diaconus, the *historian of the Longobards*, is quoted. He was chancellor of Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards; with whom he was taken captive by Charlemagne. The history here referred to is entitled *GESTA LONGOBARDORUM*⁷.

CHAP. l. From Valerius Maximus.

CHAP. li. From Josephus.

CHAP. lii. From Valerius Maximus.

CHAP. liii. From the same.

CHAP. liv. The emperor Frederick's marble portico near Capua.

I wonder there are not more romances extant on the lives of the Roman emperors of Germany; many of whom, to say no more, were famous in the crusades. There is a romance in old German rhyme, called *TEUERDANK*, on Maximilian the First, written by Melchior Pfinszinger his chaplain. Printed at Nuremberg in 1517⁸.

CHAP. lv. Of a king who has one son exceedingly beautiful, and four daughters, named Justice, Truth, Mercy, and Peace.

CHAP. lvi. A nobleman invited a merchant to his castle, whom he met accordingly upon the road. At entering the castle, the merchant was astonished at the magnificence of the chambers, which were overlaid with gold. At supper, the nobleman placed the merchant next to his wife, who immediately shewed evident tokens of being much struck with her beauty. The table was covered with the richest dainties; but while all were served in golden dishes, a pittance of meat was

⁷ See lib. iv. cap. xxviii. Apud Muratorii *SCRIPTOR. ITAL.* i. p. 465. edit. Mediolan. 1723. Where she is called Romilda. The king is Cacan, or Cacanus, a king of the Huns. There are some fine circumstances of distress

in Paulus's description of this siege.

⁸ Fol. on vellum. It is not printed with moveable types: but every page is graven in wood or brass. With wooden cuts. It is a most beautiful book.

placed before the lady in a dish made out of a human skull. The merchant was surprised and terrified at this strange spectacle. At length he was conducted to bed in a fair chamber; where, when left alone, he observed a glimmering lamp in a nook or corner of the room, by which he discovered two dead bodies hung up by the arms. He was now filled with the most horrible apprehensions, and could not sleep all the night. When he rose in the morning, he was asked by the nobleman how he liked his entertainment? He answered, "There is plenty of every thing; but the skull prevented me from eating at supper, and the two dead bodies which I saw in my chamber from sleeping. With your leave therefore I will depart." The nobleman answered, "My friend, you observed the beauty of my wife. The skull which you saw placed before her at supper, was the head of a duke, whom I detected in her embraces, and which I cut off with my own sword. As a memorial of her crime, and to teach her modest behaviour, her adulterer's skull is made to serve for her dish. The bodies of the two young men hanging in the chamber are my two kinsmen, who were murdered by the son of the duke. To keep up my sense of revenge for their blood, I visit their dead bodies every day. Go in peace, and remember to judge nothing without knowing the truth."

Caxton has the history of Albione, a king of the Lombards, who having conquered another king, "lade awaye wyth hym Rosamounde his wyf in captyvte, but after he took hyr to hys wyf, and he dyde do make a cuppe of the skulle of that kynge and closed in fyne golde and sylver, and dranke out of it^a." This, by the way, is the story of the old Italian tragedy of Messer Giovanni Rucellai planned on the model of the antients, and acted in the Rucellai gardens at Florence, before Leo the

^a GOLDEN LEG. f. ccclyxxvii. a. edit. 1493. The compilers of the *SANCTILOGE* probably took this story from Paulus Diaconus, *GEST. LONGOBARD.* ut supr. Lib. ii. cap. xxviii. p. 435. seq. It has been adopted, as a romantic tale, into the *HISTOIRES TRAGIQUES* of Belleforest,

p. 297. edit. 1580. The English reader may find it in Heylin's *COSMOGRAPHIE*, B. i. col. l. p. 57. And in Machiavel's *HISTORY OF FLORENCE*, in English; Lond. 1680. B. i. p. 5. seq. See also Lydgate's *BOCHAS*, B. ix. ch. xxvii.

Tenth and his court, in the year 1516^b. Davenant has also a tragedy on the same subject, called *ALBOVINE king of the Lombards his Tragedy*.

A most sanguinary scene in Shakespeare's *TITUS ADRONICUS*, an incident in Dryden's, or Boccace's, *TANCRED* and *SIGISMONDA*, and the catastrophe of the beautiful metrical romance of the *LADY of FAGUEL*, are founded on the same horrid ideas of inhuman retaliation and savage revenge: but in the two last pieces, the circumstances are so ingeniously imagined, as to lose a considerable degree of their atrocity, and to be productive of the most pathetic and interesting situations.

CHAP. lvii. The enchanter Virgil places a magical image in the middle of Rome^c, which communicates to the emperor Titus all the secret offences committed every day in the city^d.

This story is in the old black-lettered history of the necromancer Virgil, in Mr. Garrick's collection.

Vincent of Beauvais relates many wonderful things, *mirabiliter acititata*, done by the poet Virgil, whom he represents as a magician. Among others, he says, that Virgil fabricated those brazen statues at Rome, called *Salvacio Romæ*, which were the gods of the provinces conquered by the Romans. Every one of these statues held in its hand a bell framed by magic; and when any province was meditating a revolt, the statue, or idol, of that country struck his bell^e. This fiction is mentioned by the old anonymous author of the *MIRABILIA ROMÆ*, written in the thirteenth century, and printed by Montfaucon^f. It occurs in Lydgate's *BOCHAS*. He is speaking of the Pantheon,

Whyche was a temple of old foundation,
Ful of ydols, up set on hye stages;
There throughe the worlde of every nacion

^b See vol. iii. p. 237.

^c For the necromancer Virgil, see vol. iii. p. 62.

^d In the *CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE*. Nov. vii.

^e *SPECUL. HISTOR.* lib. iv. cap. 61. f. 66. a.

^f *DIAR. ITAL.* cap. xx. p. 288. edit. 1702. Many wonders are also related of Rome, in an old metrical romance called *THE STACYONS OF ROME*, in which Romulus is said to be born of the *duches of Troye*. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 81.

Were of theyr goddes set up great ymages,
 To every kingdom direct were their visages,
 As poetes and Fulgens^a by hys live
 In bokes olde plainly doth dyscrive.

Every ymage had in his hande a bell,
 As apperteyneth to every nacion,
 Which, by craft some token should tell
 Whan any kingdom fil in rebellion, &c.^b

This fiction is not in Boccace, Lydgate's original. It is in the above-cited Gothic history of Virgil. Gower's Virgil, I think, belongs to the same romance.

And eke Virgil of acquaintance
 I sigh, where he the maiden prayd,
 Which was the doughter, as men sayd,
 Of the emperour whilom of Rome.ⁱ

CHAP. lviii. King Asmodeus pardons every malefactor condemned to death, who can tell three indisputable truths or maxims.

CHAP. lix. The emperor Jovinian's history.

On this there is an antient French MORALITE, entitled, *L'Orgueil et presumption de l'Empereur JOVINIAN*^k. This is also the story of ROBERT king of Sicily, an old English poem, or romance, from which I have given copious extracts^l.

CHAP. lx. A king has a daughter named Rosimund, aged ten years; exceedingly beautiful, and so swift of foot, that her father promises her in marriage to any man who can overcome her in running. But those who fail in the attempt are to lose their heads. After many trials, in which she was always victorious, she loses the race with a poor man, who throws in her way a silken girdle, a garland of roses, and a silken purse in-

^a Fulgentius.

^b Tragedies of BOCHAS, B. ix. ch. i. st. 4. Compare vol. ii. p. 379.

ⁱ CONFESS. AMANT. L. viii. f. clxxix.

^k col. 2.

^l See vol. ii. p. 30.

^l See vol. ii. p. 17.

closing a golden ball, inscribed, "Whoso plays with me will never be satiated with play." She marries the poor man, who inherits her father's kingdom.

This is evidently a Gothic innovation of the classical tale of Atalanta. But it is not impossible that an oriental apologue might have given rise to the Grecian fable.

CHAP. lxi. The emperor Claudius marries his daughter to the philosopher Socrates.

CHAP. lxii. Florentina's picture.

CHAP. lxiii. Vespasian's daughter's garden. All her lovers are obliged to enter this garden before they can obtain her love, but none return alive. The garden is haunted by a lion; and has only one entrance, which divides into so many windings, that it never can be found again. At length, she furnishes a knight with a ball or clue of thread, and teaches him how to foil the lion. Having achieved this adventure, he marries the lady.

Here seems to be an allusion to Medea's history.

CHAP. lxiv. A virgin is married to a king, because she makes him a shirt of a piece of cloth three fingers long and broad.

CHAP. lxv. A cross with four inscriptions.

CHAP. lxvi. A knight offers to recover a lady's inheritance, which had been seized by a tyrant, on condition, that if he is slain, she shall always keep his bloody armour hanging in her chamber. He regains her property, although he dies in the attempt; and as often as she was afterwards sued for in marriage, before she gave an answer, she returned to her chamber, and contemplating with tears her deliverer's bloody armour, resolutely rejected every solicitation.

CHAP. lxvii. The wise and foolish knight.

CHAP. lxviii. A woman understands the language of birds. The three cocks.

CHAP. lxix. A mother gives to a man who marries her daughter a shirt, which can never be torn, nor will ever need washing, while they continue faithful to each other.

CHAP. lxx. The king's daughter who requires three impossible things of her lovers.

CHAP. lxxii. The king who resigns his crown to his son.

CHAP. lxxiv. The golden apple.

CHAP. lxxv. A king's three daughters marry three dukes, who all die the same year.

CHAP. lxxvi. The two physicians.

CHAP. lxxix. The fable of the familiar ass.

CHAP. lxxx. A devout hermit lived in a cave, near which a shepherd folded his flock. Many of the sheep being stolen, the shepherd was unjustly killed by his master as being concerned in the theft. The hermit seeing an innocent man put to death, began to suspect the existence of a Divine Providence; and resolved no longer to perplex himself with the useless severities of religion, but to mix in the world. In travelling from his retirement, he was met by an angel in the figure of a man; who said, "I am an angel, and am sent by God to be your companion on the road." They entered a city; and begged for lodging at the house of a knight, who entertained them at a splendid supper. In the night, the angel rose from his bed, and strangled the knight's only child who was asleep in the cradle. The hermit was astonished at this barbarous return for so much hospitality, but was afraid to make any remonstrance to his companion. Next morning they went to another city. Here they were liberally received in the house of an opulent citizen; but in the night the angel rose, and stole a golden cup of inestimable value. The hermit now concluded that his companion was a Bad Angel. In travelling forward the next morning, they passed over a bridge; about the middle of which they met a poor man, of whom the angel asked the way to the next city. Having received the desired information, the angel pushed the poor man into the water, where he was immediately drowned. In the evening they arrived at the house of a rich man; and begging for a lodging, were ordered to sleep in a shed with the cattle. In the morning the angel gave the rich man the cup which he had stolen. The hermit, amazed

that the cup which was stolen from their friend and benefactor should be given to one who refused them a lodging, began to be now convinced that his companion was the Devil; and begged to go on alone. But the angel said, "Hear me, and depart. When you lived in your hermitage a shepherd was killed by his master. He was innocent of the supposed offence: but had he not been then killed, he would have committed crimes in which he would have died impenitent. His master endeavours to atone for the murder, by dedicating the remainder of his days to alms and deeds of charity. I strangled the child of the knight. But know, that the father was so intent on heaping up riches for this child, as to neglect those acts of public munificence for which he was before so distinguished, and to which he has now returned. I stole the golden cup of the hospitable citizen. But know, that from a life of the strictest temperance, he became, in consequence of possessing this cup, a perpetual drunkard; and is now the most abstemious of men. I threw the poor man into the water. He was then honest and religious. But know, had he walked one half of a mile further, he would have murdered a man in a state of mortal sin. I gave the golden cup to the rich man who refused to take us within his roof. He has therefore received his reward in this world; and in the next, will suffer the pains of hell for his inhospitality." The hermit fell prostrate at the angel's feet; and requesting forgiveness, returned to his hermitage, fully convinced of the wisdom and justice of God's government.

This is the fable of Parnell's HERMIT, which that elegant yet original writer has heightened with many masterly touches of poetical colouring, and a happier arrangement of circumstances. Among other proofs which might be mentioned of Parnell's genius and address in treating this subject, by reserving the discovery of the angel to a critical period at the close of the fable, he has found means to introduce a beautiful description, and an interesting surprise. In this poem, the last instance of the angel's seeming injustice, is that of pushing

the guide from the bridge into the river. At this, the hermit is unable to suppress his indignation.

Wild sparkling rage inflames the Father's eyes,
 He bursts the bonds of fear, and madly cries,
 "Detested wretch!"—But scarce his speech began,
 When the strange partner seem'd no longer man:
 His youthful face grew more serenely sweet,
 His robe turn'd white, and flow'd upon his feet;
 Fair rounds of radiant points invest his hair;
 Celestial odours fill the purple air:
 And wings, whose colours glitter'd on the day,
 Wide at his back their gradual plumes display,
 The form ethereal bursts upon his sight,
 And moves in all the majesty of light.

The same apologue occurs, with some slight additions and variations for the worse, in Howell's *LETTERS*; who professes to have taken it from the *speculative* sir Philip Herbert's *CONCEPTIONS* to his Son, a book which I have never seen^m. These Letters were published about the year 1650. It is also found in the *DIVINE DIALOGUES* of doctor Henry Moreⁿ, who has illustrated its important moral with the following fine reflections. "The affairs of this world are like a curious, but intricately contrived Comedy; and we cannot judge of the tendency of what is past, or acting at present, before the entrance of the last Act, which shall bring in Righteousness in triumph: who, though she hath abided many a brunt, and has been very cruelly and despihtfully used hitherto in the world, yet at last, according to our desires, we shall see the knight overcome the giant. For what is the reason we are so much pleased with the reading romances and the fictions of the poets, but that here, as Aristotle says, things are set down as they

^m Vol. iv. *LET.* iv. p. 7. edit. 1655. 8vo.

ⁿ *PART* i. p. 321. *DIAL.* ii. edit. Lond. 1668, 12mo. I must not forget that it occurs, as told in our *GESTA*, among a

collection of Latin Apologues, quoted above, MSS. HARL. 463. fol. 8. a. The rubric is, *De Angelo qui duxit Heremitam ad diversa Hospitia.*

should be; but in the true history hitherto of the world, things are recorded indeed as they are, but it is but a testimony, that they have not been as they should be? Wherefore, in the upshot of all, when we shall see that come to pass, that so mightily pleases us in the reading the most ingenious plays and heroic poems, that long afflicted vertue at last comes to the crown, the mouth of all unbelievers must be for ever stopped. And for my own part, I doubt not but that it will so come to pass in the close of the world. But impatiently to call for vengeance upon every enormity before that time, is rudely to overturn the stage before the entrance into the fifth act, out of ignorance of the plot of the comedy; and to prevent the solemnity of the general judgement by more paltry and particular executions^o."

Parnell seems to have chiefly followed the story as it is told by this Platonic theologian, who had not less imagination than learning. Pope used to say, that it was originally written in Spanish. This I do not believe: but from the early connection between the Spaniards and Arabians, this assertion tends to confirm the suspicion, that it was an oriental tale.

CHAP. lxxx. A king violates his sister. The child is exposed in a chest in the sea; is christened Gregory by an abbot who takes him up, and after various adventures he is promoted to the popedom. In their old age his father and mother go a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to confess to this pope, not knowing he was their son, and he being equally ignorant that they are his parents: when in the course of the confession, a discovery is made on both sides.

CHAP. lxxxix. The three rings.

This story is in the *DECAMERON*^p, and in the *CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE*^q: and perhaps in Swift's *TALE OF A TUB*.

CHAP. xc. The tyrant Maxentius. From the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, which are cited.

I think there is the romance of MAXENCE, Constantine's antagonist.

CHAP. xcvi. King Alexander places a burning candle in his

^o Ibid. p. 335.

^p i. 3.

^q Nov. lxxi.

hall; and makes proclamation, that he will absolve all those who owe him forfeitures of life and land, if they will appear before the candle is consumed.

CHAP. xcvii. Prodigies before the death of Julius Cesar, who is placed in the twenty-second year of the city. From the *CHRONICA*, as they are called.

CHAP. xcix. A knight saves a serpent who is fighting in a forest with a toad^r, but is afterwards bit by the toad. The knight languishes many days: and when he is at the point of death, the same serpent, which he remembers, enters his chamber, and sucks the poison from the wound.

CHAP. ci. Of Ganterus, who for his prowess in war being elected a king of a certain country, is on the night of his coronation conducted to a chamber, where at the head of the bed is a fierce lion, at the feet a dragon, and on either side a bear, toads, and serpents. He immediately quitted his new kingdom; and was quickly elected king of another country. Going to rest the first night, he was led into a chamber furnished with a bed richly embroidered, but stuck all over with sharp razors. This kingdom he also relinquishes. At length he meets a hermit, who gives him a staff, with which he is directed to knock at the gate of a magnificent palace seated on a lofty mountain. Here he gains admittance, and finds every sort of happiness unembittered with the least degree of pain.

The king means every man advanced to riches and honour, and who thinks to enjoy these advantages without interruption and alloy. The hermit is religion, the staff penitence, and the palace heaven.

In a more confined sense, the first part of this apologue may be separately interpreted to signify, that a king when he enters on his important charge, ought not to suppose himself to succeed to the privilege of an exemption from care, and to be put into immediate possession of the highest pleasures, conveni-

^r The stories, perhaps fabulous, of the serpent fighting with his inveterate enemy the weazel, who eats rus before the attack begins, and of the serpent fight-

ing with and being killed by the spider, originate from Pliny, *NAT. HIST.* x. 84. xx. 13.

encies, and felicities of life; but to be sensible, that from that moment he begins to encounter the greatest dangers and difficulties.

CHAP. cii. Of the lady of a knight who went to the holy land. She commits adultery with a clerk skilled in necromancy. Another magician discovers her intrigues to the absent knight by means of a polished mirror, and his image in wax.

In Adam Davie's *GEST* or romance of *ALEXANDER*, *Nec-tabanus*, a king and magician, discovers the machinations of his enemies by embattelling them in figures of wax. This is the most extensive necromantic operation of the kind that I remember, and must have formed a puppet-show equal to the most splendid pantomime.

Barounes weore whilom wys and gode,
That this ars^a wel undurstode:
Ac on ther was Neptanamous
Wis^t in this ars and malicious:
Whan kyng other eorl^u cam on him to weorre^w
Quyke he lokede in the steorre^x;
Of wax made him popetts^y,
And made heom fyzhte with battes:
And so he learned, *je vous dy*,
Ay to aquelle^z hys enemye,
With charms and with conjurisons:
Thus he asaied the regiouns,
That him cam for to asaile,
In puyr^a manyr of bataile^b;
By cler candel in the nyzt,
He mad uchon^c with othir to fyzt,
Of alle manere nacyouns,
That comen by schip or dromouns.
At the laste, of mony londe
Kynges therof haden gret onde^d,

^a art, necromancy.

^u or earl.

^y puppets.

^z very, real.

^w war.

^x conquer.

^t wise.

^z stars.

^b See Mr. Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer's Cant.*

^c T. ver. 1981.

^d each one.

^d had great jealousy or anger.

Well thritty y gadred beoth^c,
 And by spekith al his deth^f.
 Kyng Philipp^g of grete thede
 Maister was of that fede^h:
 He was a mon of myzty hond,
 With hem brouzte, of divers lond,
 Nyne and twenty ryche kynges,
 To make on hym bataylynges:
 Neptanamous hyt understod;
 Ychaunged was al his mod;
 He was aferde sore of harme:
 Anon he deedeⁱ caste his charme;
 His ymage he madde anon,
 And of his barounes everychon,
 And afterward of his fone^k;
 He dude hem to gedere to gon^l
 In a basyn al by charme:
 He sazh on him fel theo harme^m;
 He seyz flyeⁿ of his barounes
 Of al his lond distinctiouns,
 He lokid, and kneow in the sterre,
 Of al this kynges theo grete werre^o, &c.^p

Afterwards he frames an image of the queen Olympias, or Olympia, while sleeping, whom he violates in the shape of a dragon.

Theo lady lyzt^q on hire bedde,
 Yheoled^r wel with silken webbe,
 In a chaysel^s smok scheo lay,
 And yn a mantell of doway:

^c near thirty were gathered, or conferred.

^f all resolved to destroy him.

^g Philip of Macedon.

^h *felde*, field, army.

ⁱ he did. ^k enemies.

^l he made them fight.

^m he saw the harm fall on, or against himself.

ⁿ saw fly.

^o the great war of all these kings.

^p MSS. (Bodl. Bibl.) LAUN. I. 74. f. 54.

^q laid. ^r covered.

^s In the romance of *Artis et Poeris*.
 LEON. Cod. Reg. Par. 7191.

Un chemis de chaisil
 De fil, et d'œuvre moult subtil.

Of the brytneſe of hire face
 Al about ſchone the place^c.——
 Herbes he tok in an herber,
 And ſtamped them in a morter,
 And wrong^x hit in a box:
 After he tok virgyn wax
 And made a popet after the quene,
 His ars-table^y he can unwrene;
 The quenes name in the wax he wrot,
 Whil hit was ſumdel hot:
 In a bed he did dyzt
 Al aboute with candel lyzt,
 And ſpreynd^z theron of the herbus:
 Thus charmed Neptanabus.
 The lady in hir bed lay
 Aboutz mydnyzt, ar the day^a,
 Whiles he made conjuryng,
 Scheo^b ſawe fle^c, in her metyng^d,
 Hire thought, a dragoun lyzt,
 To hire chaumbre he made his flyzt,
 In he cam to her bour
 And crept undur hir covertour,
 Mony ſithes^e he hire kuſt^f
 And faſt in his armes pruſt,
 And went away, ſo dragon wyld,
 And grete he left hire with child.^g

^c Perhaps in *STR LAUNFAL*, the ſame ſituation is more elegantly touched. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 35. a.

In the pavyloun he fond a bed of pryſe,
 I heled with purpur byſe
 That ſemyle was of ſyghte;
 Ther inne lay that lady gentle,
 That after ſyr Launfal heddey ſente,
 That leſſome beamed bryght:
 For hete her clothes doun ſche dede,
 Almoſt to her gerdylſtede;
 Than lay ſche uncovert:
 Sche was as whyt as lylie yn Maye,
 Or ſnow that ſneweth yn wynterys day;

He ſeygh never non ſo pert,
 The rede roſe whan ſche is newe
 Ayens her rode nes naught of hewe,
 I dar well ſay yn ſert

Her here ſchon as gold wyre, &c.

^x wrung.

^y This is deſcribed above, f. 55.

Of gold he made a table
 Al ful of ſteorron [ſtars].——

An aſtolabe is intended.

^z ſprinkled. ^a before day.

^b ſhe. ^c fly. ^d dream.

^e times. ^f kiſſed her.

^g Fol. 57. The text is here given from

Theocritus, Virgil, and Horace, have left instances of incantations conducted by figures in wax. In the beginning of the last century, many witches were executed for attempting the lives of persons, by fabricating representations of them in wax and clay. King James the First, in his *DAEMONOLOGIE*, speaks of this practice as very common; the efficacy of which he peremptorily ascribes to the power of the devil^b. His majesty's arguments, intended to prove how the magician's image operated on the person represented, are drawn from the depths of moral, theological, physical, and metaphysical knowledge. The Arabian magic abounded with these infatuations, which were partly founded on the doctrine of sympathy.

But to return to the *GESTA ROMANORUM*. In this story one of the magicians is styled *Magister peritus*, and sometimes simply *Magister*. That is, a *cunning-man*. The title *Magister* in our universities has its origin from the use of this word in the middle ages. With what propriety it is now continued I will not say. *Mystery*, antiently used for a particular art¹, or skill in general, is a specious and easy corruption of *Maistry* or *Mastery*, the English of the Latin *MAGISTERIUM*, or *Artificium*; in French *Maistrise*, *Mestier*, *Mestrie*, and in Italian *Magisterio*, with the same sense². In the French romance of *CLEOMEDES*, a physician is called simply *Maitre*¹.

MSS. BODL. ut supr. Compared with MSS. HOEFF. LINCOLN. 150. See Gower's *CONFESS. AMANT.* lib. vi. fol. cxxxviii. a. col. 1. seq.

And through the crafts of artemage,
Of waxe he forged an ymage, &c.

Gower's dragon, in approaching the queen, is *courteis and debonaire*.

With all the chere that he maie,
Towarde the bedde ther as she laie,
Till he came to hir the beddes side
And she laie still, and nothyng cride;
For he did all hys thynges faire,
And was courteis and debonaire.

Ibid. col. 2. I could not resist the temptation of transcribing this gallantry of a dragon. Gower's whole description of this interview, as will appear on comparison, seems to be taken from Beau-

vais, "Nectabanus se transformat in illum draconis seductionem tractum; tricliniumque penetrat reptabundus, specie spectabilis, tum majestate totius corporis, tum etiam sibilorum acumine adeo terribilis, ut parietes etiam ac fundamenta domus quasi viderentur," &c. *HIST. SEPCUL.* fol. 41. b. ut supr. See Aul. Gell. *NOCT. ATT.* vii. 1.

^b Edit. 1603. 4to. B. ii. ch. iv. p. 44. seq.

¹ For instance, "the Art and *Mystery* of Printing."

² In a statute of Henry the Eighth, instead of the words in the last note, we have "The *Science* and *Craft* of Printing." Ann. Reg. 25. A.D. 1533. For many reasons, *Mystery* answering to the Latin *Mysterium*, never could have been originally applied in these cases.

¹ MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris, 7539.

Lie sont de chou qu'il n'y a
 Peril et que bien garira :
 Car il li MAISTRE ainsi dit leur ont.

And the medical art is styled *Mestrie*. "Quant il (the surgeon) aperçut que c'estoit maladie non mie curable par nature et par MESTRIE, et par medicine^m," &c. *Maistrise* is used for art or workmanship, in the CHRONICON of Saint Denis, "Entre les autres presens, li envia une horologe de laton, ouvrez par merveilleuse MAISTRISEⁿ." That the Latin MAGISTERIUM has precisely the same sense appears from an account of the contract for building the conventual church of Casino in Italy, in the year 1349. The architects agree to build the church in the form of the Lateran at Rome. "Et in casu si aliquis [defectus] in eorum MAGISTERIO appareret, promiserunt resarcire^o." Chaucer, in the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, uses MAISTRISE for artifice and workmanship.

Was made a toure of grete *maistrise*,
 A fairer saugh no man with sight,
 Large, and wide, and of grete might^p, &c.

And, in the same poem, in describing the shoes of MIRTH,

And shode he was, with grete *maistrise*,
 With shone decopid and with lace.^q

MAYSTREY occurs in the description of a lady's saddle, in SYR LAUNFAL's romance,

Her sadell was semely sett,
 The sambus^r wer grene felvet,

^m MIRAC. S. Ludov. edit. reg. p. 438.

ⁿ Tom. v. Collect. Histor. Franc. pag. 254. Thus expressed in the Latin ANNALES FRANCIE, *ibid.* p. 56. "Horologium ex aurichalco arte mechanica mirifice compositum."

^o HIST. CASIN. tom. ii. p. 545. col. ii. Chart. ann. 1349.

^p R. R. v. 4172.

^q *Ibid.* v. 842.

^r I know not what ornament or implement of the ancient horse-furniture is here intended, unless it is a saddle-cloth;

nor can I find this word in any glossary. But *Sambus* occurs, evidently under the very same signification, in the beautiful manuscript French romance of GARIN, written in the twelfth century.

Li palefrois sur coi la dame sist
 Estoit plus blanc que nule flor de lis;
 Le loreins vaut muls sols parisis,
 Et la SAUBRE n'ul plus riche ne vist.

"The palfrey on which the lady sate, was whiter than any flower de lis: the

I paynted with ymagerye;
 The bordure was of belles¹
 Of ryche golde and nothyng elles
 That any man myghte aspye:
 In the arsouns² before and behynde
 Were twey stones of Ynde
 Gay for the maystrye.
 The paytrelle³ of her palfraye
 Was worth an erldom, &c.

"In the saddle-bow were two jewels of India, very beautiful to be seen, in consequence of the great art with which they were wrought⁴." Chaucer calls his Monke,

bridle was worth a thousand Parisian
 sols, and a richer *Sambue* never was seen."
 The French word, however, is properly
 written *Sambue*, and is not uncommon
 in old French wardrobe rolls, where it
 appears to be a female saddle-cloth, or
 housing. So in *LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE*,

Comme roynne fust vestue,
 Et chevauchast à grand SAMBUZ.

The Latin word, and in the same restrained sense, is sometimes *SAMBUA*, but most commonly *SAMBUCA*. Ordericus Vitalis, lib. viii. p. 694. edit. Par. 1619. "*Mannos et mulas cum SAMBUCA muliebribus prosperit.*" Vincent of Beauvais says, that the Tartarian women, when they ride, have *CAMBUCA*s of painted leather, embroidered with gold, hanging down on either side of the horse. *SERUL. HIST.* x. 85. But Vincent's *CAMBUCA*s was originally written *cam-bucas*, or *Sambucas*. To such an enormity this article of the trappings of female horsemanship had arisen in the middle ages, that Frederick king of Sicily restrained it by a sumptuary law; which enjoined, that no woman, even of the highest rank, should presume to use a *Sambuca*, or saddle-cloth, in which were gold, silver, or pearls, &c. *CONSTITUT.* cap. 92. Queen Olympias, in Davie's *GENE* of Alexander, has a *Sambue* of silk, fol. 54. [*infr.* vol. ii. p. 54.]

A mule also whyte so mylke,
 With sadel of golde, *sambue* of sylke, &c.

¹ Of this fashion I have already given many instances. The latest I remember is in the year 1503, at the marriage of the princess Margaret. "In specyall the Erle of Northumberland ware on a goodly gowne of tynsill, fourred with hermynes. He was mounted upon a fayre courser, hys barnays of gold-smyth worke, and thorough that sam was sawen small belles, that maid a melodious noyse." Leland. *COLL.* ad calc. tom. iii. p. 276.

In the *NONNES PRESTRES PROLOGUE*, Chaucer, from the circumstance of the Monke's bridle being decorated with bells, takes occasion to put an admirable stroke of humour and satire into the mouth of the Hostess, which at once ridicules that inconsistent piece of affectation, and censures the monk for the dullness of his tale. Ver. 14796.

Swiche talking is not worth a botershe,
 For therin is ther no disport ne game:
 Therefore sire monke, dan Fiers by your name,

I pray you hertely tell us somewhat elles,
 Forsikerly, n'ere clinking of your belles
 That on your bridel hange on every side,
 By heven king that for us alle dide,
 I shoulde or this have fallen down for slepe,
 Although the slough had been never so depe.

¹ saddle-bow. See *infr.* vol. i. p. 177.

² breast-plate.

³ MS. fol. 40. a.

——— fayre for the *Maistrie*,
An outrider, that lovid venery.*

Fayre for the *Maistrie* means, skilled in the *Maistrie of the game*, *La Maistrise du Venerie*, or the science of hunting, then so much a favorite, as simply and familiarly to be called the *maistrie*. From many other instances which I could produce, I will only add, that the search of the Philosopher's Stone is called in the Latin Geber, INVESTIGATIO MAGISTERII.

CHAP. ciii. The merchant who sells three wise maxims to the wife of Domitian.

CHAP. civ. A knight in hunting meets a lion, from whose foot he extracts a thorn. Afterwards he becomes an outlaw; and being seized by the king, is condemned to be thrown into a deep pit to be devoured by a hungry lion. The lion fawns on the knight, whom he perceives to be the same that drew the thorn from his paw. Then said the king, "I will learn forbearance from the beasts. As the lion has spared your life, when it was in his power to take it, I therefore grant you a free pardon. Depart, and be admonished hence to live virtuously."

The learned reader must immediately recollect a similar story of one Androclus, who being exposed to fight with wild beasts in the Roman amphitheatre, is recognised and unattacked by a most savage lion, whom he had formerly healed exactly in the same manner. But I believe the whole is nothing more than an oriental apologue on gratitude, written much earlier; and that it here exists in its original state. Androclus's story is related by Aulus Gellius, on the authority of a Greek writer, one Appion, called Plistonices, who flourished under Tiberius. The character of Appion, with which Gellius prefaces this tale, in some measure invalidates his credit; notwithstanding he pretends to have been an eye witness of this extraordinary fact. "Ejus libri," says Gellius, "non incelebres feruntur; quibus, omnium ferme quæ mirifica in Ægypto visuntur audiunturque, historia comprehenditur. Sed in his quæ audivisse et legisse sese

* PROL. v. 165.

dicit, fortasse a vitio studioque ostentationis fit loquacior²," &c. Had our compiler of the *Gesta* taken this story from Gellius, it is probable he would have told it with some of the same circumstances: especially as Gellius is a writer whom he frequently follows, and even quotes; and to whom, on this occasion, he might have been obliged for a few more strokes of the marvellous. But the two writers agree only in the general subject. Our compiler's narrative has much more simplicity than that of Gellius; and contains marks of eastern manners and life. Let me add, that the oriental fabulists are fond of illustrating and enforcing the duty of gratitude, by feigning instances of the gratitude of beasts towards men. And of this the present compilation, which is strongly tinged with orientalism, affords several other proofs.

CHAP. cv. Theodosius the blind emperor ordained, that the cause of every injured person should be heard on ringing a bell placed in a public part of his palace. A serpent had a nest near the spot where the bell-rope fell. In the absence of the serpent, a toad took possession of her nest. The serpent twisting herself round the rope, rang the bell for justice; and by the emperor's special command the toad was killed. A few days afterwards, as the king was reposing on his couch, the serpent entered the chamber, bearing a precious stone in her mouth. The serpent creeping up to the emperor's face, laid the precious stone on his eyes, and glided out of the apartment. Immediately the emperor was restored to his sight.

This circumstance of the Bell of Justice occurs in the real history of some eastern monarch, whose name I have forgot.

In the Arabian philosophy, serpents, either from the brightness of their eyes, or because they inhabit the cavities of the earth, were considered as having a natural, or occult, connexion with precious stones. In Alphonsus's *CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA*, a snake is mentioned, whose eyes were real jacinths. In Alexander's romantic history, he is said to have found serpents in the vale of Jordian, with collars of huge emeralds

² Noct. Attic. lib. v. cap. xiv. See another fabulous story, of which Appion was an eye witness, ibid. l. vii. cap. viii. It is of a boy beloved by a dolphin.

growing on their necks^a. The toad, under a vulgar indiscriminating idea, is ranked with the reptile race: and Shakespeare has a beautiful comparison on the traditionary notion, that the toad has a rich gem inclosed within its head. Milton gives his serpent eyes of carbuncle^b.

CHAP. cvi. The three fellow-travellers, who have only one loaf of bread.

This apologue is in Alphonsus.

CHAP. cvii. There was an image in the city of Rome, which stretched forth its right hand, on the middle finger of which was written STRIKE HERE. For a long time none could understand the meaning of this mysterious inscription. At length a certain subtle Clerk, who came to see this famous image, observed, as the sun shone against it, the shadow of the inscribed finger on the ground at some distance. He immediately took a spade, and began to dig exactly on that spot. He came at length to a flight of steps which descended far under ground, and led him to a stately palace. Here he entered a hall, where he saw a king and queen sitting at table, with their nobles and a multitude of people, all clothed in rich garments. But no person spake a word. He looked towards one corner, where he saw a polished carbuncle, which illuminated the whole room^c. In the opposite corner he perceived the figure of a man standing, having a bended bow with an arrow in his hand,

^a Vincent Beauvais, SPECUL. HIST. lib. iv. c. 58. fol. 42. a.

^b PARAD. L. IX. 500.

^c See infr. vol. iii. p. 63. So in the romance, of LAY, of SYR LAUNFAL, MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 35. a.

And when they come in the forest an
hygh,

A pavyloun yield he sygh:

The pavyloun was wrouth forsothe,
ywys,

All of werk of Sarrynys¹,
The pomelles² of crystall.—

On the top was a beast,

Of bournede golde, ryche and good,

Ifloresched with ryche small³;
Hys eyn wer carbonkeles bryght,
As the mone⁴ they schon anyght,
That spreteth out ovyr all:
Alysaundre the conquerour,
Ne kyng Artour yn hys most honour
Ne hadde noon scwyth suell.
He fond yn the pavyloun,
The kynges doughter of Olyroun,
Dame Triamour that hyghte,
Her fadyr was kyng of Fayrre.

And in the alliterative romance, called
the SEGE OF JERUSALEM, MSS. Cott.
CALIG. A. 2. fol. 122. b.

Tytus tarriedde nyste⁵ for that, but to
the tempul rode.

¹ Saracen-work.

² balls, pinnacles.

³ enamel.

⁴ moon.

⁵ nought.

as prepared to shoot. On his forehead was written, "I am, who am. Nothing can escape my stroke, not even yonder carbuncle which shines so bright." The Clerk beheld all with amazement; and entering a chamber, saw the most beautiful ladies working at the loom in purple^d. But all was silence. He then entered a stable full of the most excellent horses and asses: he touched some of them, and they were instantly turned into stone. He next surveyed all the apartments of the palace, which abounded with all that his wishes could desire. He again visited the hall, and now began to reflect how he should return; "but," says he, "my report of all these wonders will not be believed, unless I carry something back with me." He therefore took from the principal table a golden cup and a golden knife, and placed them in his bosom. When, the man who stood in the corner with the bow, immediately shot at the carbuncle, which he shattered into a thousand pieces. At that moment the hall became dark as night. In this dark-

That was rayled in the roofo with ruyes
ryche,
With perles and with perytotes^e all the
place sette,
That glystered as coles in the fyre, on
the golde ryche;
The dores with dyamondes dryven were
thykke,
And made also marveylously with margery^f
peries,
That ever lemede the lyzt, and as a
lampe shewed:
The clerkes had none other lyzte.—

^d The original is, "*mulieres pulcherrimas in purpura et pallo operantes invenit.*" fol. L. a. col. 1. This may mean either the sense in the text, or that the ladies were clothed in *purpura et pallo*, a phrase which I never saw before in barbarous latinity: but which tallies with the old English expression *purple and pall*. This is sometimes written *purple pall*. As in *STR LAUNFAL*, ut *supr.* fol. 40. a.

The lady was clad yn *purpure palle*.

Antiently *Pallium*, as did *Purpura*, signified in general any rich cloth. Thus there were saddles, de *pallio* et ebone; a bed, de *pallio*; a cope, de *pallio*, &c. &c. See DUFFRESNE, LAT. GLOSS. V. *PALLIUM*. And *PELLUM*, its corruption. In old French, to cover a hall with tapestry was called *paller*. So in *STR LAUNFAL*, ut *supr.* fol. 40. a.

Thyn halle agrayde, and hele [cover] the walles
With clodes [clothes], and wyth ryche
palles,
A yens [against] my Lady Tryamour.

Which also illustrates the former meaning. In A. DAVIE'S *Gest of Alexander* we have,

Her bed was made forsothe
With *pallis* and with riche clothe,
The chambre was handig with clothe of gold. fol. 57.

^e On the finger of Becket, when he was killed, was a jewel called *Peretot*. *MONAST. ANGL.* i. 6. ^f *margarites*.

ness not being able to find his way, he remained in the subterraneous palace, and soon died a miserable death.

In the MORALISATION of this story, the steps by which the Clerk descends into the earth are supposed to be the Passions. The palace, so richly stored, is the world with all its vanities and temptations. The figure with the bow bent is Death, and the carbuncle is Human Life. He suffers for his avarice in coveting and seizing what was not his own; and no sooner has he taken the golden knife and cup, that is, enriched himself with the goods of this world, than he is delivered up to the gloom and horrors of the grave.

Spenser in the FAERIE QUEENE, seems to have distantly remembered this fable, where a fiend expecting sir Guyon will be tempted to snatch some of the treasures of the subterraneous HOUSE OF RICHESSE, which are displayed in his view, is prepared to fasten upon him.

Thereat the fiend his gnashing teeth did grate,
And griev'd so long to lack his greedie pray;
For well he weened that so glorious bayte
Would tempt his guest to take thereof assay:
Had he so doen, he had him snatcht away
More light than culver in the faucon's fist.*

This story was originally invented of pope Gerbert, or Sylvester the Second, who died in the year 1003. He was eminently learned in the mathematical sciences, and on that account was styled a magician. William of Malmesbury is, I believe, the first writer now extant by whom it is recorded: and he produces it partly to shew, that Gerbert was not always successful in those attempts which he so frequently practised to discover treasures hid in the earth, by the application of the necromantic arts. I will translate Malmesbury's narration of this fable, as it varies in some of the circumstances, and has some heightenings of the fiction. "At Rome there was a

* B. ii. C. vii. st. 34.

brazen statue, extending the forefinger of the right hand; and on its forehead was written *Strike here*. Being suspected to conceal a treasure, it had received many bruises from the credulous and ignorant, in their endeavours to open it. At length Gerbert unriddled the mystery. At noon-day observing the reflection of the forefinger on the ground, he marked the spot. At night he came to the place, with a page carrying a lamp. There by a magical operation he opened a wide passage in the earth; through which they both descended, and came to a vast palace. The walls, the beams, and the whole structure, were of gold: they saw golden images of knights playing at chess, with a king and queen of gold at a banquet, with numerous attendants in gold, and cups of immense size and value. In a recess was a carbuncle, whose lustre illuminated the whole palace: opposite to which stood a figure with a bended bow. As they attempted to touch some of the rich furniture, all the golden images seemed to rush upon them. Gerbert was too wise to attempt this a second time: but the page was bold enough to snatch from the table a golden knife of exquisite workmanship. At that moment, all the golden images rose up with a dreadful noise; the figure with the bow shot at the carbuncle; and a total darkness ensued. The page then replaced the knife, otherwise, they both would have suffered a cruel death." Malmesbury afterwards mentions a brazen bridge, framed by the enchantments of Gerbert, beyond which were golden horses of a gigantic size, with riders of gold richly illuminated by the most serene meridian sun. A large company attempt to pass the bridge, with a design of stealing some pieces of the gold. Immediately the bridge rose from its foundations, and stood perpendicular on one end: a brazen man appeared from beneath it, who struck the water with a mace of brass, and the sky was overspread with the most horrible gloom. Gerbert, like some other learned necromancers of the Gothic ages, was supposed to have fabricated a brazen head under the influence of certain planets, which answered questions. But I forbear to suggest any more hints for a future collection of

Arabian tales. I shall only add Malmesbury's account of the education of Gerbert, which is a curious illustration of what has been often inculcated in these volumes, concerning the introduction of romantic fiction into Europe^f. "Gerbert, a native of France, went into Spain for the purpose of learning astrology, and other sciences of that cast, of the Saracens; who, to this day, occupy the upper regions of Spain. They are seated in the metropolis of Seville; where, according to the customary practice of their country, they study the arts of divination and enchantment.—Here Gerbert soon exceeded Ptolemy in the astrolabe, Alchind in astronomy, and Julius Firmicus in fatality. Here he learned the meaning of the flight and language of birds, and was taught how to raise spectres from hell. Here he acquired whatever human curiosity has discovered for the destruction or convenience of mankind. I say nothing of his knowledge in arithmetic, music, and geometry; which he so fully understood as to think them beneath his genius, and which he yet with great industry introduced into France, where they had been long forgotten. He certainly was the first who brought the algorithm from the Saracens, and who illustrated it with such rules as the most studious in that science cannot explain. He lodged with a philosopher of that sect^g," &c.

I conclude this chapter with a quotation from the old metrical romance of *SYR LIBEAUX DIASCONIOS*, where the knight, in his attempt to disenchant the Lady of Sinadone, after entering the hall of the castle of the necromancers, is almost in similar circumstances with our subterraneous adventurers. The passage is rich in Gothic imageries; and the most striking part of the poem, which is mentioned by Chaucer as a popular romance.

^f See *Diss.* i. And vol. i. 235.

^g De *GERST. REG. AVOZ.* lib. ii. cap. 10. p. 36. a. b. 37. a. b. edit. Savil. Lond. 1596. fol. Afterwards Malmesbury mentions his horologe, which was not of the nature of the modern clock: but which yet is recorded as a wonderful invention by his cotemporary Ditmar, *CHRON.*

Lib. vi. fol. 83. edit. 1580. Vincent of Beauvais has transcribed all that William of Malmesbury has here said about Gerbert, *SPECUL. HISTOR.* Lib. xxiv. c. 98. seq. f. 344. a. Compare Platina, *VIR. POWRIF.* fol. 122. edit. 1485. See also *L'Histoire Littéraire de France*, by the Benedictines, tom. vi. ad. calc.

Syr Lybeaus, knyght certeys^h,
 Rod ynto the palys,
 And ate the halle alyghteⁱ:
 Trompes, shalmuses^k,
 He seygh, be for the heygh deys^l,
 Stonde in hys syghte.
 A mydde the halle flore,
 A fere, stark and store^m,
 Was lyght, and brende bryghtⁿ.
 Nere the dor he yede^o,
 And ladde^p yn hys stede
 That wont was helpe hym in fyght.
 Lybeaus inner^a gan pace
 To se ech a place^r,
 The hales^s in the halle,
 Of mayne mor ne lasse
 Ne sawe he body ne face^t,
 But menstrales yclodeth yn palle, &c.^u
 So much melodye
 Was never wythinne walle.
 Before ech menstrale stod
 A torche fayre^w and good,
 Brennynge fayre and bryght.
 Inner more he yode,
 To wyte, wyth egre mode
 Ho scholde^x wyth hym fyght:
 He yede ynto the corneres,
 And lokede on the pylers,
 That selcouth wer of syght,
 Of jasper and of fyn crystall, &c.

^h courteous.ⁱ alighted.^k instruments of music.^l he saw at the high table.^m a fire, large and strong: store is
four.ⁿ lighted, and burned bright.^o yede, went into the door of the hall,
with his horse.^p led.^q farther in.^r to see, to view, every place or thing.^s perhaps, holes, i. e. corners.^t he saw no man.^u clothed in rich attire.^w a torch fair and good.^x to know, in angry mood what knight
would, &c.

The dores wer of bras;
 The wyndowes wer of glas
 Florysseth with imagerye^y:
 The halle ypaynted was^z,
 No rythere never ther nas
 That he hadde seye wyth eye^a.
 He sette hym an that deys^b,
 The menstresles wer yn pes^c,
 That were so gode and trye^d.
 The torches that brende bryght^e
 Quenchede anon ryght^f;
 The menstresles wer aweye^g:
 Dores, and wyndowes alle,
 Beten yn the halle
 As hyt wer voys of thunder, &c.—
 As he sat thus dysmayde,
 And helde hymselfe betrayde,
 Stedes herde he naye, &c.^h

This castle is called, "A paleys queynt of gynne," and, "by negremancye ymaketh of fayrre!"

CHAP. cviii. The mutual fidelity of two thieves.

CHAP. cix. The chest and the three pasties.

A like story is in Boccace's *DECAMERON*^k, in the *CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE*^l, and in Gower's *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*^m.

The story, however, as it stands in Gower, seems to be copied from one which is told by the hermit Barlaam to king Avenamore, in the spiritual romance, written originally in Greek about the year 800, by Joannes Damascenus a Greek monkⁿ, and translated into Latin before the thirteenth century,

^y painted glass.

^z the walls were painted with histories.

^a had seen.

^b he sate down in the principal seat.

^c were suddenly silent.

^d tried, excellent. Chaucer, *RIM. SIB. THOR.* p. 146. *Urr.* v. 8361.

With finger that is *trie*.

^e burned so bright.

^f were instantly quenched, or extinguished.

^g vanished away.

^h MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 52. b. seq.

ⁱ Ibid. f. 52. b.

^k x. 1.

^l Nov. lxx.

^m Lib. v. fol. 96. a.

ⁿ See Joan. Damasceni *OPERA* nonaul. *HISTOR.* ad calc. pag. 12. Basil. 1548. fol. The chests are here called *Arcoles*.

entitled, *BARLAAM and JOSAPHAT*^o. But Gower's immediate author, if not Boccace, was perhaps Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about the year 1290, and who has incorporated Damascenus's history of Barlaam and Josaphat^p, who were canonised, into his *SPECULUM HISTORIALE*^q. As Barlaam's fable is probably the remote but original source of Shakespeare's *CASKETS* in the *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, I will give the reader a translation of the passage in which it occurs, from the Greek original, never yet printed. "The king commanded four chests to be made: two of which were covered with gold, and secured by golden locks, but filled with the rotten bones of human carcasses. The other two were overlaid with pitch, and bound with rough cords; but replenished with pretious stones and the most exquisite gems, and with ointments of the richest odour. He called his nobles together; and placing these chests before them, asked which they thought the most valuable. They pronounced those with the golden coverings to be the most pretious, supposing they were made to contain the crowns and girdles of the king^r. The two chests covered with pitch they viewed with contempt. Then said the king, I presumed what would be your determination: for ye look with the eyes of sense. But to discern baseness or value, which are hid within, we must look with the eyes of the mind. He then ordered the golden chests to be opened, which exhaled an intolerable stench, and filled the beholders with horror^s." In the *METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS*, written about the year 1300, these chests are called *four fates*, that is, four *vats* or vessels^t.

I make no apology for giving the reader a translation from

^o See *infra*. vol. ii. p. 321. And *ibid*. vol. iii. p. 167.

^p It is extant in Surius, and other collections.

^q *DE REGE ALEMUR*, &c. Lib. xiv. f. 196. Ven. 1591. It contains sixty-four chapters.

^r In doctor Johnson's abridgement of a tale like this from Boccace, which he supposes to have been Shakespeare's

original, the king says, that in one of the Caskets was "contained his crown, sceptre and jewels," &c. See Steevens's *SHAKESPEARE*, vol. iii. p. 255. edit. 1779.

^s MSS. LAUD. C. 79. Bibl. Bodl. Compare Catton's *GOLDEN LEGENDE*, fol. cclxxxiii. b. And Surius, *VIT. SANCTOR. Novembr. 27. Ann. 388. pag. 560. Colon. Agrippin. 1618.*

^t MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 292. b.

the same Greek original, which is now before me, of the story of the Boy told in the DECAMERON. "A king had an only son. As soon as he was born, the physicians declared, that if he was allowed to see the sun, or any fire, before he arrived at the age of twelve years, he would be blind. The king commanded an apartment to be hewed within a rock, into which no light could enter; and here he shut up the boy, totally in the dark, yet with proper attendants, for twelve years. At the end of which time, he brought him abroad from his gloomy chamber, and placed in his view, men, women, gold, precious stones, rich garments, chariots of exquisite workmanship drawn by horses with golden bridles, heaps of purple tapestry, armed knights on horseback, oxen and sheep. These were all distinctly pointed out to the youth: but being most pleased with the women, he desired to know by what name they were called. An esquire of the king jocosely told him, that they were devils who catch men. Being brought to the king, he was asked which he liked best of all the fine things he had seen. He replied, *the devils who catch men*," &c. I need not enlarge on Boccace's improvements".

This romantic legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, which is a history of considerable length, is undoubtedly the composition of one who had an intercourse with the East: and from the strong traces which it contains of the oriental mode of moralising, appears plainly to have been written, if not by the monk whose name it bears, at least by some devout and learned ascetic of the Greek church, and probably before the tenth century.

Leland mentions DAMASCENUS DE GESTIS BARLAAM ET JOSAPHAT, as one of the manuscripts which he saw in Nettleby-abbey near Southampton".

CHAP. CX. The life of the knight Placidus, or Placidus*, afterwards called Eustacius.

" This fable occurs in an old Collection of Apologues. above cited, MSS. HARL. 463. fol. 2. a.

" COLLECTAN. tom. iii. p. 149. edit. 1770.

* Sir Placidus is the name of a knight in the FAIRIE QUEENE.

It occurs in Caxton's *GOLDEN LEGENDE*¹. Among the Cotton manuscripts there is a metrical legend or romance on this story².

CHAP. cxl. The classical story of Argus and Mercury, with some romantic additions. Mercury comes to Argus in the character of a minstrel, and lulls him to sleep by telling him tales and singing, *inceptit more histrionico fabulas dicere, et plerumque cantare*.

CHAP. cxli. The son of king Gorgonius is beloved by his step-mother. He is therefore sent to seek his fortune in a foreign country, where he studies physic; and returning, heals his father of a dangerous disease, who recovers at the sight of him. The step-mother, hearing of his return, falls sick, and dies at seeing him.

CHAP. cxlii. The tournaments of the rich king Adonias. A party of knights arrive the first day, who lay their shields aside, in one place. The same number arrives the second day, each of whom chuses his antagonist by touching with his spear the shield of one of the first day's party, not knowing the owner.

The most curious anecdote of chivalry, now on record, occurs in the ecclesiastical history of Spain. Alphonsus the Ninth, about the year 1214, having expelled the Moors from Toledo, endeavoured to establish the Roman missal in the place of saint Isidore's. This alarming innovation was obstinately opposed by the people of Toledo; and the king found that his project would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. The contest at length between the two missals grew so serious, that it was mutually resolved to decide the controversy, not by a theological disputation, but by single combat; in which the champion of the Toletan missal proved victorious³.

Many entertaining passages relating to trials by single combat may be seen in the old Imperial and Lombard laws. In Cax-

¹ Fol. cccxliii. b. See vol. iii. p. 25. And *METRIC. LEGES* S. MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 164. a.

² *CALIG. A.* 2. fol. 135. b. This is a translation from the French. MSS.

Reg. Paris. Cod. 3081.

³ See the *MOZARABES, or Missal of Saint Isidore*, printed at Toledo, by the command of Cardinal Ximenes, A. D. 1500. fol.

ton's BOKE OF THE FAYTTES OF ARMES AND OF CHIVALEYE, printed at Westminster in the year 1489, and translated from the French of Christine of Pisa, many of the chapters towards the end are compiled from that singular monument of Gothic legislation.

CHAP. CXV. An intractable elephant is lulled asleep in a forest by the songs and blandishments of two naked virgins. One of them cuts off his head, the other carries a bowl of his blood to the king. *Rex vero gavisus est valde, et statim fecit fieri PURPURAM, et multa alia, de eodem sanguine.*

In this wild tale, there are circumstances enough of general analogy, if not of peculiar parallelism, to recall to my memory the following beautiful description, in the manuscript romance of SYR LAUNFAL, of two damsels, whom the knight unexpectedly meets in a desolate forest.

As he sat in sorow and sore,
 He sawe come out of holtes hore
 Gentyll maydenes two ;
 Har kerteles wer of Inde sandel^b
 I lased^c smalle, jolyf and wel ;
 Thar myght^d noon gayer go.
 Har manteles were of grene felwet^e
 Ybordured with gold ryghte well ysette,
 I pelured^f with gris and gro^g ;
 Har heddys^h wer dyght well withalle,
 Everych hadde on a jolyf coronall,
 With syxty gemmys and moⁱ.
 Har faces war whyt as snowe on downe,
 Har rode^k was red, har eyn were broune,
 I sawe never none swyche^l.
 The oon bar of gold a basyn,
 That other a towayle whyt and fyn,
 Of selk that was good and ryche.

^b Indian silk. *Cendal*. Fr. See Dufresne, LAT. GL. V. CENDALUM.

^c laced.

^d there might.

^e velvet.

^f furred, *pelura*, *pellis*.

^g *gris* is fur, *gris* and *gray* is common in the metrical romances.

^h their heads.

ⁱ more.

^k ruddiness.

^l such.

Har kercheves were well schyre^m
 Arayd with ryche gold wyre, &c.ⁿ

CHAP. cxvi. The queen of Pepin king of France died in childbed, leaving a son. He married a second wife, who bore a son within a year. These children were sent abroad to be nursed. The surviving queen, anxious to see her child, desired that both the boys might be brought home. They were so exceedingly alike, that the one could not be distinguished from the other, except by the king. The mother begged the king to point out her own son. This he refused to do, till they were both grown up; lest she should spoil him by too fond a partiality. Thus they were both properly treated with uniform affection, and without excess of indulgence.

A favorite old romance is founded on the indistinctible likeness of two of Charlemagne's knights, Amys and Amelion; originally celebrated by Turpin, and placed by Vincent of Beauvais under the reign of Pepin^o.

CHAP. cxvii. The law of the emperor Frederick, that whoever rescued a virgin from a rape might claim her for his wife.

CHAP. cxviii. A knight being in Egypt, recovers a thousand talents which he had entrusted to a faithless friend, by the artifice of an old woman.

This tale is in Alphonsus. And in the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE^p.

CHAP. cxix. A king had an oppressive Seneshall, who passing through a forest, fell into a deep pit, in which were a lion, an ape, and a serpent. A poor man who gathered sticks in the forest hearing his cries, drew him up: together with the lion, the ape, and the serpent. The Seneshall returned home, promising to reward the poor man with great riches. Soon afterwards the poor man went to the palace to claim the promised reward; but was ordered to be cruelly beaten by the Seneshall. In the mean time, the lion drove ten asses laden with gold to the poor man's cottage: the serpent brought him

^m *cut.*

ⁿ MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 35. a.

^o SPECUL. HIST. xxiii. c. 162. f. 329. b.

^p Nov. lxxiv.

a pretious stone of three colours : and the ape, when he came to the forest on his daily business, laid him heaps of wood. The poor man, in consequence of the virtues of the serpent's pretious stone, which he sold, arrived to the dignity of knight-hood, and acquired ample possessions. But afterwards he found the pretious stone in his chest, which he presented to the king. The king having heard the whole story, ordered the Seneshall to be put to death for his ingratitude, and preferred the poor man to his office.

This story occurs in Symeon Seth's translation of the celebrated Arabian fable-book called *CALILAH U DUMNAH*^a. It is recited by Matthew Paris, under the year 1195, as a parable which king Richard the First, after his return from the east, was often accustomed to repeat, by way of reproving those ungrateful princes who refused to engage in the crusade^r. It is versified by Gower, who omits the lion, as Matthew Paris does the ape, in the fifth book of the *CONFESSION AMANTIS*^s. He thus describes the services of the ape and serpent to the poor man, who gained his livelihood by gathering sticks in a forest.

He gan his ape anone behold,
Which had gadred al aboute,
Of stickes here and there a route,
And leyde hem redy to his honde,
Whereof he made his trusse and bond
From daie to daie. — — —
Upon a time and as he drough
Towarde the woodde, he sigh beside
The great gastly serpent glide,
Till that she came in his presence,
And in hir kynde a reverence
She hath hym do, and forthwith all
A stone more bright than a christall

^a P. 444. This work was translated into English under the title of "Donies MORALL PHILOSOPHIE, translated from the Indian tongue, 1570." Black letter

with wooden cuts. 4to. But Doni was the Italian translator.

^r *HIST. MAG.* p. 179. Edit. Wats.
^s fol. 110. b.

Out of hir mouth to fore his waye
 She lett down fall. — — —

In Gower also, as often as the poor man sells the pretious stone, on returning home, he finds it again among the money in his purse.

The acquisition of riches, and the multiplication of treasure, by invisible agency, is a frequent and favorite fiction of the Arabian romance. Thus, among the presents given to Sir Launfal by the Lady Triamore, daughter of the king of Faerie,

I will the zeve^t an Alner^u,
 I mad of sylver and gold cler,
 With fayre ymages thre:
 As ofte thou putttest thy honde therinne,
 A mark of gold thou schalt wynne^w,
 In wat place that thou be.^x

CHAP. CXX. King Darius's legacy to his three sons. To the eldest he bequeathes all his paternal inheritance: to the second, all that he had acquired by conquest: and to the third, a ring and necklace, both of gold, and a rich cloth. All the three last gifts were endued with magical virtues. Whoever wore the ring on his finger, gained the love or favour of all whom he desired to please. Whoever hung the necklace over his breast, obtained all his heart could desire. Whoever sate down on the cloth, could be instantly transported to any part of the world which he chose.

From this beautiful tale, of which the opening only is here given, Occleve, commonly called Chaucer's disciple, framed a poem in the octave stanza, which was printed in the year 1614, by William Browne, in his set of Eclogues called the SHEP-HEARDS PIPE. Occleve has literally followed the book before us, and has even translated into English prose the MORALISATION annexed^y. He has given no sort of embellishment to

^t give thee.

^u Perhaps *Almer*, or *Almere*, a cabinet or chest. [purse.]

^w get, find.

^x STE LAUNFAL. MSS. Cott. CALIG.

A. 2. fol. 35. b.

^y Vis. MSS. Seld. Sup. 53. Where is a prologue of many stanzas not printed by Browne. See also MSS. Dres. 185.

his original, and by no means deserves the praises which Browne in the following elegant pastoral lyrics has bestowed on his performance, and which more justly belong to the genuine Gothic, or rather Arabian, inventor.

Well I wot, the man that first
 Sung this lay, did quenche his thirst
 Deeply as did ever one
 In the Muses Helicon.
 Many times he hath oeen seene
 With the faeries on the greene,
 And to them his pipe did sound
 As they danced in a round;
 Mickle solace would they make him,
 And at midnight often wake him,
 And convey him from his roome
 To a fiede of yellow broome,
 Or into the medowes where
 Mints perfume the gentle aire,
 And where Flora spreads her treasure
 There they would beginn their measure.
 If it chanced night's sable shrowds
 Muffled Cynthia up in clowds,
 Safely home they then would see him,
 And from brakes and quagmires free him.
 There are few such swaines as he
 Now a dayes for harmonie.²

The history of Darius, who gave this legacy to his three sons, is incorporated with that of Alexander, which has been decorated with innumerable fictions by the Arabian writers. There is also a separate romance on Darius. And on Philip of Macedon².

MSS. LAUD. K. 78. [See *infra*, vol. ii. 348.]

[Mr. Warton has not been [strictly] accurate in this statement. Occleve's immediate model was our English *Gesta*;

nor is it improbable that he might even be the translator of it. The moralization also is entirely different.—DOUCE.]

² EOL. i.

³ Bibl. REG. PARIS. MSS. Cod. 9031.

CHAP. CXXIV. Of the knights who intercede for their friend with a king, by coming to his court, each half on horseback and half on foot.

This is the last novel in the *CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE*.

CHAP. CXXVI. Macrobius is cited for the address and humour of an ingenuous boy named Papirius.

This is one of the most lively stories in Macrobius^a.

CHAP. CXXVIII. The forged testament of the wicked knight, under the reign of Maximian.

CHAP. CXXIX. A young prince is sent on his travels. His three friends.

CHAP. CXXXII. The four physicians.

CHAP. CXXXIII. The king and his two greyhounds.

CHAP. CXXXIV. A story from Seneca.

CHAP. CXXXV. The story of Lucretia, from saint Austin's *CITY OF GOD*.

A more classical authority for this story, had it been at hand, would have been slighted for saint Austin's *CITY OF GOD*, which was the favorite spiritual romance; and which, as the transition from religion to gallantry was antiently very easy, gave rise to the famous old French romance called the *CITY OF LADIES*.

CHAP. CXXXVII. The Roman emperor who is banished for his impartial distribution of justice. From the *CRONICA* of Eusebius.

CHAP. CXXXVIII. King Medro.

CHAP. CXXXIX. King Alexander, by means of a mirrour, kills a cockatrice, whose look had destroyed the greatest part of his army.

Aelian, in his *VARIOUS HISTORY*, mentions a serpent which appearing from the mouth of a cavern, stopped the march of Alexander's army through a spacious desert. The wild beasts, serpents, and birds, which Alexander encountered in marching through India, were most extravagantly imagined by the

^a SATURNAL. Lib. i. c. 6. pag. 147. Londin. 1694.

oriental fabulists, and form the chief wonders of that monarch's romance^b.

CHAP. cxl. The emperor Eraclius reconciles two knights.

This story is told by Seneca of Cneius Piso^c. It occurs in Chaucer's *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*, as taken from *Senec*, or *Seneca*^d.

CHAP. cxli. A knight who had dissipated all his substance in frequenting tournaments, under the reign of Fulgentius, is reduced to extreme poverty. A serpent haunted a chamber of his house; who being constantly fed with milk by the knight, in return made his benefactor rich. The knight's ingratitude and imprudence in killing the serpent, who was supposed to guard a treasure concealed in his chamber.

Meclea's dragon guarding the golden fleece is founded on the oriental idea of treasure being guarded by serpents. We are told in Vincent of Beauvais, that there are mountains of solid gold in India guarded by dragons and griffins^e.

CHAP. cxliii. A certain king ordained a law, that if any man was suddenly to be put to death, at sun-rising a trumpet should be sounded before his gate. The king made a great feast for all his nobles, at which the most skilful musicians were present^f. But amidst the general festivity, the king was sad and silent. All the guests were surprised and perplexed at the king's melancholy; but at length his brother ventured

^b In Vincent of Beauvais, there is a long fabulous History of Alexander, transcribed partly from Simeon Seth. *Spec. Hist. lib. iv. c. i. f. 41. a. seq. edit. Ven. 1591. fol.*

^c De *IRA*, lib. i. c. 8.

^d Ver. 7600. Tyrwh.

^e *Specul. Hist. lib. i. c. 64. fol. 9. b.*

^f In the days of chivalry, a concert of a variety of instruments of music constantly made a part of the solemnity of a splendid feast. Of this many instances have been given. I will here add another, from the unprinted metrical romance of *EMARE*. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 71. a.

Syre Kadore lette make a feste,
That was fayr and honeste,

Wyth hys lorde the kyng;
Ther was myche menstrelse,
Trompus, tabors, and sawtre,
Bothe harpe, and fydyllyng:
The lady was gentyll and small,
In kurtull alone served yn hall
Byfore that nobull kyng:
The cloth upon her schone so bryghth,
When she was theryn ydyghth,
She semed non erdly thyng, &c.

And in Chaucer, *JAN. AND MAY*, v. 1234.

Att everie cours came the loud min-
stralsie.

to ask him the cause. The king replied, "Go home, and you shall hear my answer to-morrow." The king ordered his trumpeters to sound early the next morning before his brother's gate, and to bring him with them to judgment. The brother, on hearing this unexpected dreadful summons, was seized with horror, and came before the king in a black robe. The king commanded a deep pit to be made, and a chair composed of the most frail materials, and supported by four slight legs, to be placed inclining over the edge of the pit. In this the brother, being stripped naked, was seated. Over his head a sharp sword was hung by a small thread of silk. Around him four men were stationed with swords exceedingly sharp, who were to wait for the king's word, and then to kill him. In the mean time, a table covered with the most costly dishes was spread before him, accompanied with all sorts of music. Then said the king, "My brother, why are you so sad? Can you be dejected, in the midst of this delicious music, and with all these choice dainties?" He answered, "How can I be glad, when I have this morning heard the trumpet of death at my doors, and while I am seated in this tottering chair? If I make the smallest motion, it will break, and I shall fall into the pit, from which I shall never arise again. If I lift my head, the suspended sword will penetrate my brain; while these four tormentors only wait your command to put me to death." The king replied, "Now I will answer your question, why I was sad yesterday. I am exactly in your situation. I am seated, like you, in a frail and perishable chair, ready to tumble to pieces every moment, and to throw me into the infernal pit. Divine judgment, like this sharp sword, hangs over my head: and I am surrounded, like you, with four executioners. That before me is Death, whose coming I cannot tell; that behind me, my Sins, which are prepared to accuse me before the tribunal of God; that on the right, the Devil, who is ever watching for his prey; and that on the left, the Worm, who is now hungering after my flesh. Go in peace, my dearest brother: and never ask me again why I am sad at a feast."

Gower, in the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, may perhaps have copied the circumstance of the morning trumpet from this apologue. His king is a king of Hungary.

It so befell, that on a dawne
 There was ordeined by the lawe
 A trompe with a sterne breathe,
 Which was cleped the trompe of deathe:
 And in the court where the kyng was,
 A certaine man, this trompe of brasse
 Hath in kepyng, and therof serveth,
 That when a lorde his deathe deserveth,
 He shall this dredfull trompe blowe
 To fore his gate, to make it knowe,
 Howe that the jugement is yeve
 Of deathe, whiche shall not be foryeve.
 The kyng whan it was night anone,
 This man assent, and bad him gone,
 To trompen at his brothers gate;
 And he, whiche mote done algate,
 Goth foorth, and doth the kyng's heste.
 This lorde whiche herde of this tempest
 That he tofore his gate blewe,
 Tho wist he by the lawe, and knewe
 That he was schurly deade*, &c.

But Gower has connected with this circumstance a different story, and of an inferior cast, both in point of moral and imagination. The truth is, Gower seems to have altogether followed this story as it appeared in the *SPECULUM HISTORIALE* of Vincent of Beauvais^b, who took it from Damascenus's romance of *BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT*^c. Part of it is thus told in Caxton's translation of that legend^d. "And the kyng hadde suche a custome, that whan one sholde be delyvered to

* Lib. i. fol. xix. b. col. i.

^b Ubi supr. p. ccxliii.

^c Off. ut supr. pag. 12.

^d See Caxton's *GOLDEN LEGENDE*,

fol. ccclxxxiii. b. See also *METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS*, MSS. BOOL. 779. f. 292. a.

deth, the kyng sholde sende hys cryar wyth hys trompe that was ordeyned therto. And on the euen he sente the cryar wyth the trompe tofore hys brother's gate, and made to soun the trompe. And whan the kynges brother herde this, he was in despayr of sauynge of his lyf, and coude not slepe of alle the nyght, and made his testament. And on the morne erly, he cladde hym in blacke: and came with wepyng with hys wyf and chyl dren to the kynges paleys. And the kyng made hym to com tofore hym, and sayd to hym, A fool that thou art, that thou hast herde the messager of thy brother, to whom thou knowest well thou hast not trespaced and doubttest so mooche, howe oughte not I then ne doubte the messageres of our lorde, agaynste whom I haue soo ofte synned, which signefyed unto me more clerely the deth then the trompe?"

CHAP. cxlv. The philosopher Socrates shows the cause of the insalubrity of a passage between two mountains in Armenia, by means of a polished mirrour of steel. Albertus is cited; an abbot of Stade, and the author of a Chronicle from Adam to 1256.

CHAP. cxlvi. Saint Austin's CITY OF GOD is quoted for an answer of Diomedes the pirate to king Alexander.

CHAP. cxlviii. Aulus Gellius is cited.

Aulus Gellius is here quoted, for the story of Arion¹, throwing himself into the sea, and carried on the back of a dolphin to king Periander at Corinth². Gellius relates this story from Herodotus, in whom it is now extant³.

CHAP. cliii. The history of Apollonius of Tyre.

This story, the longest in the book before us, and the groundwork of a favorite old romance, is known to have existed before the year 1190.

In the Prologue to the English romance on this subject, called KYNGE APOLYNE OF THYRE, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510, we are told. "My worshipfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde, havynge a lytell boke of an auntyent

¹ It is printed Amon.

² Noct. Attic. lib. xvi. cap. xix.

³ Lib. viii.

hystory of a kynge somtyme reygnyne in the countree of Thyre called Appolyn, concernynge his malfortunes and peryllous adventures right espouventables, bryefly compyled and pyteous for to here; the which boke, I Robert Coplande^o have me applyed for to translate out of the Frensshe language into our maternal Englysshe tongue, at the exhortacyon of my forsayd mayster, accordynge dyrectly to myn auctor: gladly followynge the trace of my mayster Caxton, begynnynge with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other." The English romance, or the French, which is the same thing, exactly corresponds in many passages with the text of the GESTA. I will instance in the following one only, in which the complication of the fable commences. King Appolyn dines in disguise in the hall of king Antiochus.—"Came in the kynges daughter, accompanied with many ladyes and damoysselles, whose splendente beaute were too long to endyte, for her rosacyate coloure was medled with grete favour. She dranke unto hir fader, and to all the lordes, and to all them that had ben at the play of the Shelde^p. And as she behelde here and there, she espyed kynge Appolyn, and then she sayd unto her fader, Syr, what is he that sytteth so hye as by you, it semeth by hym that he is angry or sorrowfull? The kynge sayd, I never sawe so nimble and pleasaunt a player at the shelde, and therefore have I made hym to come and soupe with my knyghtes. And yf ye wyll knowe what he is, demaunde hym; for peradventure he wyll tell you sooner than me. Methynke that he is departed from some good place, and I thinke in my mynde that somethynge is befallen hym for which he is sorry. This sayd, the noble dameysell wente unto Appolyn and said, "Fayre Syr, graunt me a boone. And he graunted her with goode herte.

^o The printer of that name. He also translated from the French, at the desire of Edward duke of Buckingham, the romance of the *KNYGHT OF THE SWANNE*. See his *PROLOGUE*.

^p The tournament. To tourney is often called simply to *play*. As thus in

SYR LAUNFAL, MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 37.

Hym thoghte he brente bryghte
But he myghte with *Launfal playe*
In the felde betwene ham tweye
To justy other to fyghte.

And in many other places.

And she sayd unto hym, Albeyt that your vysage be tryst and hevy, your behaviour sheweth noblesse and facundyte, and therefore I pray you to tell me of your affayre and estate. Appolyn answered, Yf ye demaunde of my rychesses, I have lost them in the sea. The damoyseill sayd, I pray you that you tell me of your adventures¹." But in the GESTA, the princess at entering the royal hall kisses all the knights and lords present, except the stranger². Vossius says, that about the year 1520, one Alamanus Rinucinus, a Florentine, translated into Latin this fabulous history; and that the translation was corrected by Beroaldus. Vossius certainly cannot mean; that he translated it from the Greek original³.

CHAP. cliv. A story from Gervase of Tilbury, an Englishman, who wrote about the year 1200, concerning a miraculous statue of Christ in the city of Edessa.

CHAP. clv. The adventures of an English knight named Albert in a subterraneous passage, within the bishoprick of Ely.

This story is said to have been told in the winter after supper, in a castle, *cum familia divitis ad focum, ut Potentibus moris est*, RECENSENDIS ANTIQVIS GESTIS operam daret, when the family of a rich man, as is the custom with the Great, was sitting round the fire, and telling ANTIENT GESTS. Here is a traite of the private life of our ancestors, who wanted the diversions and engagements of modern times to relieve a tedious evening. Hence we learn, that when a company was assembled, if a juggler or a minstrel were not present, it was their custom to entertain themselves by relating or hearing a series of adventures. Thus the general plan of the CANTERBURY TALES, which at first sight seems to be merely an ingenious invention of the poet to serve a particular occasion, is in great measure founded on a fashion of antient life: and Chaucer, in supposing each of the pilgrims to tell a tale as they are travelling to Becket's shrine, only makes them adopt a mode of

¹ CAP. xl.

² Fol. lxxii. b. col. 2.

³ HIST. LAT. lib. iii. c. 8. pag. 552. edit. 1627. 4to.

amusement which was common to the conversations of his age. I do not deny, that Chaucer has shown his address in the use and application of this practice.

So habitual was this amusement in the dark ages, that the graver sort thought it unsafe for ecclesiastics, if the subjects admitted any degree of levity. The following curious injunction was deemed necessary, in a code of statutes assigned to a college at Oxford in the year 1292. I give it in English. "CH. XX.—The fellows shall all live honestly, as becomes Clerks.—They shall not rehearse, sing, nor willingly hear, BALLADS OR TALES OF LOVERS, which tend to lasciviousness and idleness." Yet the libraries of our monasteries, as I have before observed, were filled with romances. In that of Croyland-abbey we find even archbishop Turpin's romance, placed on the same shelf with Robert Tumeley on the Canticles, Roger Dymock against Wickliffe, and Thomas Waleys on the Psalter. But their apology must be, that they thought this a true history: at least that an archbishop could write nothing but truth. Not to mention that the general subject of those books were the triumphs of christianity over paganism".

CHAP. clvi. Ovid, in his *TROJAN WAR*, is cited for the story of Achilles disguised in female apparel.

Gower has this history more at large in the *CONFESSION AMANTIS*: but he refers to a *Cronike*, which seems to be the *BOKE OF TROIE*, mentioned at the end of the chapter".

CHAP. clvii. The porter of a gate at Rome, who taxes all deformed persons entering the city. This tale is in Alphonsus. And in the *CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE*".

CHAP. clviii. The discovery of the gigantic body of Pallas, son of Evander, at Rome, which exceeded in height the walls of the city, was uncorrupted, and accompanied with a burning lamp, two thousand two hundred and forty years after the de-

¹ *CANTILENAS VEL FABULAS DE AMANTIS*, &c. MS. Registr. Univ. Oxon. D. b. f. 76. See p. 96.

² Leland. COLL. iii. p. 30.

³ Lib. v. fol. 99. b. col. 2. See fol. 101. a. col. 1, 2.

⁴ Nov. 50.

struction of Troy. His wound was fresh, which was four feet and a half in length,

It is curious to observe, the romantic exaggerations of the classical story.

CHAP. clix. Josephus, in his book *de Causis rerum naturalium*, is quoted, for Noah's discovery of wine.

I know not any book of Josephus on this subject. The first editor of the Latin Josephus was Ludovicus Cendrara of Verona, who was ignorant that he was publishing a modern translation. In the Dedication he complains, that the manuscript was brought to him from Bononia so ill-written, that it was often impossible even to guess at *Josephus's words*. And in another place he says, Josephus first wrote the *ANTIQUITATES* in Hebrew, and that he afterwards translated them from Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Latin[†].

The substance of this chapter is founded on a Rabbinical tradition, related by Fabricius[‡]. When Noah planted the vine, Satan attended, and sacrificed a sheep, a lion, an ape, and a sow. These animals were to symbolise the gradations of ebriety. When a man begins to drink, he is meek and ignorant as the lamb, then becomes bold as the lion, his courage is soon transformed into the foolishness of the ape, and at last he wallows in the mire like the sow. Chaucer hence says in the *MANCIPLES PROLOGUE*, as the passage is justly corrected by Mr. Tyrwhitt,

I trowe that ye have dronken *wine of ape*,
And that is when men plaien at a strawe[§].

In the old *KALENDRIER DES BERGERS*, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has remarked, *Vin de singe*, *vin de mouton*, *vin de lyon*, and *vin de porceau*, are mentioned, in their respective operations on the four temperaments of the human body.

CHAP. clxi. Of a hill in a forest of England, where if a

[†] At Verona. 1480. By Peter Mauser a Frenchman. It is a most beautiful and costly book, printed on vellum in folio.

[‡] COD. PSEUDESGR. VER. TESTAM. vol. i. p. 275.

[§] Ver. 16993. Tyrwh.

hunter sate after the chace, he was refreshed by a miraculous person of a mild aspect, bearing a capacious horn, adorned with gems and gold^b, and filled with the most delicious liquor. This person instantly disappeared after administering the draught; which was of so wonderful a nature, as to dispel the most oppressive lassitude, and to make the body more vigorous than before. At length, a hunter having drank of this horn, ungratefully refused to return it to the friendly apparition; and his master, the lord of the forest, lest he should appear to countenance so atrocious a theft, gave it to king Henry the elder^c.

This story, which seems imperfect, I suppose, is from Gervase of Tilbury.

CHAP. clxii. The same author is cited for an account of a hill in Castile, on which was a palace of demons.

Whenever our compiler quotes Gervase of Tilbury, the reference is to his *OTIA IMPERIALIA*: which is addressed to the emperor Otho the Fourth, and contains his *Commentarius de regnis Imperatorum Romanorum*, his *Mundi Descriptio*, and his *Tractatus de Mirabilibus Mundi*. All these four have been improperly supposed to be separate works.

CHAP. clxiii. King Alexander's son Celestinus.

CHAP. clxvii. The archer and the nightingale.

This fable is told in the Greek legend of BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT, written by Johannes Damascenus^d. And in Caxton's *GOLDEN LEGENDE*^e. It is also found in the *CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA* of Alphonsus.

CHAP. clxviii. Barlaam is cited for the story of a man, who, flying from a unicorn, and falling into a deep and noisom pit, hung on the boughs of a lofty tree which grew from the bottom. On looking downward, he saw a huge dragon twisted round the trunk, and gaping to devour him. He also observed two mice gnawing at the roots of the tree, which began to totter.

^b The text says, "Such a one as is used at this day."

^c That is, Henry the First, king of England.

^d Orr. ut supr. p. 22. See also Surius, ut supr. Novembr. 27. pag. 565.

^e Fol. cccxxxii. b.

Four white vipers impregnated the air of the pit with their poisonous breath. Looking about him, he discovered a stream of honey distilling from one of the branches of the tree, which he began eagerly to devour, without regarding his dangerous situation. The tree soon fell: he found himself struggling in a loathsome quagmire, and was instantly swallowed by the dragon.

This is another of Barlaam's apologues in Damascenus's romance of BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT: and which has been adopted into the Lives of the Saints by Surius and others^f. A MORALISATION is subjoined, exactly agreeing with that in the GESTA^g.

CHAP. clxix. Trogus Pompeius is cited, for the wise legislation of Ligurius, a noble knight.

Our compiler here means Justin's abridgement of Trogus; which, to the irreparable injury of literature, soon destroyed its original. An early epitome of Livy would have been attended with the same unhappy consequences.

CHAP. clxx. The dice player and saint Bernard.

This is from saint Bernard's legend^h.

CHAP. clxxi. The two knights of Egypt and Baldach.

This is the story of Boccace's popular novel of TITO AND GISIPPO, and of Lydgate's *Tale of two Marchants of Egypt and of Baldad*, a manuscript poem in the British Museum, and lately in the library of doctor Askewⁱ. Peter Alphonsus is quoted for this story; and it makes the second Fable of his CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA.

I take the liberty of introducing a small digression here, which refers to two pieces of the poet last-mentioned, never enumerated among his works. In the year 1483, Caxton printed at Westminster, "*The PYLGREIMAGE OF THE SOWLE translated oute of Frensshe into Englysshe. Full of devout maters touching the sowle, and many questyons assoyled to cause a man*

^f See Caxton's GOLDEN LEGEND. fol. Bodl. 779. f. 293. b.

ccclxxxiii. a.

^g See Damascenus, ut supr. pag. 31.

And METRICAL LIVES OF SAINTS, MSS.

^h See Caxton's GOLD. LEG. f. cxxix. b.

ⁱ R. Edwards has a play on this story, 1582.

to lyoe the better, &c. *Emprinted at Westminster by William Caxton the first yere of kynge Edward V. 1483.*" The French book, which is a vision, and has some degree of imagination, is probably the *PÉLERIN DE L'ÂME*, of Guillaume prior of Chaulis¹. This translation was made from the French, with additions, in the year 1413. For in the colophon are these words. "Here endeth the dreame of the *PYLGREIMAGE OF THE SOWLE* translated out of Frensche into Englyshe, with somewhat of Addicions, the yere of our lorde M.cccc. and thyrteen, and endethe in the vigyle of Seint Bartholomew." The translator of this book, at least the author of the *Addicions*, which altogether consist of poetry in seven-lined stanzas, I believe to be Lydgate. Not to insist on the correspondence of time and style, I observe, that the thirty-fourth chapter of Lydgate's metrical *LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY* is literally repeated in the thirty-fourth chapter of this Translation. This chapter is a digression of five or six stanzas in praise of Chaucer; in which the writer feelingly laments the recent death of his *maister Chaucer, poete of Britaine*, who used to *amende and correcte the wronge traces of my rude penne*. No writer besides, in Lydgate's own life-time, can be supposed, with any sort of grace or propriety, to have mentioned those personal assistances of Chaucer, in Lydgate's own words. And if we suppose that the Translation, or its *Addicions*, were written by Lydgate before he wrote his *LIFE OF THE VIRGIN*, the proof will be the same².

Another piece probably written by Lydgate, yet never supposed or acknowledged to be of his composition, is a poem in the octave stanza, containing thirty-seven leaves in folio, and entitled *LABEROUS AND MARVEYLOUS WORKE OF SAPIENCE*. After a long debate between *MERCY* and *TRUTH*, and *JUSTICE* and *PEACE*, all the products of nature and of human knowledge are described, as they stand arranged in the palace and dominions of *WISDOM*. It is generally allowed to have been printed by Caxton: it has not the name of the printer, nor any

¹ See vol. ii. p. 426.

² Stowe mentions Lydgate's "*PILGRIMAGE OF THE WORLD* by the com-

maundement of the earle of Salisburie, 1426." But this must be a different work. Ad calc. Opp. Chauc. fol. 376. col. 1.

date. Had it been written by Caxton, as I once hastily suspected; or by any of his cotemporaries, the name of Lydgate would have appeared in conjunction with those of Gower and Chaucer, who are highly celebrated in the Prologue as *erthyly gods expert in poesie*: for these three writers were constantly joined in panegyric, at least for a century, by their successors, as the distinguished triumvirate of English poetry. In the same Prologue, the author says he was commanded to write this poem by the king. No poet cotemporary with Caxton was of consequence enough to receive such a command: and we know that Lydgate compiled many of his works by the direction, or under the patronage, of king Henry the Fifth. Lydgate was born in Suffolk: and our author from the circumstance of having lived in a part of England not of a very polished dialect, apologises for the rudeness of his language, so that he cannot *dehycately endyte*. It is much in the style and manner of Lydgate: and I believe it to have been one of his early performances¹.

CHAP. clxxii. A king of England has two knights, named Guido and Tirius. Guido having achieved many splendid exploits for the love of a beautiful lady, at length married her. Three days after his marriage he saw a vision, which summoned him to engage in the holy war. At parting she gave him a ring; saying, "as often as you look on this ring, remember me." Soon after his departure she had a son. After various adventures, in which his friend Tirius has a share, at the end of seven years he returned to England in the habit of a pilgrim. Coming to his castle, he saw at the gate his lady sitting, and distributing alms to a croud of poor people; ordering them all to pray for the return of her lord Guido from the holy land. She was on that day accompanied by her son a little boy, very beautiful, and richly apparelled; and who hearing his mother, as she was distributing her alms, perpetually recommending

¹ See vol. iii. p. 30. Note ^v. I know in heaven for redemption of mankind." not if this is the poem recited by Stowe, Ubi supr. col. i. and called "The Courte of Sapience"

Guido to their prayers, asked, if that was his father? Among others, she gave alms to her husband Guido, not knowing him in the pilgrim's disguise. Guido, seeing the little boy, took him in his arms, and kissed him: saying, "O my sweet son, may God give you grace to please him!" For this boldness he was reproved by the attendants. But the lady, finding him destitute and a stranger, assigned him a cottage in a neighbouring forest. Soon afterwards falling sick, he said to his servant, "Carry this ring to your lady, and tell her, if she desires ever to see me again, to come hither without delay." The servant conveyed the ring; but before she arrived, he was dead. She threw herself on his body, and exclaimed with tears, "Where are now my alms which I daily gave for my lord? I saw you receive those alms, but I knew you not.—You beheld, embraced, and kissed your own son, but did not discover yourself to him nor to me. What have I done, that I shall see you no more?" She then interred him magnificently.

The reader perceives this is the story of Guido, or Guy, earl of Warwick; and probably this is the early outline of the life and death of that renowned champion.

Many romances were at first little more than legends of devotion, containing the pilgrimage of an old warrior. At length, as chivalry came more into vogue, and the stores of invention were increased, the youthful and active part of the pilgrim's life was also written, and a long series of imaginary martial adventures was added, in which his religious was eclipsed by his heroic character, and the penitent was lost in the knight-errant. That which was the principal subject of the short and simple legend, became only the remote catastrophe of the voluminous romance. And hence by degrees it was almost an established rule of every romance, for the knight to end his days in a hermitage. Cervantes has ridiculed this circumstance with great pleasantry, where Don Quixote holds a grave debate with Sancho, whether he shall turn saint or archbishop.

So reciprocal, or rather so convertible, was the pious and the military character, that even some of the apostles had their

romance. In the ninth century, the chivalrous and fabling spirit of the Spaniards transformed saint James into a knight. They pretended that he appeared and fought with irresistible fury, completely armed, and mounted on a stately white horse, in most of their engagements with the Moors; and because, by his superior prowess in these bloody conflicts, he was supposed to have freed the Spaniards from paying the annual tribute of a hundred christian virgins to their infidel enemies, they represented him as a professed and powerful champion of distressed damsels. This apotheosis of chivalry in the person of their own apostle, must have ever afterwards contributed to exaggerate the characteristic romantic heroism of the Spaniards, by which it was occasioned; and to propagate through succeeding ages, a stronger veneration for that species of military enthusiasm, to which they were naturally devoted. It is certain, that in consequence of these illustrious achievements in the Moorish wars, saint James was constituted patron of Spain; and became the founder of one of the most magnificent shrines, and of the most opulent order of knighthood, now existing in christendom. The Legend of this invincible apostle is inserted in the Mosarabic liturgy.

CHAP. clxxiii. A king goes to a fair, carrying in his train, a master with one of his scholars, who expose six bundles, containing a system of ethics, to sale*.

Among the revenues accruing to the crown of England from the Fair of saint Botolph at Boston in Lincolnshire, within the HONOUR of RICHMOND, mention is made of the royal pavilion, or booth, which stood in the fair, about the year 1280. This fair was regularly frequented by merchants from the most capital trading towns of Normandy, Germany, Flanders, and other countries. "*Ibidem* [in feria] sunt quædam domus quæ dicuntur BOTHÆ REGIÆ, quæ valent per annum xxviii, l. xiii, s. iiii, d. *Ibidem* sunt quædam domus quas MERCATORES DE YPRE tenent, quæ valent per annum, xx, l. Et quædam

* Compare *Matth. Paris. edit. Watts. p. 927. 40.*—And *p. 751. 10.*

domus quas MERCATORES DE CADOMO¹ ET OSTOGANIO² tenent, xi, l. Et quædam domus quas MERCATORES DE ANACO³ tenent, xiii, l. vi, s. viii, d. Et quædam domus quas MERCATORES DE COLONIA tenent, xxv, l. x, s."⁴ The high rent of these lodges, is a proof that they were considerable edifices in point of size and accommodation.

CHAP. clxxiv. The fable of a serpent cherished in a man's bosom⁵.

About the year 1470, a collection of Latin fables, in six books, distinguished by the name of Esop, was published in Germany. The three first books consist of the sixty anonymous elegiac fables, printed in Nevelet's collection, under the title of *Anonymi Fabulæ Æsopiceæ*, and translated in 1503, by Wynkyn de Worde, with a few variations: under each is a fable in prose on the same subject from ROMULUS, or the old prose LATIN ESOP, which was probably fabricated in the twelfth century. The fourth book has the remaining fables of Romulus in prose only. The fifth, containing one or two fables only which were never called Esop's, is taken from Alphonsus, the GESTA ROMANORUM, the CALILA U DAMNAH, and other obscure sources. The sixth and last book has seventeen fables *ex translatione Rinucii*, that is Rinucius, who translated Plaudes's life of Esop, and sixty-nine of his fables, from Greek into Latin, in the fifteenth century. This collection soon afterwards was circulated in a French version, which Caxton translated into English.

In an antient general Chronicle, printed at Lubec in 1475, and entitled RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM⁶, a short life of Esop is introduced, together with twenty-nine of his fables. The

¹ Caen in Normandy.

² Perhaps, Ostend.

³ Perhaps *Le Pais d'Aunis*, between the Provinces of Poitou and Santone, where is Rochelle, a famous port and mart.

⁴ Registr. HONORIS DE RICHMOND. Lond. 1722. fol. Num. viii. APPEND. p. 39.

⁵ This fable is in Alphonsus's CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA.

⁶ In this work the following question is discussed, originally, I believe, started by saint Austin, and perhaps determined by Thomas Aquinas, *An Angeli possint coire cum Mulieribus, et generare Gigantes?*

writer says, "*Esopus adelphus claruit tempore Cyri regis Persarum.—Vir ingeniosus et prudens, qui confinxit fabulas elegantes. Quas Romulus postmodum de greco transtulit in latinum, et filio suo Tibertino direxit*," &c. The whole of this passage about Esop is transcribed from Vincent of Beauvais^a,

CHAP. clxxvii. The feast of king Ahasuerus and Esther.

I have mentioned a metrical romance on this subject^b. And I have before observed, that Thomas of Elmham, a chronicler, calls the coronation-feast of king Henry the sixth, a second feast of Ahasuerus^c. Hence also Chaucer's allusion at the marriage of January and May, while they are at the solemnity of the wedding-dinner, which is very splendid.

Quene Esther loked ner with soch an eye

On Assuere, so meke a loke hath she^d.

Froissart, an historian, who shares the merit with Philip de Comines of describing every thing, gives this idea of the solemnity of a dinner on Christmas-day, at which he was present, in the hall of the castle of Gaston earl of Foiz at Ortez in Bevern, under the year 1388. At the upper or first table, he says, sate four bishops, then the earl, three viscounts, and an English knight belonging to the duke of Lancaster. At another table, five abbots, and two knights of Arragon. At another, many barons and knights of Gascony and Bigorre. At another, a great number of knights of Bevern. Four knights were the chief stewards of the hall, and the two bastard brothers of the earl served at the high table. "The erles two sonnes, sir Yvan of Leschell was sewer, and sir Gracyen bare his cuppe^e. And

^a Fol. 237. a.

^b SPECUL. HIST. l. iii. c. ii.

^c Vol. iii. p. 14. ^e Vol. ii. p. 345.

^d MARCH. TALE, v. 1260. Urr.

^e In the old romance, or LAY, of EMARE, a beautiful use is made of the Lady Emare's son serving as cup-bearer to the king of Galicia: by which means, the king discovers the boy to be his son, and in consequence finds out his queen

Emare, whom he had long lost. The passage also points out the duties of this office. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. 2. f. 69. Emare says to the young prince, her son,

To-morowe thou shall serve yn halle
In a kuryll of ryche palle¹,
Byfore thys nobull kyng;
Loke, sone², so curteys thou be,
That no mon fynde chalange to the
In no manere thyng³.

¹ a tunic of rich cloth.

² son.

³ may accuse thee of want of courtesy.

there were many mynstrelles, as well of his owne as of straungers, and eche of them dyde their devoyre in their faculties. The same day the erle of Foiz gave to harauldes and mynstrelles, the somme of fyve hundred frankes: and gave to the duke of Touraynes mynstrelles, gownes of clothe of golde furred with ermyns, valued at two hundred frankes. This dinner endured four houres^a." Froissart, who was entertained in this castle for twelve weeks, thus describes the earl's ordinary mode of supping. "In this estate the erle of Foiz lyved. And at mydnyght whan he came out of his chambre into the halle to supper, he had ever before hym twelve torches brennyng^o,

When the kyng is served of spycerye,
Knele thou downe hastilye,

And take hys bond yn thyn;
And when thou hast so done,
Take the kuppe of golde sone,
And serve hym of the wyne.

And what that he speketh to the
Cum anon and tell me,

On goddes blessing and myne.
The chyld¹ wente ynto the hall
Amonge the lordes grete and small

That lufsume wer unther lyne²:
Then the lordes, that wer grete,
Wyah³, and wente to her mete;

Menstrelles browght yn the kours⁴,
The chyld he served so curteysly,
All hym loved that hym sy⁵,

And spake hym grete honowres.
Then sayde all that lokyd hym upon,
So curteys a chyld sawe they never non,
In halle, ny yn bowres:

The kyng sayde to hym yn game,
Swete sone, what ys thy name?

Lord, he sayd, yhyghth⁶ Segradowres.
Then that nobill kyng

Toke up a grete sykyng⁷,
For hys sone⁸ byght so:

Certys, withouten lesyng,
The teres out of hys yen⁹ gan wryng,
In herte he was full woo:

Nevertheles, he lette be,
And lokyd on the chyld so fre¹⁰,
And mykell¹¹ he loved hem thoo¹².—

Then the lordes that wer grete
Whespen ayeyn¹³, aftyr mete,

And then com spycerye¹⁴.
The chyld, that was of chere swete,
On hys kne downe he sete¹⁵,
And served hym curteyslye.

The kyng called the burgeys hym tyll,
And sayde, Syr, yf hyt be thy wyll,
Yyf me this lytyll body¹⁶;

I shall hym make lorde of town and
towr,

Of hye halles, and of bowres,
I love hym specyally, &c.

^a CAON. vol. ii. fol. xxxvi. a. Transl.
Bern. 1523.

^o It appears that candles were borne by domestics, and not placed on the table, at a very early period in France. Gregory of Tours mentions a piece of savage merriment practised by a feudal lord at supper, on one of his *valets de chandelle*, in consequence of this custom. Greg. Turon. Hist. Lib. v. c. iii. fol. 94. b. edit. 1522. It is probable that our proverbial scoff, *You are not fit to hold a candle to him*, took its rise from this fashion. See Ray's PROV. C. p. 4. edit. 1670. And Shakesp. ROMEO AND JULIET, i. 4.

I'll be a *Candle-holder*, and look on.

¹ the boy. ² richly apparelled. ³ washed. ⁴ course. ⁵ saw.
⁶ I am called. ⁷ sighing. ⁸ his son. ⁹ eyen, eyes. ¹⁰ the boy so
beautiful. ¹¹ greatly. ¹² then. ¹³ washed again. ¹⁴ spicery, spiced
wine. ¹⁵ bowed his knee. ¹⁶ give me this boy.

borne by twelve variettes [valets] standyng before his table all supper: they gave a grete light, and the hall ever full of knyghtes and squyers; and many other tables dressed to suppe who wolde. Ther was none shulde speke to hym at his table, but if he were called. His meate was lightlye wylde foule.—He had great plesure in armony of instrumentes, he could do it right well hymselfe: he wolde have songes songe before hym. He wolde gladlye se conseytes [conceits] and fantasies at his table. And when he had sene it, then he wolde send it to the other tables.—There was sene in his hall, chambre, and court, knyghtes and squyers of honour goyng up and downe, and talkyng of armes and of amours^p,” &c. After supper, Froissart was admitted to an audience with this magnificent earl; and used to read to him a book of sonnets, rondeaus, and virelays, written by a *gentyll* duke of Luxemburgh^q.

In this age of curiosity, distinguished for its love of historical anecdotes and the investigation of antient manners, it is extraordinary that a new translation should not be made of Froissart from a collated and corrected original of the French. Froissart is commonly ranked with romances: but it ought to be remembered, that he is the historian of a romantic age, when those manners which form the fantastic books of chivalry were actually practised. As he received his multifarious intelligence from such a variety of vouchers, and of different nations, and almost always collected his knowledge of events from report, rather than from written or recorded evidence, his notices of persons and places are frequently confused and unexact. Many of these petty incorrectnesses are not, however, to be imputed to Froissart: and it may seem surprising, that there are not more inaccuracies of this kind in a voluminous chronicle, treating of the affairs of England, and abounding in English appellations, composed by a Frenchman, and printed in France. Whoever will take the pains to compare this author with the coeval records in Rymer, will find numerous instances of his truth and integrity, in relating the more

^p Ibid. fol. xxx. a. col. 2.

^q Ibid. col. 1.

public and important transactions of his own times. Why he should not have been honoured with a modern edition at the Louvre, it is easy to conceive: the French have a national prejudice against a writer, who has been so much more complaisant to England, than to their own country. Upon the whole, if Froissart should be neglected by the historical reader for his want of precision and authenticity, he will at least be valued by the philosopher for his striking pictures of life, drawn without reserve or affectation from real nature with a faithful and free pencil, and by one who had the best opportunities of observation, who was welcome alike to the feudal castle or the royal palace, and who mingled in the bustle and business of the world, at that very curious period of society, when manners are very far refined, and yet retain a considerable tincture of barbarism. But I cannot better express my sentiments on this subject, than in the words of Montaigne. "*J'ayme les Historiens ou fort simples ou excellens. Les simples qui n'ont point de quoy y mesler quelque chose du leur, et qui n'y apportent que le soin et la diligence de ramasser tout ce qui vient a leur notice, et d'enregistrer a la bonne foy toutes choses sans choïs et sans triage, nous laissent le jugement entier pour la connoissance de la verité. Tel est entre autres pour exemple le bon Froissard, qui a marché en son enterprise d'une si franche naïfueté, qu'ayant fait une faute il ne craint aucunement de la reconnoistre et corriger en l'endroit, ou il en a esté adverty: et qui nous represente la diversité mesme des bruits qui couroient, et les differens rapports qu'on luy faisoit. C'est la matiere de l'Histoire nuë et informe; chacun en peut faire son profit autant qu'il a d'entendement*".

CHAP. clxxviii. A king is desirous to know how to rule himself and his kingdom. One of his wise men presents an allegorical picture on the wall; from which, after much study, he acquires the desired instruction.

In the original eastern apologue, perhaps this was a piece of tapestry. From the cultivation of the textorial arts among the

^r *Essais. Libr. ii. ch. x. p. 409. edit. 1598. 8vo.*

orientals, came Darius's wonderful cloth above mentioned^c; and the idea of the robe richly embroidered and embossed with stories of romance and other imageries, in the unprinted romance of EMARE, which forms one of the finest descriptions of the kind that I have seen in Gothic poetry, and which I shall therefore not scruple to give at large.

Sone aftur yn a whyle,
 The ryche kyng of Cesyle^f
 To the Emperour gan wende^g;
 A ryche present wyth hym he browght,
 A clothe that was wordylye^h wrought,
 He welecomed hym as the hendeⁱ.
 Syr Tergaunte, that nobyll knyght hyghte,
 He presented the emperour ryght,
 And sette hym on hys kne^k,
 Wyth that cloth rychly dyght;
 Full of stones thar hyt was pyght,
 As thykke as hyt myght be:
 Off topaze and rubyes,
 And other stones of myche prys,
 That semely wer to se;
 Of crapowtes and nakette,
 As thykke ar they sette,
 For sothe as y say the^l.
 The cloth was dysplayed sone:
 The emperour lokede therupone
 And myght hyt^m not se;
 For glysteryng of the ryche ston,
 Redy syght had he non,
 And sayde, how may this be?
 The emperour sayde on hygh,
 Sertesⁿ, thys is a fayry^o,

^c CHAP. XX.^f Sicily.^g he presented it kneeling.^g went to.^h worthily.ⁱ I tell thee.^m could not see it.^l courteously, but, I believe there isⁿ certainly.^a slight corruption.^o an illusion, a piece of enchantment.

Or ellys a vanyte.
 The kyng of Cysyle answered than,
 So ryche a jwell^p ys ther non
 In all Crystyante.
 The amerayles dowghter of hethennes^q
 Made this cloth, withouten lees^r,
 And wrowghte hit all with pride;
 And purtreied hyt with gret honour,
 Wyth ryche golde and asour^s,
 And stones on ylke^t a syde.
 And as the story telles yn honde,
 The stones that yn this cloth stonde
 Sowght^u they wer full wyde:
 Seven wynter hyt was yn makynge,
 Or hyt was browght to endynge,
 In hert ys not to hyde.
 In that on korner made was
 IDOYNE and AMADAS^w.
 Wyth love that was so trewe;
 For they loveden hem^x wyt honour,
 Portreyed they wer wyth trewe-love flour
 Of stones bryght of hewe.
 Wyth carbunkull, and safere^y,
 Kassydonys, and onyx so clere,
 Sette in golde newe;
 Deamondes and rubyes,
 And other stones of mychyll pryse,

^p JEWEL was antiently any pretious thing.

^q The daughter of the Amerayle of the Saracens. AMIRAL in the eastern languages was the governor, or prince, of a province, from the Arabic EMIR, Lord. In this sense, AMRAYL is used by Robert of Gloucester. Hence, by corruption the word ADMIRAL, and in a restricted sense, for the commander of a fleet: which Milton, who knew the original, in that sense writes AMMIRAL. PARAD. L. i. 294. Dufresne thinks,

that our *naval* Amiral, i. e. Admiral, came from the crusades, where the Christians heard it used by the Saracens (in consequence of its general signification) for the title of the leader of their fleets: and that from the Mediterranean states it was propagated over Europe.

^r lying. ^s azure. ^t every. ^u sought.

^w On one corner, or side, was embroidered the history of Idonia and Amadas. For their Romance, see vol. ii. p. 327.

^x loved each other.

^y sapphire.

And menstrellys wyth her gle^a.
 In that othyr korner was dyght
 TRYSTRAM and ISOWDE so bryght^a,
 That semely wer to se;
 And for they loved hem ryght,
 As full of stones ar they dyght,
 As thykke as they may be.—
 In the thrydde^b korner wyth grete honour
 Was FLORYS and dam BLAUNCHEFLOUR^c
 As love was hem betwene,
 For they loved wyth honour,
 Purtrayed they wer with trewe-love-flour,
 With stones bryght and shene.—
 In the fourthe korner was oon
 Of Babyloñe the sowdan sonne,
 The amerayles dowghtyr hym by:
 For hys sake the cloth was wrowght,
 She loved hym in hert and thowght,
 As testymoyneth thys storye.
 The fayr mayden her byforn,
 Was portrayed an unikorn,
 With hys horn so hye;
 Flowres and bryddes on ylke a syde,
 Wyth stones that wer sowght wyde,
 Stuffed wyth ymagerye.
 When the cloth to ende was wrowght,
 To the Sowdan sone^d hyt was browght,
 That semely was of syghte;

^a figures of minstrels, with their music, or musical instruments.

^b Sir Tristram and Bel Isolde, famous in king ARTHUR'S Romance.

^c third.

^d See what I have said of their romance, vol. ii. p. 186. A manuscript copy of it in French metre was destroyed in the fire which happened in the Cotton Library. Boccace has the

adventures of FLORIO and BLANCOFLORE, in his PHILOCOPO. FLORIS and BLANCAFLOR are mentioned as illustrious lovers by *Matfres Eymegau de Bevers*, a bard of Languedoc, in his *BREVIARI D'AMOR*, dated in the year 1288. MSS. REG. 19 C. i. fol. 199. See Tyrwhitt's CHAUCER, vol. iv. p. 169.

^d Soldan's son. [It was soon brought to the Soldan.—RITSON.]

My fadyr was a nobyll man,
Of the Sowdan he hyt wan
Wyth maystrye and wyth myghte^c.

Chaucer says in the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, that RICHESSE wore a robe of purple, which

— Ful wele
With orfraies laid was everie dele,
And purtraied in the ribaninges
Of DUKIS STORIES and of KINGES.^f

And, in the original,

Portraictes y furent d'orfroys
Hystoryes d'empereurs et roys.^g

CHAP. clxxix. Cesarius, saint Basil, the Gospel, Boethius, and Ovid, are quoted to shew the detestable guilt of gluttony and ebriety.

Cesarius, I suppose, is a Cistercian monk of the thirteenth century; who, beside voluminous Lives, Chronicles, and Homilies, wrote twelve Books on the Miracles, Visions, and Examples, of his own age. But there is another and an older monkish writer of the same name. In the British Museum, there is a narrative taken from Cesarius, in old northern English, of a lady deceived by the fiends, or the devil, through the pride of rich clothing^h.

CHAP. clxxx. Paul, the historian of the Longobards, is cited, for the fidelity of the knight Onulphus.

CHAP. clxxxi. The sagacity of a lion.

This is the last chapter in the edition of 1488.

Manuscript copies of the GESTA ROMANORUM are very numerousⁱ. A proof of the popularity of the work. There are two in the British Museum; which, I think, contain, each one hundred and two chapters^k. But although the printed

^c MSS. Cott. (ut supr.) CALIG. A. 2.
fol. 69. ver. 80. seq.

^f Ver. 1076.

^g Ver. 1068.

^h MSS. HARL. 1022. 4.

ⁱ See vol. ii. p. 322.

^k MSS. HARL. 2270. And 5259.

copies have one hundred and eighty-one stories or chapters, there are many in the manuscripts which do not appear in the editions. The story of the CASKETTS, one of the principal incidents in Shakespeare's *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, is in one of the manuscripts of the Museum¹. This story, however, is in an old English translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date; from which, or more probably from another edition printed in 1577, and entitled *A RECORD OF ANCIENT HISTORIES in Latin GESTA ROMANORUM, corrected and bettered*, Shakespeare borrowed it. The story of the BOND in the same play, which Shakespeare perhaps took from a translation of the *PECORONE* of Ser Florentino Giovanni², makes the forty-eighth chapter of the last-mentioned manuscript³. Giovanni flourished about the year 1378⁴. The tale of Gower's *FLORENT*⁵, which resembles Chaucer's *WIFE OF BATH*, occurs in some of the manuscripts of this work. The same may be said of a tale by Occleve, never printed; concerning the chaste consort of the emperor Gerelaus, who is abused by his steward, in his absence. This is the first stanza. A larger specimen shall appear in its place.

In Roman Actis writen is thus,
Somtime an emperour in the citee
Of Rome regned, clept Gerelaus,
Wich his noble astate and his dignite

¹ *Viz. CHAP. XCIX. fol. 78. b. MSS. HARL. 2270.* In the *CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA* of Alphonsus, there is a narrative of a king who kept a *FABULATOR*, or story-teller, to lull him to sleep every night. The king on some occasion being seized with an unusual disquietude of mind, ordered his *FABULATOR* to tell him longer stories, for that otherwise he could not fall asleep. The *FABULATOR* begins a longer story, but in the midst falls asleep himself, &c. I think I have seen this tale in some manuscript of the *GESTA ROMANORUM*.

² *GIORN. iv. Nov. 5.* In Vincent of Beauvais, there is a story of a bond between a Christian and a Jew; in which the former uses a deception which occa-

sions the conversion of the latter. *HIST. SPAGUL. fol. 181. a. edit. ut supr.* Jews, yet under heavy restrictions, were originally tolerated in the Christian kingdoms of the dark ages, for the purpose of borrowing money, with which they supplied the exigencies of the state, and of merchants, or others, on the most lucrative usurious contracts.

³ *Fol. 43. a.* In this story *MAGISTER VIRGILIUS*, or Virgil the *cunning man*, is consulted.

⁴ See Johnson's and Steevens's *SHAKESPEARE*, iii. p. 247. edit. ult. And Tyrwhitt's *CHAUCER*, iv. p. 332. 334.

⁵ *CONFESS. AMANT. Li. i. f. xv. b.* See vol. ii. p. 333.

Governed wisely, and weddid had he
 The douztir of the kyng of Vngrye,
 A faire lady to every mannes ye.

At the end is the MORALISATION in prose.⁴

I could point out other stories, beside those I have mentioned, for which Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and the author of the DECAMERON, and of the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE, have been indebted to this admired repository¹. Chaucer, as I have before remarked, has taken one of his Canterbury tales from this collection; and it has been supposed that he alludes to it in the following couplet,

And ROMAIN GESTIS makin remembrance
 Of many a veray trewe wife also².

The plot also of the knight against Constance, who having killed Hermegild, puts the bloody knife into the hand of Constance while asleep, and her adventure with the steward, in the MAN OF LAWES TALE, are also taken from that manuscript chapter of this work, which I have just mentioned to have been versified by Occleve. The former of these incidents is thus treated by Occleve.

She with this zonge childe in the chambre lay
 Every nitz where lay the earle and the countesse³,
 Bitween whose beddis brente a lampe alway.

* * * * *

⁴ MSS. SELD. Sup. 53. Bibl. Bodl. *De quadam bona et nobili Imperatrice*. It is introduced with "A Tale the which I in the *Roman dedis*," &c. Viz. MSS. LAUD. ibid. K. 78. See also MSS. DIOB. 185. Where, in the first line of the poem, we have, "In the *Roman jestys* written is this." It is in other manuscripts of Occleve. This story is in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, MSS. HARL. 9270. chap. 101. fol. 80. a. Where *Gerelaus* is Menelaus.

¹ Bonifacio Vannozi, in *Delle LETTERE MISCELLANEE alle Accademia Veneta*, says, that Boccaccio borrowed [Nov. i. D. iii.] the Novel of *Maseto da Lamporecchio*, with many other parts of the

DECAMERON, from an older Collection of Novels. "In uno libro de Novelle, et di Parlare Gentile, ANTERIORE al Boccaccio," &c. In Venetia, 1606. 4to. pag. 580. seq. I believe, however, that many of the tales are of Boccaccio's own invention. He tells us himself, in the *GENEALOGIA DEORUM*, that when he was a little boy, he was fond of making *FICTIUNCULÆ*. Lib. xv. cap. x. p. 579. edit. Basil. 1532. fol.

² MARCHANT'S TALE, ver. 10158. edit. Tyrw. This may still be doubted, as from what has been said above, the ROMAN GESTS were the Roman history in general.

³ Here we see the antient practice,

And he espied, by the lampes lizt,
 The bedde where that lay this emprice
 With erlis douztur¹, and as blyve rizt,
 This feendly man his purpose and malice
 Thouzte² for to fulfille and accomlice;
 And so he dide, a longe knife out he drouze³,
 And ther with alle the maiden childe he slouze⁴.

Hir throte with the knyfe on two he kutte
 And as this emprice lay sleeping;
 Into her honde this bloody knyfe he putte,
 Ffor men shoulde have noon othir deemyng⁵
 But she had gilty ben of this murdring:
 And whanne that he had wrouzte this cursidnesse,
 Anoone oute of the chambre he gan hem dresse⁶.

The countess after hir slepe awakid
 And to the emperesse bedde gan caste hir look
 And sy⁷ the bloody knyfe in hir hande nakid,
 And, for the feare she tremblid and quook.—

* * * * *

She awakens the earl, who awakens the empress.

And hir awook, and thus to hir he cried,
 “Woman, what is that, that in thin hand I see?
 What hast thou doon, woman, for him that dide,
 What wickid spirit hath travaylid the?”

And as sone as that adawed was she,
 The knyfe fel oute of hir hand in the bedde,
 And she bihilde the cloothis al forbledde,

And the childe dead, “Allas, she cried, alas,
 How may this be, god woot alle I note howe,
 I am not privy to hir hevvy caas,

The gilte is not myne, I the childe not slowe⁸.”

even in great families, of one and the same bed-chamber serving for many persons. Much of the humour in Chaucer's *TROMPINGTON MILLER* arises from this circumstance. See the Ro-

mance of *SIR TRYAMORE*. And Gower, *CONF. AM.* ii. f. 39. a.

¹ earl's daughter.

² thought.

³ drew. ⁴ slew.

⁵ opinion.

⁶ he hastened, &c.

⁷ saw.

⁸ slew.

To which spake the countesse, "What saist thou?
Excuse the not, thou maist not saie nay,
'The knyfe all bloody in thin hand I say^c."

This story, but with some variation of circumstances, is told in the HISTORICAL MIRROR of Vincent of Beauvais^c.

But I hasten to point out the writer of the GESTA ROMANORUM, who has hitherto remained unknown to the most diligent inquirers in Gothic literature. He is Petrus Berchorius, or Pierre Bercheur, a native of Poitou, and who died Prior of the Benedictine convent of Saint Eloi at Paris, in the year 1362.

For the knowledge of this very curious circumstance, I am obliged to Salomon Glassius, a celebrated theologist of Saxe-Gotha, in his PHILOLOGIA SACRA^f, written about the year 1623^g. In his chapter DE ALLEGORIIS FABULARUM, he censures those writers who affect to interpret allegorically, not only texts of scripture, but also poetical fables and profane histories, which they arbitrarily apply to the explication or confirmation of the mysteries of christianity. He adds, "Hoc in studio excelluit quidam *Petrus Berchorius*, Pictaviensis, ordinis divi Benedicti: qui, *peculiari* libro, GESTA ROMANORUM, necnon Legendas Patrum, aliasque aniles fabulas, allegorice ac mystice exposuit^h." That is, "In this art excelled one Peter Berchorius, a Benedictine; who, in a certain *peculiar* book, has expounded, mystically and allegorically, the Roman GESTS, legends of saints, and other idle talesⁱ." He then quotes for

^c saw.

^d Ut sup. viz. MS. SELD. SUP. 45. Qu. iiii.

^e SPECUL. HISTOR. lib. vii. c. 90. fol. 86. a.

^f PHILOLOGIA SACRAE, qua totius sacrosanctae veteris et novi testamenti scripturae tum stylus et literatura, tum sensus et genuinae interpretationis ratio expenditur, Libri quinque, &c. edit. tert. Francof. et Hamb. 1653.

[This opinion has been controverted by Mr. Douce in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. The most forcible argument there adduced is founded upon a very just inference, that the original

author was a German. See below, p. cclxiii. Note^k.—EDR.]

^g From the date of the Dedication. For his other works, which are very numerous, see the DIARIUM BIOGRAPHICUM of H. Witte, sub ann. 1665. Gedani, 1688. 4to.

^h LIB. II. PART. I. TRACTAT. II. SECT. III. Artic. viii. pag. 312.

ⁱ Salmeron, a profound school-divine, who flourished about 1560, censures the unwarrantable liberty of the GESTA ROMANORUM, in accommodating histories and fables to Christ and the church. COMM. in EVANGEL. HIST. I. pag. 356. PAUL. XIX. CAN. XXI.—Colon. Agrippin. 1602. fol.

an example; the whole one hundred and seventieth chapter of the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, containing the story of Saint Bernard and the Dice-player, together with its moralisation.

Berchorius was one of the most learned divines of his country, and a voluminous writer. His three grand printed works are, I. *REDUCTORIUM MORALE super totam Bibliam*, in twenty-four books. II. *REPERTORIUM* [or *Reductorium*] *MORALE*, in fourteen books^k. III. *DICTIONARIUM MORALE*. Whoever shall have the patience or the curiosity to turn over a few pages of this immense treasure of multifarious erudition, will soon see this assertion of Glassius abundantly verified; and will be convinced beyond a doubt, from a general coincidence of plan, manner, method, and execution, that the author of these volumes, and of the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, must be one and the same. The *REDUCTORIUM SUPER BIBLIAM*^l contains all the stories and incidents in the Bible, reduced into allegories^m. The *REPERTORIUM MORALE* is a dictionary of things, persons, and places; all which are supposed to be mystical, and which are therefore explained in their moral or practical sense. The *DICTIONARIUM MORALE* is in two parts, and seems principally designed to be a moral repertory for students in theology.

The moralisation, or moral explanation, which is added to every article, is commonly prefaced, as in the *GESTA*, with the introductory address of *CARISSIMI*. In the colophon, the *GESTA* is called *Ex gestis Romanorum RECOLLECTORIUM*: a word much of a piece with his other titles of *REPERTORIUM*

^k I use a folio edition of all these three works, in three volumes, printed at Venice in 1583. These pieces were all printed very early.

^l This was first printed, Argentorat. 1473. fol. There was a very curious book in lord Oxford's library, I am not sure whether the same, entitled *MORALIZATIONES BIBLIE*, Ulms 1474. fol. With this colophon in the last page. *Insignita dei clementia. Finitus est liber Moralizationum Bibliarum in ejusdem laudem et gloriam compilatus. Ac per*

industriam Joannem Zeiner de Reutlingen Artis impressoris magistrum non penna sed scagneis caracteribus in oppido Ulmensi artificialiter effigiatus. Anno Incarnationis Domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo quarto Aprilis nono. This book is not mentioned by Maittaire.

^m To this work Alanus de Lynne, a Carmelite of Lynne in Norfolk, wrote an *Index* or *Tabula*, about the year 1240. It is in MSS. R. 3 D. 3. 1. in Brit. Mus.

and REDUCTORIUM. Four of the stories occurring in the GESTA, *The Discovery of the gigantic body of Pallas*^a, *The subterraneous golden palace*^b, *The adventures of the English knight in the bishoprick of Ely*^c, and *The miraculous horn*^d, are related in the fourteenth book of the REPERTORIUM MORALE. For the two last of these he quotes Gervase of Tilbury, as in his GESTA^e. As a further proof of his allegorising genius I must add, that he moralised all the stories in Ovid's Metamorphosis, in a work entitled, *Commentarius MORALIS, sive ALLEGORIÆ in Libros quindecim Ovidii Metamorphoseon*^f, and now remaining in manuscript in the library of the monastery of Saint Germain's^g. He seems to have been strongly impressed with whatever related to the Roman affairs, and to have thought their history more interesting than that of any other people. This appears from the following passage, which I translate from the article ROMA, in his DICTIONARIUM MORALE, and which will also contribute to throw some other lights on this subject. "How many remarkable facts might be here collected concerning the virtues and vices of the Romans, did my design permit me to drop Moralities, and to enter upon an historical detail! For that most excellent historian Livy, unequalled for the dignity, brevity, and *difficulty* of his style, (whose eloquence is so highly extolled by Saint Jerome, and whom I, however unworthy, have translated from Latin into French with great labour^h, at the request of John the most

^a CAP. xlix. f. 643. He quotes CHRONICA, and says, that this happened in the reign of the emperor Henry the Second. [See GEST. ROM. c. clviii.]

^b CAP. lxxii. f. 689. col. 1. 2. He quotes for this story [GEST. ROM. c. cvii.] William of Malmesbury, but tells it in the words of Beauvais, ut supr.

^c Fol. 610. col. 2. [GEST. ROM. c. clv.] Here also his author is Gervase of Tilbury; from whom, I think in the same chapter, he quotes part of king Arthur's Romance. See OTIA IMPERIAL. Dec. ii. c. 12.

^d Fol. 610. ut supr. [GEST. ROM. c. lxi.]

^e A MORALISATION is joined to these

stories, with the introduction of CARRISIMI.

^f See what he says of the *Fabula Pictarum*, REPERTORIUM MORALE lib. xiv. cap. i. f. 601. col. 2. ad calc.

^g Oudin. COMMENT. SCRIPTOR. ECCLES. iii. p. 1064. Lips. 1723. fol. I doubt whether this work was not translated into French by Guillaume Nangis, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. See MEM. LIT. xi. 751. 4to.

^h I have mentioned this work below, vol. ii. p. 420. It is remarkable, that a copy of this manuscript in the British Museum is entitled, "TITUS LIVIUS DES FAITS DES ROMAINS translate par Pierre Bertheure." MSS. REG. 15 D. vi.

famous king of France,) records so many wonderful things of the prudence, fortitude, fidelity, and friendship, of the Roman people; as also of their quarrels, envy, pride, avarice, and other vices, which are indeed allied to virtues, and are such, to say the truth, as I never remember to have heard of in any nation besides. But because I do not mean to treat of historical affairs in the present work, the matter of which is entirely moral, I refer the historical reader to Livy himself, to Trogus Pompeius, Justin, Florus, and Orosius, who have all written histories of Rome; as also to Innocent, who in his book on the *Miseries of human nature*^u, speaks largely of the vices of the Romans^w." In the mean time we must remember, that at this particular period the Roman history had become the grand object of the public taste in France. The king himself, as we have just seen, recommended a translation of Livy. French translations also of Sallust, Cesar, and Lucan, were now circulated. A Latin historical compilation called ROMULEON was now just published by a gentleman of France, which was soon afterwards translated into French. A collection of the GESTA ROMANORUM was therefore a popular subject, at least it produced a popular title, and was dictated by the fashion of the times.

I have here mentioned all Berchorius's works, except his Comment on a Prosody called *Doctrinale metricum*, which was used as a school-book in France, till Despauteius's manual on that subject appeared^x. Some biographers mention his TROPOLOGIA, his COSMOGRAPHIA, and his BREVIARIUM. But the TROPOLOGIA^y is nothing more than his REDUCTORIUM on the Bible; and probably the BREVIARIUM is the same^z. The COSMOGRAPHIA seems to be the fourteenth book of his RE-

^u Pope Innocent the Third, about the year 1200, wrote three Books *De Contemptu Mundi, sive De Miseria humana Conditionis*, printed Colon. 1496.

^w DICTION. MORAL. P. iii. vol. ii. f. 274. col. 2. edit. 1583.—See *infra*, vol. ii. p. 420.

^x Oudin, *ubi* *supr*.

^y I have seen a very old black-letter

edition with the title, "*Tropologiarum mysticarumque enarrationum*," &c. Without date.

^z But see Bibl. Sangerm. Cod. MS. 687. And G. Serpilli VIT. SCRIPTOR. BIBLIC. tom. vii. part. 2. pag. 44. Also Possevin. APPARAT. SACR. ii. p. 241. Colon. 1608.

scholars. About the same time, and with a view of rendering their exercises in Latinity more agreeable and easy by an entertaining Latin story-book, yet resolvable into lessons of religion, he probably compiled the *GESTA*: perpetually addressing the application of every tale to his young audience, by the paternal and affectionate appellation of *CARISSIMI*^m. There was therefore time enough for the *GESTA* to become a fashionable book of tales, before Boccace published his *DECAMERON*. The action of the *DECAMERON* being supposed in 1348, the year of the great pestilence, we may safely conjecture, that Boccace did not begin his work till after that period. An exact and ingenious critic has proved, that it was not finished till the year 1358ⁿ.

I have just observed, that Berchorius probably compiled this work for the use of his grammatical pupils. Were there not many good reasons for that supposition, I should be induced to think, that it might have been intended as a book of stories for the purpose of preachers. I have already given instances, that it was antiently fashionable for preachers to enforce the several moral duties by applying fables, or exemplary narratives: and, in the present case, the perpetual recurrence of the address of *CARISSIMI* might be brought in favour of this hypothesis. But I will here suggest an additional reason. Soon after the age of Berchorius, a similar collection of stories, of the same cast, was compiled, though not exactly in the same form, professedly designed for sermon-writers, and by one who was himself an eminent preacher: for, rather before the year 1480, a Latin volume was printed in Germany, written by John Herolt a Dominican friar of Basil, better known by the adopted and humble appellation of *DISCIPULUS*, and who flourished about the year 1418. It consists of three parts. The first is entitled "*Incipiunt Sermones pernotabiles DISCIPULI de Sanctis per anni circulum.*" That is, A set of sermons on the saints of the whole year. The second part, and with which

^m This, by habit, and otherwise with no impropriety, he seems to have retained in his later and larger works.

ⁿ See Tyrwhitt's *CHAUCER*, iv. 115. seq.

I am now chiefly concerned, is a PROMPTUARY, or ample repository, of examples for composing sermons; and in the Prologue to this part the author says, that saint Dominic always *abundabat exemplis* in his discourses, and that he constantly practised this popular mode of edification. This part contains a variety of little histories. Among others, are the following. Chaucer's Friar's tale. Aristotle falling in love with a queen, who compels him to permit her to ride upon his back^o. The boy who was kept in a dark cave till he was twelve years of age; and who being carried abroad, and presented with many striking objects, preferred a woman to all he had seen^p. A boy educated in a desert is brought into a city, where he sees a woman whom he is taught to call a fine bird, under the name of a goose: and on his return into the desert, desires his spiritual father to kill him a goose for his dinner^q. These two last stories Boccace has worked into one. The old woman and her little dog^r. This, as we have seen, is in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*^s. The son who will not shoot at his father's dead body^t. I give these as specimens of the collection. The third part contains stories for sermon-writers, consisting only of select miracles of the Virgin Mary. The first of these is the tale of the chaste Roman empress, occurring in the Harleian manuscripts of the *GESTA*, and versified by Occleve; yet with some variation^v. This third part is closed with these words, which also end the volume. "Explicit tabula Exemplorum in tractatulo de Exemplis gloriose Virginis Marie contentorum." I quote from the first edition, which is a clumsy folio in a rude Gothic letter, in two volumes; and without pagings, signatures, or initials. The place and year are also wanting; but it was certainly printed before 1480^u, and probably at Nuremburgh.

^o EXEMPL. lxxvii. sub litera M. "De regina quam equitavit Aristotelem." He cites Jacobus de Vitriaco. [See *supr.* p. cxciv.]

^p EXEMPL. xxiv. sub Litera L.

^q Ibid. EXEMPL. xxlii. [See *supr.* p. cccxiv.]

^r EXEMPL. xii. sub lit. V.

^s Cw. xxviii.

^t This is also in the *Gesta*, cw. xlv.

—EXEMPL. viii. Lit. B.

^v See *supr.* p. cclv.

^u For the second edition is at Nuremburgh, 1482. fol. Others followed, before 1500.

The same author also wrote a set of sermons called *Sermones de tempore*^w. In these I find^x Alphonsus's story, which in the *GESTA ROMANORUM* is the tale of the two knights of Egypt and Baldach^y; and, in Boccace's *DECAMERON*, the history of TITO and GESIPPO: Parnell's *HERMIT*^z: and the apologue of the king's brother who had heard the trumpet of Death^a: both which last are also in the *GESTA*^b. Such are the revolutions of taste, and so capricious the modes of composition, that a Latin homily-book of a German monk in the fifteenth century, should exhibit outlines of the tales of Boccace, Chaucer, and Parnell!

It may not be thought impertinent to close this discourse with a remark on the *MORALISATIONS* subjoined to the stories of the *GESTA ROMANORUM*. This was an age of vision and mystery: and every work was believed to contain a double, or secondary, meaning. Nothing escaped this eccentric spirit of refinement and abstraction: and, together with the bible, as we have seen, not only the general history of antient times was explained allegorically, but even the poetical fictions of the classics were made to signify the great truths of religion, with a degree of boldness, and a want of a discrimination, which in another age would have acquired the character of the most profane levity, if not of absolute impiety, and can only be defended from the simplicity of the state of knowledge which then prevailed.

Thus; God creating man of clay, animated with the vital principle of respiration, was the story of Prometheus, who formed a man of similar materials, to which he communicated

^w The only edition I have seen, with the addition of the *SERMONES DE SANCTIS*, and the *PROMPTUARIUM EXEMPLORUM* above mentioned, was printed by M. Flaccius, Argentini. 1499. fol. But there is an earlier edition. At the close of the last Sermon, he tells us why he chose to be styled *DISCIPULUS*. Because, "non subtilia per modum MAGISTRI, sed simplicia per modum DISCIPULI, conscripsi et collegi." I have seen

also early impressions of his *SERMONES QUADRAGESIMALES*, and of other pieces of the same sort. All his works were published together in three volumes, Mogunt. 1612. 4to. The *EXEMPLA* appeared separately, Daventri. 1481. Colon. 1485. Argentorat. 1489. 1490. Hagen. 1512. 1519. fol.

^x *SERM.* cxi. col. ii. Signat. C. 5.

^y *CH.* cixi.

^z *SERM.* liii.

^a *SERM.* cix.

^b *CH.* lxxx. cxliii.

life by fire stolen from heaven. Christ twice born, of his father God and of his mother Mary, was prefigured by Bacchus, who was first born of Semele, and afterwards of Jupiter. And as Minerva sprung from the brain of Jupiter, so Christ proceeded from God without a mother. Christ born of the Virgin Mary was expressed in the fable of Danae shut within a tower, through the covering of which Jupiter descended in a shower of gold, and begot Perseus. Acteon, killed by his own hounds, was a type of the persecution and death of our Saviour. The poet Lycophron relates, that Hercules in returning from the adventure of the Golden Fleece was shipwrecked; and that being devoured by a monstrous fish, he was disgorged alive on the shore after three days. Here was an obvious symbol of Christ's resurrection. John Waleys, an English Franciscan of the thirteenth century, in his moral exposition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*^c, affords many other instances equally ridiculous; and who forgot that he was describing a more heterogeneous chaos, than that which makes so conspicuous a figure in his author's exordium, and which combines, amid the monstrous and indigested aggregate of its unnatural associations,

———— Sine pondere habentia pondus^d.

At length, compositions professedly allegorical, with which that age abounded, were resolved into allegories for which they were never intended. In the famous *ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE*, written about the year 1310, the poet couches the difficulties of an ardent lover in attaining the object of his passion, under the allegory of a Rose, which is gathered in a delicious but almost inaccessible garden. The theologists proved this rose to be the white rose of Jericho, the new Jerusalem, a state of grace, divine wisdom, the holy Virgin, or eternal beatitude, at none of which obstinate heretics can ever arrive. The chemists

^c I have before mentioned Berchovius's *OVID MORALISER*.

^d *METAM.* l. i. 20.

pretended, that it was the philosopher's stone; the civilians, that it was the most consummate point of equitable decision; and the physicians, that it was an infallible panacea. In a word, other professions, in the most elaborate commentaries, explained away the lover's rose into the mysteries of their own respective science. In conformity to this practice, Tasso allegorised his own poem: and a flimsy structure of morality was raised on the chimerical conceptions of Ariosto's ORLANDO. In the year 1577, a translation of a part of Amadis de Gaule appeared in France; with a learned preface, developing the valuable stores of profound instruction, concealed under the naked letter of the old romances, which were discernible only to the intelligent, and totally unperceived by common readers; who, instead of plucking the fruit, were obliged to rest contented with *le simple FLEUR de la Lecture litterale*. Even Spenser, at a later period, could not indulge his native impulse to descriptions of chivalry, without framing such a story, as conveyed, under the *dark conceit* of ideal champions, a set of historic transactions, and an exemplification of the nature of the twelve moral virtues. He presents his fantastic queen with a rich romantic mirror, which showed the wondrous achievements of her magnificent ancestry.

And thou, O fairest princess under sky,
 In this fayre mirrour maist behold thy face,
 And thine own realmes in Lond of Faery,
 And in this antique image thy great ancestry*.

It was not, however, solely from an unmeaning and a wanton spirit of refinement; that the fashion of resolving every thing into allegory so universally prevailed. The same apology may be offered for the cabalistical interpreters, both of the classics and of the old romances. The former not willing that those books should be quite exploded which contained the antient mythology, laboured to reconcile the apparent ab-

* B. ii. INTROD. St. vi.

surditities of the pagan system to the christian mysteries, by demonstrating a figurative resemblance. The latter, as true learning began to dawn, with a view of supporting for a while the expiring credit of giants and magicians, were compelled to palliate those monstrous incredibilities, by a bold attempt to unravel the mystic web which had been wove by fairy hands, and by showing that truth was hid under the gorgeous veil of Gothic invention.

THE HISTORY
OF
ENGLISH POETRY.



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SECTION I.

THE Saxon language spoken in England, is distinguished by three several epochs, and may therefore be divided into three dialects. The first of these is that which the Saxons used, from their entrance into this island till the irruption of the Danes, for the space of three hundred and thirty years^a. This has been called the British Saxon: and no monument of it remains, except a small metrical fragment of the genuine Cædmon, inserted in Alfred's version of the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History^b. The second is the Danish Saxon, which

^a The Saxons came into England A.D. 450.

^b Lib. iv. cap. 24. Some have improperly referred to this dialect the HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS, in the Cotton library; the style of which approaches in purity and antiquity to that of the CODEX ARGENTÆUS. It is Frankish. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A 7. membran. octavo. This book is supposed to have belonged to king Canute. Eight richly illuminated historical pictures are bound up with it, evidently taken from another manuscript, but probably of the age of king Stephen.

[The recent discovery of another copy of this "Harmony," at Bamberg, has gained for it the attention of several German antiquaries; and of these, Mr.

Reinwald, an able and intelligent philologist, has very clearly shown, that its language is not Francic, but a Low German dialect. Mr. Reinwald conceives the author to have been a native of the district afterwards called Westphalia (Münster, Paderborn, Berg), and that he lived in the early part of the ninth century.

[The Bamberg Codex is now preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, and a transcript from it, collated with the Cotton MS., has for several years occupied the leisure of Mr. Scherer, with a view to publication. Independently of the value of this production as a rich repository of philological lore, from the extreme antiquity and purity of its language; it possesses a strong and pecu-

prevailed from the Danish to the Norman invasion^c; and of which many considerable specimens, both in verse^d and prose, are still preserved; particularly two literal versions of the four gospels^e, and the spurious Cædmon's beautiful poetical paraphrase of the Book of Genesis^f, and the Prophet Daniel. The third may be properly styled the Norman Saxon; which began about the time of the Norman accession, and continued beyond the reign of Henry the Second^g.

The last of these three dialects, with which these Annals of English Poetry commence, formed a language extremely barbarous, irregular, and intractable; and consequently promises no very striking specimens in any species of composition. Its substance was the Danish Saxon, adulterated with French. The Saxon indeed, a language subsisting on uniform principles, and polished by poets and theologians, however corrupted by the Danes, had much perspicuity, strength, and harmony: but the French imported by the Conqueror and his people, was a confused jargon of Teutonic, Gaulish, and vitiated Latin.

liar interest for the student in English archæology, from the light it throws upon the laws and structure of Anglo-Saxon metre.—The arbitrary classification of the Anglo-Saxon language anterior to the Conquest, given in the text, has been adopted from Hickes, an examination of whose opinions on the subject will be found in the Preface to this edition.—EDIT.]

^c A. D. 1066.

^d See Hickes. *Thes. Ling. Vett. Sept. P.* i. cap. xxi. pag. 177. and *Præfat.* fol. xiv. The curious reader is also referred to a Danish Saxon poem, celebrating the wars which Beowulf, a noble Dane descended from the royal stem of Scyldinge, waged against the kings of Swedeland. MSS. Cotton. ut *supr.* VITELL. A 15. Cod. membran. ix. fol. 130. Compare, written in the style of Cædmon, a fragment of an ode in praise of the exploits of Brithnoth, Offa's ealdorman, or general, in a battle fought against the Danes. *Ibid.* ORN. A 12. Cod. membran. 4to. iii. Brithnoth the hero of this piece, a Northumbrian, died in the year 991.

[The poem of Beowulf has since been published by the Chevalier Thorkelin, under the title of "*De Danorum rebus gestis secul. iii. et iv. Poema Danicum dialecto Anglo-Saxonica: edidit versione Lat. et indicibus auxit Grian Johnson Thorkelin Eques Ord. Danebrogici auctus &c. Havniæ 1815.*" An analysis of its contents will be found in the last volume of Mr. Turner's "*History of the Anglo-Saxons*," with occasional extracts from the work itself; and an English translation of the specimens. The fragment of Brithnoth has been published by Hearne, but without a translation.—EDIT.]

^e MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Cod. membran. in Pyxid. 4to grand. quadrat. and MSS. Cotton. ut *supr.* ORN. NOR. D 4. Both these manuscripts were written and ornamented in the Saxon times, and are of the highest curiosity and antiquity.

^f Printed by Junius, Amst. 1655. The greatest part of the Bodleian manuscript of this book is believed to have been written about A. D. 1000.—Cod. Jun. xi. membran. fol.

^g He died 1189.

In this fluctuating state of our national speech, the French predominated*. Even before the Conquest the Saxon language began to fall into contempt, and the French, or Frankish, to be substituted in its stead: a circumstance which at once facilitated and foretold the Norman accession. In the year 652, it was the common practice of the Anglo-Saxons to send their youth to the monasteries of France for education^a: and not only the language but the manners of the French were esteemed the most polite accomplishments¹. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the resort of Normans to the English court was so frequent, that the affectation of imitating the Frankish customs became almost universal; and the nobility were ambitious of catching the Frankish idiom. It was no difficult task for the Norman lords to banish that language, of which the natives began to be absurdly ashamed. The new invaders commanded the laws to be administered in French^k. Many charters of monasteries were forged in Latin by the Saxon monks, for the present security of their possessions, in consequence of that aversion which the Normans professed to the Saxon tongue¹. Even children at school were forbidden to

[* This has been controverted by Mr. Luders in his *Tracts*, Bath 1810, where the subject is ably discussed. The description of the French language given above in the text conveys but an imperfect idea of its composition; the Teutonic and Gaulish bearing a very small proportion to the body of the language, which is decidedly of Romance or Latin origin. The Francic, or Frankish as Warton calls it, and which he ought not to have confounded with the French, existed in France as a perfectly distinct language among the descendants of the Franks from their first settlement in Gaul till the eleventh century, and was wholly Teutonic: see Gley, "*Langue et Literature des anciens Franks*," Paris, 1814. and the Preface to this edition.—*Enrr.*]

^a Dugd. Mon. i. 89.

¹ Ingulph. Hist. p. 62. sub ann. 1043.

^k But there is a precept in Saxon from William the First, to the sheriff of Somersetshire. Hiccs. Thes. i.

Par. i. pag. 106. See also *Præfat. ibid.* p. xv.

¹ The Normans, who practised every specious expedient to plunder the monks, demanded a sight of the written evidences of their lands. The monks well knew that it would have been useless or impolitic to have produced these evidences, or charters, in the original Saxon; as the Normans not only did not understand, but would have received with contempt, instruments written in that language. Therefore the monks were compelled to the pious fraud of forging them in Latin: and great numbers of these forged Latin charters, till lately supposed original, are still extant. See Spelman, in *Not. ad Concil. Anglic.* p. 125. *Stillingsf. Orig. Eccles. Britann.* p. 14. *Marsham, Præfat. ad Dugd. Monast. and Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. Præfat. p. ii. iii. iv.* See also *Ingulph.* p. 512. *Launoy and Mabillon* have treated this subject with great learning and penetration.

read in their native language, and instructed in a knowledge of the Norman only^m. In the mean time we should have some regard to the general and political state of the nation. The natives were so universally reduced to the lowest condition of neglect and indigence, that the English name became a term of reproach: and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any distinguished honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baronageⁿ. Among other instances of that absolute and voluntary submission with which our Saxon ancestors received a foreign yoke, it appears that they suffered their hand-writing to fall into discredit and disuse^o; which by degrees became so difficult and obsolete, that few beside the oldest men could understand the characters^p. In the year 1095, Wolstan bishop of Worcester was deposed by the arbitrary Normans: it was objected against him, that he was "a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French^q." It is true, that in some of the monasteries, particularly at Croyland and Tavistocke, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language: but this institution was suffered to remain after the Conquest as a matter only of interest and necessity. The religious could not otherwise have understood their original charters. William's successor, Henry the First, gave an instrument of confirmation to William archbishop of Canterbury, which was written in the Saxon language and letters^r. Yet this is almost a single example. That monarch's motive was perhaps political: and he seems to have practised this expedient with a view of obliging his queen, who was of Saxon lineage; or with a de-

^m Ingulph. p. 71. sub ann. 1066.

ⁿ See Brompt. Chron. p. 1026. Abb. Rieval. p. 339.

^o Ingulph. p. 85.

^p Ibid. p. 98. sub ann. 1091.

^q Matt. Paris. sub ann.

^r H. Wharton, Auctar. Histor. Diplom. p. 388. The learned Mabillon is mistaken in asserting, that the Saxon way of writing was entirely abolished in England at the time of the Norman conquest. See Mabillon, De Re Diplom.

p. 52. The French antiquaries are fond of this notion. There are Saxon characters in Herbert Losinga's charter for founding the church of Norwich, temp. Will. Ruf. A.D. 1110. See Lambard's Diction. v. NORWICH. See also Hicke's Thesaur. i. Par. i. p. 149. See also Præfat. p. xvi. An intermixture of the Saxon character is common in English and Latin manuscripts, before the reign of Edward the Third: but of a few types only.

sign of flattering his English subjects, and of securing his title already strengthened by a Saxon match, in consequence of so specious and popular an artifice. It was a common and indeed a very natural practice, for the transcribers of Saxon books to change the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and to substitute in the place of the original Saxon, Norman words and phrases. A remarkable instance of this liberty, which sometimes perplexes and misleads the critics in Anglo-Saxon literature, appears in a voluminous collection of Saxon homilies, preserved in the Bodleian library, and written about the time of Henry the Second¹. It was with the Saxon characters, as with the signature of the cross in public deeds; which were changed into the Norman mode of seals and subscriptions². The Saxon was probably spoken in the country, yet not without various adulterations from the French: the courtly language was French, yet perhaps with some vestiges of the vernacular Saxon. But the nobles in the reign of Henry the Second constantly sent their children into France, lest they should contract habits of barbarism in their speech, which could not have been avoided in an English education³. Robert Holcot, a learned Dominican friar, confesses, that in the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third there was no institution of children in the old English: he complains that they first learned the French, and from the French the Latin language. This he observes to have been a practice introduced by the Conqueror, and to have remained ever since⁴. There is a curious passage relating to this subject in Trevisa's translation of Hygden's *Polychronicon*⁵. "Children in scole, agenst the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leve hire owne langage, and for to construe hir lessons and hire thynges in Frenche; and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into Engeland.

¹ MSS. Bodl. NE. F 4. 12. Cod. membran. fol.

² Yet some Norman charters have the cross.

³ Gervas. Tilbur. de Otis Imperial. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lib. iii. See Du Chesne, iii. p. 363.

⁴ Lect. in Libr. Sapient. Lect. ii. Paris. 1518. 4to.

⁵ Lib. i. cap. 59. MSS. Coll. S. Johan. Cantabr. But I think it is printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about 1280, says much the same, edit. Hearne, p. 364.

terms, I am inclined to think it of rather higher antiquity. In deference, however, to so great an authority, I am obliged to mention it here; and especially as it exhibits a regular lyric strophe of four lines, the second and fourth of which rhyme together: although these four lines may be perhaps resolved into two Alexandrines; a measure concerning which more will be said hereafter, and of which it will be sufficient to remark at present, that it appears to have been used very early. For I cannot recollect any strophes of this sort in the elder Runic or Saxon poetry; nor in any of the old Frankish poems, particularly of Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburgh, who turned the evangelical history into Frankish verse about the ninth century, and has left several hymns in that language^f; of Stricker, who celebrated the achievements of Charlemagne^g; and of the anonymous author of the metrical life of Anno archbishop of Cologne. The following stanza is a specimen^h.

^f See Petr. Lambec. Commentar. de Bibl. Cesar. Vindebon. pag. 418. 457.

^g See Petr. Lambec. ubi supr. lib. ii. cap. 5. There is a circumstance belonging to the ancient Frankish versification, which, as it greatly illustrates the subject of alliteration, deserves notice here. Otfrid's dedication of his evangelical history to Lewis the First, king of the oriental France, consists of four-lined stanzas in rhyming couplets: but the first and last line of every stanza begin and end with the same letter: and the letters of the title of the dedication respectively, and the word of the last line of every tetrastich. Flacius Illyricus published this work of Otfrid at Basil, 1571. But I think it has been since more correctly printed by Johannes Schilterus. It was written about the year 880. Otfrid was the disciple of Rhabanus Maurus.

[Schilter's book was published under this title: "SCHILTERRI Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum, exhibens monumenta veterum Francorum, Alamannorum vernacula et Latina, cum additamentis et notis Joan. Georg. Schertaii

Ulmae 1727-8, 3 vol. in fol." The Thesaurus of Schilter is a real mine of Francic literature. The text is founded on a careful collation of all the MSS. to which he could obtain access; and these, with one exception perhaps—the life of Saint Anno—are highly valuable for their antiquity and correctness. In the subsequent editions of this happiest effort of the Francic Muse, by Hegewisch, Goldman, and Besseldt, Schilter's oversight has been abundantly remedied. Stricker's poem, or rather the Strickers (a name which some have interpreted *the writer*), is written in the Swabian dialect; and was composed towards the close of the thirteenth century. It is a feeble amplification of an earlier romance, which Warton probably intended to cite, when he used the Strickers' name. Both poems will be found in Schilter; but the latter, though usually styled a Francic production, exhibits a language rapidly merging into the Swabian, if it be not in fact an early specimen of that dialect in a rude uncultivated state.—Edrr.]

^h St. xiv.

¹ Sende god biforen him man
 The while he may to hevene,
 For betere is on elmesse bifore
 Thanne ben after seuene^k.

That is, "Let a man send his good works before him to heaven while he can: for one alms-giving before death is of more value than seven afterwards." The verses perhaps might have been thus written, as two Alexandrines.

Send god biforen him man the while he may to hevene,
 For betere is on almesse biforen, than ben after sevene^l.

Yet alternate rhyming, applied without regularity, and as rhymes accidentally presented themselves, was not uncommon in our early poetry, as will appear from other examples.

Hickes has printed a satire on the monastic profession; which clearly exemplifies the Saxon adulterated by the Norman, and was evidently written soon after the Conquest, at least before the reign of Henry the Second. The poet begins with describing the land of indolence or luxury.

Fur in see, bi west Spaynge,
 Is a lond ihote Cokaygne:
 Ther nis lond under hevenriche^a
 Of wel of godnis hit iliche.
 Thoy paradis bi miri^b and brigt
 Cokaygn is of fairir sigt.
 What is ther in paradis
 Bot grass, and flure, and grene ris?
 Thoy ther be joy^c, and gret dute^d,
 Ther nis met, bot frute.

¹ Sende god biforen him man,
 þe hyle he mai to hevene;
 For betere is on elmesse biforen
 Danne ben after seuene.

This is perhaps the true reading, from the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge, written about the reign of Henry the Second, or Richard the First. Cod. membran. 8vo. Tractat. I. See Abr. Wheloc. Eccles. Hist. Bed. p. 25. 114.

^k MSS. Digb. A 4. membran.

^l As I recollect, the whole poem is thus exhibited in the Trinity manuscript.

^a heaven. Sax.

^b merry, cheerful. "Although Paradise is cheerful and bright, Cokayne is a much more beautiful place."

^c joy, Orig.

^d pleasure.

Ther nis halle, bure^c, no bench;
But watir manis thurst to quench, &c.

In the following lines there is a vein of satirical imagination and some talent at description. The luxury of the monks is represented under the idea of a monastery constructed of various kinds of delicious and costly viands.

Ther is a wel fair abbei,
Of white monkes and of grei,
Ther beth boures and halles:
All of pasteus beth the walles,
Of fleis of fisse, and a rich met,
The likefullist that man mai et.
Fluren cakes beth the schingles^f alle,
Of church, cloister, bours, and halle.
The pinnes^g beth fat podinges
Rich met to princes and to kinges.—
Ther is a cloyster fair and ligt,
Brod and lang of sembli sigt.
The pilers of that cloister alle
Beth iturned of cristale,
With harlas and capital
Of grene jasje and red coral.
In the praer is a tree
Swithe likeful for to se,
The rote is gingeur and galingale,
The siouns beth al sed wale.
Trie maces beth the flure,
The rind canel of swete odure:
The frute gilofre of gode smakke,
Of cucubes ther nis no lakke.—
There beth iiii willis^h in the abbei
Of tracle and halwei,

^c buttery, [a chamber.]

^f *Shingles*. "The tiles, or covering
of the house, are of rich cakes."

^g the pinnacles.

^h fountains.

Of baume and eke piement¹,
 Ever ernend^k to rigt rent¹;
 Of thai stremis al the molde,
 Stonis pretiuse^m and golde,
 Ther is saphir, and uniune,
 Carbuncle and astiune,
 Smaragde, lugre, and prassiune,
 Beril, onyx, toposiune,
 Amethiste and crisolite,
 Calcedun and epetiteⁿ.
 Ther beth birddes mani and fale
 Throstill, thruisse, and nigtingale,
 Chalandre, and wodwale,
 And othir briddes without tale,
 That stinteth never bi her migt
 Miri to sing dai and nigte.

[*Nonnulla desunt.*]

Yite I do yow mo to witte,
 The gees irostid on the spitte,
 Fleey to that abbai, God hit wot,
 And gredith^o, gees al hote al hote, &c.

Our author then makes a pertinent transition to a convent of nuns; which he supposes to be very commodiously situated at no great distance, and in the same fortunate region of indolence, ease, and affluence.

An other abbai is ther bi
 For soth a gret nunnerie;
 Up a river of swet milk
 Whar is plente grete of silk.
 When the summeris dai is hote,
 The yung nunnes takith a bote

¹ This word will be explained at large hereafter.

^k running. Sax.

¹ course. Sax. ^m The Arabian philosophy imported into Europe was full of the doctrine of precious stones.

ⁿ Our old poets are never so happy as when they can get into a catalogue of things or names. See *Observat. on the Fairy Queen*, i. p. 140.

^o crieth. Gallo-Franc. [Anglo-Sax.]

And doth ham forth in that river
 Both with oris and with stere :
 Whan hi beth fur from the abbei
 Hi makith him nakid for to plei,
 And leith dune in to the brimme
 And doth him sleilich for to swimme :
 The yung monkes that hi seeth
 Hi doth ham up and forth hi fleeth,
 And comith to the nunnes anon,
 And euch monk him takith on,
 And snellich^p berith forth har prei
 To the mochill grei abbei^q,
 And techith the nonnes an oreisun
 With jambleus^r up and dun^s.

^p quick, quickly. Gallo-Franc. [Anglo-Saxon.]

^q "to the great abbey of Grey Monks."

^r lascivious motions, gambols. Fr. *gamboller*.

^s Hickes. Thes. i. Par. i. p. 231 seq. [A French fabliau, bearing a near resemblance to this poem, and possibly the production upon which the English minstrel founded his song, has been published in the new edition of Barbazan's *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris 1808, vol. iv. p. 175.—EDD.]

[The secular indulgences, particularly the luxury, of a female convent, are intended to be represented in the following passage of an antient poem, called *A Disputation betwene a Crystene mon and a Jew*, written before the year 1300. MS. Vernon, fol. 301.

Till a Nonneri thei came,
 But I knowe not the name;
 Ther was mony a derworthe^s dame
 In dyapre dere^b:

Squizeres^c in vche syde,
 In the wones^d so wyde:
 Hur schul we longe^e abyde,
 Auntres^f to heare.

Thene swithe^g speketh he,
 Til a ladi so fre,
 And biddeth that he welcum^h be,
 "Sire Water my feereⁱ."

Ther was bords^j i clothed clene
 With schire^k clothes and schene,
 Seþpe^l a wasschen^m, i wene.

And wente to the sete :
 Riche metes was forth brouht,
 To all men that gode thouht :
 The cristen mon wolde nouht

Drynke nor etc.
 Ther was wyn ful clere
 In mony a fair masereⁿ,
 And other drynkes that weore dere,

In coupes^o ful gret :
 Siththe was schewed him bi
 Murththe and munstralsy^p,
 And preyed hem do gladly,
 With ryal rechet^q.
 Bi the bordes up thei stode, &c. *Andz.*]

^a dear-worthy.
^b apartments.

^b diaper fine.
^c shall we long.

^c squires, attendants.
^d adventures.

^d rooms,
^e swiftly, immediately.

^f my companion, my love. He is called afterwards "Sire [Sir] Walter of Berwick."
^g tables. ^h sheer, clean. ⁱ Or *sithe*, i. e. often. [afterwards: but perhaps we should read *siththe thei*, "afterwards they."—EDD.] ^m washed.

ⁿ mazer, great cup. ^o cups. ^p afterwards there was sport and minstrelsy.
^q i. e. receipt, reception. But see Chaucer's *Rox.* R. v. 6509:

"Him, woulde I comfort and rechetc." And *Ta. Caza.* iii. 350.

This poem was designed to be sung at public festivals¹: a practice, of which many instances occur in this work; and concerning which it may be sufficient to remark at present, that a *JOCULATOR* or Bard, was an officer belonging to the court of William the Conqueror².

Another Norman Saxon poem cited by the same industrious antiquary, is entitled *THE LIFE OF SAINT MARGARET*. The structure of its versification considerably differs from that in the last-mentioned piece, and is like the French Alexandrines. But I am of opinion that a pause, or division, was intended in the middle of every verse: and in this respect its versification resembles also that of *ALBION'S ENGLAND*, or Drayton's *POLYOLBION*, which was a species very common about the reign of queen Elisabeth³. The rhymes are also continued to every fourth line. It appears to have been written about the time of the Crusades. It begins thus:

Olde ant^a yonge I priet⁷ ou, oure folies for to lete,
Thenket on god that yef ou wit, oure sunnes to bete.
Here I mai tellen ou, wit wordes feire ant swete,
The vie² of one meiden was hoten² Maregrete.
Hire fader was a patriac, as ic ou tellen may,
In Auntioge wif eches^b i the false lay,
Deve godes^c ant doumbe, he served nitt ant day,
So deden mony othere that singet weilaway.
Theodosius was is nome, on Crist ne levede he nouwt,
He levede on the false godes, that weren with honden wrouwt.

¹ as appears from this line:

Lordinges gode and hende, &c.

It is in MSS. More, Cantabrig. 784. f. 1.

² His lands are cited in Doomsday Book. "GLOUCESTRASCIRE. Berdic, Jocularis Regis, habet iii. villas et ibi v. car. nil redd." See Anstis, Ord. Gart. ii. 304.

³ It is worthy of remark, that we find in the collection of ancient Northern monuments, published by M. Biornor, a poem of some length, said by that author to have been composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. This poem is professedly in rhyme, and the measure like

that of the heroic Alexandrine of the French poetry. See Mallet's Introd. Dannem. &c. ch. xiii.

² and. Fr.

⁷ I direct, Fr. "I advise you, your, &c." [The writer of this *Life* in the Bodleian MS., who is quite as likely to have understood the author's meaning, reads "I preye you": words bearing no doubt the same signification then as they do at present.—EDR.]

^a life. Fr.

² called. Saxon.

^b chose a wife. Sax. "He was married in Antioch."

^c "deaf gods, &c."

Tho that child sculde cristine ben it com well in thouht,
Ebed^d wen it were ibore, to deth it were ibrouth, &c.

In the sequel, Olibrius, lord of Antioch, who is called a Saracen, falls in love with Margaret: but she being a Christian, and a candidate for canonization, rejects his solicitations and is thrown into prison.

Meidan Maregrete one nitt in prisun lai
Ho com bifrom Olibrius on that other dai.
Meidan Maregrete, lef up on my lay,
Ant Ihu that thou levest on, thou do him al away.
Lef on me ant be my wife, ful wel the mai spede.
Auntioge and Asie scaltou han to mede:
Ciclatoun^e ant purpel pal scaltou have to wede:
Wid all the metes of my lond ful wel I scal the fede.^f

This piece was printed by Hickes from a manuscript in Trinity College library at Cambridge. It seems to belong to the manuscript metrical LIVES OF THE SAINTS^g, which form a very considerable volume, and were probably translated or paraphrased from Latin or French prose into English rhyme before the year 1200^h. We are sure that they were written

^d in bed.

^e Checklaton. See Obs. Fair. Q. i. 194.

^f Hickes, i. 225. The legend of *Seinte Juliane* in the Bodleian library is rather older, but of much the same versification. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. 3. xi. membran. 8vo. iii. fol. 36. This manuscript I believe to be of the age of Henry the Third or king John: the composition much earlier. It was translated from the Latin. These are the five last lines.

Dren drihtin o domey dei pindreð hī
hpeate,
And pēppeð þæt durti chep to hel-
lene heate,
Be more beon a corn i goðer guldene
edene,
De tunde ði of Latin to Engliſche
lebenne
And he þæt her leaſt onſrat ſpa aſ
he cuȝe. AƆEN.

That is, "When the judge at doomsday winnows his wheat, and drives the dusty chaff into the heat of hell; may there be a corner in God's golden Eden for him [Rather: "may he be a corn in God's golden Eden".—EDR.] who turned this book into [from] Latin," &c.

^g The same that are mentioned by Hearne, from a manuscript of Ralph Sheldon. See Hearne's Petr. Langt. p. 542. 607. 608. 609. 611. 628. 670. Saint Winifred's Life is printed from the same collection by bishop Fleetwood, in his *Life and Miracles of S. Winifred*, p. 125. ed. 1713.

^h It is in fact a metrical history of the festivals of the whole year. The life of the respective Saint is described under every Saint's day, and the institutions of some Sundays, and feasts not taking their rise from saints, are explained, on the plan of the *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Ge-

after the year 1169, as they contain the LIFE of Saint Thomas Becket¹. In the Bodleian library are three manuscript copies of these LIVES OF THE SAINTS^k, in which the LIFE of Saint Margaret constantly occurs; but it is not always exactly the same with this printed by Hickes. And on the whole,

nos, about the year 1290, from which Caxton, through the medium of a French version entitled *Legend Dorte*, translated his *Golden Legend*. The *Festial* or *Festiall*, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is a book of the same sort, yet with homilies intermixed. See MSS. Harl. 2247. fol. and 2371. 4to. and 2391. 4to. and 2402 4to. and 2800 seq. Manuscript lives of Saints, detached, and not belonging to this collection, are frequent in libraries. The *Vite Patrum* were originally drawn from S. Jerome and Johannes Cassianus. In Gresham College library are metrical lives of ten Saints chiefly from the *Golden Legend*, by Osberne Bokenham, an Augustine canon in the abbey of Stoke-clare in Suffolk, transcribed by Thomas Burgh at Cambridge 1477. The Life of S. Katharine appears to have been composed in 1445. MSS. Coll. Gresh. 315. The French translation of the *Legende Aurea* was made by Jehan de Vignay, a monk, soon after 1300.

¹ Ashmole cites this Life, Instit. Ord. Gart. p. 21. And he cites S. Brandon's Life, p. 507. Ashmole's manuscript was in the hands of Silas Taylor. It is now in his Museum at Oxford. MSS. Ashm. 50. [7001.]

^k MSS. Bodl. 779.—Laud, L 70. And they make a considerable part of a prodigious folio volume, beautifully written on vellum, and elegantly illuminated, where they have the following title, which also comprehends other ancient English religious poems: "Here begynnen the tydes of the book that is cald in Latyn tonge SALUS ANIME, and in Englysh tonge SOWLEHELE." It was given to the Bodleian library by Edward Vernon, esq. soon after the civil war. I shall cite it under the title of MS. Vernon. Although pieces not absolutely religious are sometimes introduced, the scheme of the compiler or transcriber

seems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and scriptural history in verse, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find. Accordingly the *Lives of the Saints*, a distinct and large work of itself, properly constituted a part of his plan. There is another copy of the *Lives of the Saints* in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. 9277; and in Ashmole's Museum, MSS. Ashm. ut supr. I think this manuscript is also in Bennet College library. The Lives seem to be placed according to their respective festivals in the course of the year. The Bodleian copy (marked 779.) is a thick folio, containing 310 leaves. The variations in these manuscripts seem chiefly owing to the transcribers. The Life of Saint Margaret in MSS. Bodl. 779. begins much like that of Trinity library at Cambridge,

Old ant yonge I preye you your folys
for to lete, &c.

I must add here, that in the Harleian library, a few Lives, from the same collection of *Lives of the Saints*, occur, MSS. 2250. 23. f. 72. b. seq. chart. fol. See also ib. 19. f. 48. These Lives are in French rhymes, ib. 2253. f. 1.

[The LIVES OF THE SAINTS in verse, in Bennet library, contain the martyrdom and translation of Becket, Num. clxv. This manuscript is supposed to be of the fourteenth century. Archbishop Parker, in a remark prefixed, has assigned the composition to the reign of Henry the Second. But in that case, Becket's translation, which did not happen till the reign of king John, must have been added. See a specimen in Mr. Nasmith's accurate and learned CATALOGUE of the Bennet Manuscripts, pag. 217. Cantab. 1777. 4to. There is a manuscript of these LIVES in Trinity College library at Oxford, but it has not

the Bodleian Lives seem inferior in point of antiquity. I will here give some extracts never yet printed.

he Life of Becket. MSS. Num. lvii. In scribe a few lines from the LIFE of SAINT
pergam. fol. The writing is about CUTHBERT, f. 2. b.
the fourteenth century. I will tran-

Seint Cuthberd was ybore here in Engelonde,
God dude for him meracelle, as ze scholleth vnderstonde.
And wel zong child he was, in his eigetthe zere,
Wit children he pleyde atte balle, that his felawes were :
That com go a lite childe, it thost thre zer old,
A swete creature and a fayr, yt was myld and hold :
To the zong Cuthberd he zede, sene brother he zede,
Ne pench not such ydell game for it ne ooste nozt be thy dede :
Seint Cuthberd ne tok no zeme to the childis rede
And pleyde forth with his felawes, al so they him bede.
Tho this zonge child y ses that he his red forsok,
A doun he fel to grounde, and gret del to him to tok,
It by gan to wepe sore, and his honden wrynge,
This children hadde alle del of him, and bysened hare playnge.
As that they couthe hy gladede him, sore he gan to siche,
At even this zonge child made del y siche,
A welaway, qd seint Cuthbert, why wepes thou so sore
Zif we the haveth ozt mysdo we ne scholleth na more.
Thanne spake this zonge child, sore hy woth beye,
Cuthberd it falleth nozt to the with zonge children to pleye,
For no suche idell games it ne cometh the to worche,
Whanne god hath y proveyd the an heved of holy cherche.
With this word, me nyute whidder, this zong child wente,
An angel it was of heven that our lord thuder sent.

Saxon letters are used in this manu- limes as they appear in that mode of
script. I will exhibit the next twelve writing: together with the punctuation.

þo bȝ gan seint Cuthberd. for to wepe sore
He made his fader and frendis. sette him to lore
So þat he servede boȝe nȝxt and daȝ. to plesse god þe more
And in his zoughede nȝxt and daȝ. of servede godis ore
þo he in grettere elde was. as þe bok us haȝ y sed
It bȝ fel þat seint Aȝdan. þe bisschop was ded
Cuthberd was a felde with schep. angeles of heven he ses
þe bisschopis soule seint Aȝdan. to heven bere on hez
Allas sede seint Cuthberd. fole ech am to longe
I nell þis schep no longer kepe. a fonge hem who so a fonge*
He wente to þe abbeȝe of Germans. a grey monk he þer bȝ com
Gret joye made alle þe covent. þo he that abbȝt nom, &c.

The reader will observe the constant return of the hemistichal point, which I have been careful to preserve, and to represent with exactness; as I suspect that it shows how these poems were sung to the harp by the minstrels. Every line was perhaps uniformly recited to the same inonotonous modulation, with a pause in a midst: just as we chant the

psalms in our choral service. In the psalms of our liturgy, this pause is expressed by a colon: and often, in those of the Roman missal, by an asterisk. The same mark occurs in every line of this manuscript; which is a folio volume of considerable size, with upwards of fifty verses in every page.

* ["take them who will."—EDR.]

From the LIFE of Saint Swithin.

¹ Seint Swythan the confessour was her of Engelonde,
 Bisyde Wynchestre he was ibore, as ich undirstonde:
 Bi the kynges dei Egbert this goode¹ was ibore,
 That tho was kyng of Engelonde, and somedele eke bifore;
 The eihetethe he was that com astur Kinewolfe the kyng,
 That seynt Berin dude to Cristendome in Engelonde furst
 brynge:

Seynt Austen hedde bifore to Cristendom i brouht
 Athelbryt the goode kyng as al the londe nouht.
 Al setthe^m hyt was that seynt Berin her bi west wende,
 And tornede the kyng Kinewolfe as vr lord grace sende²:
 So that Egbert was kyng tho that Swythan was bore³
 The eighth was Kinewolfe that so long was bifore, &c.
 Seynt Swythan his bushopricke to al goodnesse drough
 The towne also of Wynchestre he amended inough,
 Ffor he lette the stronge bruge⁴ withoute the toune arere
 And fond therto lym and ston and the workmen that ther were.⁵

From the LIFE of Saint Wolstan.

Seynt Wolston bysscop of Wirceter was then in Ingelonde,
 Swithe holyman was all his lyf as ich onderstonde:
 The while he was a yonge childe good lyf hi ladde ynow,
 Whenne other children orne play toward cherche hi drow.
 Seint Edward was tho vr kyng, that now in hevene is,
 And the bisscoppe of Wirceter Brytthege is hette I wis, &c.

¹ Thus in MSS. Harl. fol. 78.

Seint Swythin the confessour was here
 of Engelonde
 Bisyde Wynchestre hi was ibore as ic
 vnderstonde.

[The Harleian MS. is imperfect at

the beginning; but such of the Lives as
 it contained in common with the Vernon
 MS. have been collated with Warton's
 text, and the few material variations
 will be found printed within brackets in
 the notes below.—EDMR.]

^m since.

² f. 93. MS. Vernon.

³ [gode man.]

⁴ [as our lorde him grace sende.]

⁵ [Seint Egbert that was kyng tho Seint Swithin was ibore,
 The eizetethe he was after Kenewolfe that so long was bifore.]

⁴ [the este gate.]

Bisscop hym made the holi man seynt Edward vre kyng
 And undirfonge his dignite, and tok hym cros and ringe.
 His bushopreke he wust wel, and eke his priorie,
 And forcede him to serve wel God and Seinte Marie.
 Ffour zer he hedde bisscop ibeo and not folliche fyve
 Tho seynt Edward the holi kyng went out of this lyve.
 To gret reuge to al Engelonde, so welaway the stounde,
 Ffor strong men that come sithen and broughte Engelonde to
 grounde.

Harald was sithen kyng with tresun, alas !
 The crowne he bare of England which while hit was.
 As William Bastard that was tho duyk of Normaundye
 Thouhte to winne Englonde thorug strength and felonye:
 He lette hym greith foulke inouh and gret power with him nom,
 With gret strengthe in the see he him dude and to Engelonde
 com :

He lette ordayne his ost wel and his baner up arerede,
 And destruyed all that he fond and that londe sore aferde.
 Harald hereof tell kyng of Engelonde
 He let garke fast his oste agen hym for to stonde:
 His baronage of Engelonde redi was ful sone
 The kyng to helpe and eke himself as riht was to done.
 The warre was then in Engelonde dolefull and stronge inouh
 And heore either of othures men al to grounde slouh:
 The Normans and this Englisch men dei y of batayle nom
 There as the abbeye is of the batayle a day togedre com,
 To grounde thei smiit and slowe also, as God yaf the cas,
 William Bastard was above and Harald bi neothe was. °

From the LIFE of Saint Christopher.

° Seynt Cristoffre was a Sarazin in the londe of Canaan,
 In no stud bi him daye mi fond non so strong a man :

° MS. Vernon. fol. 76. b.

° MSS. Harl. ut supr. fol. 101. b.

Seynt Cristofre was Sarazin in the lond
 of Canaan

In no stede bi his daye ne fond me so
 strong a man

Four. and tuenti fet he was long and
 piche and brod y-noug, &c.

Ffour and twenti feete he was longe, and thikk and brod inouh,
 Such a mon but he weore stronge methinketh hit weore wouh:
 A la cuntre where he was for him wolde fleo,
 Therfore hym ythoughte that no man ageynst him sculde beo.
 He seide he wolde with no man beo but with on that were
 Hext lord of all men and undir hym non othir were.

Afterwards he is taken into the service of a king.

—————Cristofre hym served longe;
 The kyng loved melodye much⁵ of fithel⁶ and of songe;
 So that his jogeler on a dai biforen him gon to pleye faste⁶,
 And in a tyme he nemped in his song the devil atte laste:
 Anon so the kyng that I herde he blesed him anon, &c.⁷

From the LIFE of Saint Patrick.

Seyn Pateryk com thoru Godes grace to preche in Irelande
 To teche men ther ryt believe Jehu Cryste to understonde:
 So ful of wormes that londe he founde that no man ni myghte
 gon,
 In som stede for worms that he nas wenemyd anon;
 Seynt Pateryk bade our lorde Cryst that the londe delyvered
 were,
 Of thilke foul wormis that none ne com there⁸.

From the LIFE of Saint Thomas Becket.

Ther was Gilbert Thomas fadir name the trewe man and gode
 He loved God and holi cherche sette he witte ondirstode⁹.
 The cros to the holi cherche⁷ in his zouth he nom,
 . . .⁸ myd on Rycharde that was his mon to Jerlem com,

⁵ fiddle. ⁶ MS. Vernon, fol. 119. And lovede God and holi church sipp
⁷ Bodl. MSS. 779. fol. 41. b. he wit understod.

⁸ MSS. Harl. fol. 195. b.

Gilbert was Thomas fader name þat true This Harleian manuscript is imperfect
 was and gód in many parts.

⁵ [of harpe.]

⁶ [. . . on a dai to fore him pleide faste
 Ant anemmede in his ryme the devil atte laste
 Tho the kyng hurde that he blesed him anon.]

⁷ [holi lond.]

⁸ [And mid.]

Ther hy dede here pylgrimage in holi stedes faste
So that among Sarazyns hy wer nom at laste, &c. "

This legend of Saint Thomas Becket is exactly in the style of all the others; and as Becket was martyred in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Second from historical evidence, and as, from various internal marks, the language of these legends cannot be older than the twelfth century, I think we may fairly pronounce the *LIVES OF THE SAINTS* to have been written about the reign of Richard the First*.

These metrical narratives of Christian faith and perseverance seem to have been chiefly composed for the pious amusement, and perhaps edification, of the monks in their cloisters. The sumptuous volume of religious poems which I have mentioned above¹, was undoubtedly chained in the cloister, or church, of some capital monastery. It is not improbable that the novices were exercised in reciting portions from these pieces. In the British Museum² there is a set of legendary tales in rhyme, which appear to have been solemnly pronounced by the priest to the people on sundays and holidays. This sort of poetry³

* MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 41. b.

¹ Who died 1199. In the Cotton library I find the lives of Saint Josaphas and the Seven Sleepers: where the Norman seems to predominate, although Saxon letters are used. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A ix. Cod. membran. 4to. ii. fol. 192.

Ici commence la vie de jeint Josaphas.

Ki vout a nul bien entendre
Per esample poet mlt aprendre.

iii. fol. 213. b. *Ici commence la vie de Set Dormans.*

La vertu deu ke tut iur dure
E tut iurs ert carene e pure.

Many legends and religious pieces in Norman rhyme were written about this time. See MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 1. membr. fol. supr. citat. p. 15.

² viz. MS. Vernon.

³ MSS. Harl. 2391. 70. The dialect is perfectly Northern.

⁴ That legends of Saints were sung to the harp at feasts, appears from *The Life of Saint Marne*, MSS. Harl. 2253. fol. memb. f. 64. b.

Herketh hideward and beoth stille,
Y prais ou zif hit be or wille,
And se shule here of one virgin
That was ycleped saint Maryne.

And from various other instances.

Some of these religious poems contain the usual address of the minstrel to the company. As in a poem of our Saviour's descent into hell, and his discourse there with Sathanas the porter, Adam, Eve, Abraham, &c. MSS. Harl. f. 57.

Alle herkeneth to me now,
A strif wolle y tellen ou:
Of Jhesu and of Sathan,
Tho Jhesu was to heli y-gan.

Other proofs will occur occasionally.

was also sung to the harp by the minstrels on sundays, instead of the romantic subjects usual at public entertainments^b.

In that part of Vernon's manuscript entitled SOULEHELE, we have a translation of the Old and New Testament into verse; which I believe to have been made before the year 1200. The reader will observe the fondness of our ancestors for the Alexandrine: at least, I find the lines arranged in that measure.

Oure ladi and hire sustur stoden under the roode,
And seint John and Marie Magdaleyn with wel sori moode:
Vr ladi bi heold hire swete son i brouht in gret pyne,
Ffor monnes gultes nouthen her and nothing for myne.
Marie weop wel sore and bitter teres leet,
The teres fullen uppon the ston down at hire feet.

^b As I collect from the following poem, MS. Vernon, fol. 229.

*The Visions of Seynt Paul won he was
rapt into Parady.*

Lusteneth kordynges leof and dere,
Ze that wolen of the Sonday here;
The Sonday a day hit is
That angels and archangels joyn i wis,
More in that ilke day
Then any odur, &c.

[It was enjoined by the ritual of the Gallican church, that the Lives of the Saints should be read during mass, on the days consecrated to their memory. On the introduction of the Roman liturgy, which forbade the admixture of any extraneous matter with the service of the mass, this practice appears to have been suspended, and the Lives of the Saints were read only at evening prayer. But even in this, the inveteracy of custom seems speedily to have re-established its rights; and there is reason to believe, that the Lives of such as are mentioned in the New Testament, were regularly delivered from the chancel. Of this, a curious example, the "*Planch de Sant Esteve*," has been published by M. Raynouard in his "*Choix des Poesies originales des Troubadours* [Paris 1817];" where the passages from the Acts of the Apostles referring to Saint Stephen, are intro-

duced between the metrical translations of them. From France, it is probable, this rite found its way into England; and the following extract from the piece alluded to above will show the uniformity of style adopted in the exordiums to such productions on both sides of the Channel.

Sezets, senhors, e aiats pas;
So que direm ben escoutas;
Car la lisson es de vertat,
Non hy a mot de falsetat.

"Be seated, lordings, and hold your peace (*et ayez pair*); listen attentively to what we shall say; for it is a lesson of truth without a word of falsehood."—It has been recently maintained, that the term "lording," of such frequent occurrence in the preludes to our old romances and legends, is a manifest proof of their being "composed for the gratification of knights and nobles." There are many valid objections to such a conclusion; but one perhaps more cogent than the rest. The term is a diminutive, and could never have been applied to the nobility as an order, however general its use as an expression of courtesy. By way of illustration, let it also be remembered, that the "*Discours*" of the present day, who ply upon the Mole at Naples, address every ragged auditor by the title of "*Eccellenza*."—EDR.]

"Alas, my son, for serwe wel off seide heo
 Nabbe iche bote the one that hongust on the treo;
 So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo,
 That ischal my deore child in all this pyne iseo:
 How schal I sone deore, how hast i yougt liven withouten the,
 Nusti nevere of serwe nought sone, what seyst you me?"
 Then spake Jhesus wordus gode to his modur dere,
 Ther he heng uppon the roode "here I the take a fere,
 That trewliche schal serve ye, thin own cosin Jon,
 The while that you alyve beo among all thi fon:
 Ich the hote Jon, he seide, you wite hire both day and niht
 That the Gywes hire fon ne don hire non un riht."
 Seint John in the stude vr ladi in to the temple nom
 God to serven he hire dude sone so he thider come,
 Hole and seeke heo duden good that hes founden thore
 Heo hire serveden to hond and foot, the lass and eke the more.
 The pore folke feire heo fedde there, heo sege that hit was neode,
 And the seke heo brougte to bedde and met and drinke gon
 heom beode.
 Wy at heore mihte yong, and olde hire loveden bothe syke
 and fer
 As hit was riht for alle and summe to hire servise hedden
 mester.
 Jon hire was a trew feer, and nolde nought from hire go,
 He lokid hire as his ladi deore and what heo wolde hit was i do.
 Now blowith this newe fruyt that lat bi gon to springe,
 That to his kuynd heritage monkunne schal bringe,
 This new fruyt of whom I speke is vre Cristendome,
 That late was on erthe isow and latir furth hit com,
 So hard and luthur was the lond of whom hit scholde springe
 That wel unnethe eny rote men mougte theron bring,
 God hi was the gardener,^c &c.

In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, among other Norman Saxon homilies in prose, there is a homily or exhortation

^c MS. Vernen, fol. 8.

on the Lord's prayer in verse: which, as it was evidently transcribed rather before the reign of Richard the First, we may place with some degree of certainty before the year 1185.

Vre feder that in hevene is
 That is al sothfull I wis.
 Weo moten to theos weordes iseon
 That to live and to saule gode beon.
 That weo beon swa his sunes iborene
 That he beo feder and we him icorene
 That we don alle his ibeden
 And his wille for to reden, &c.
 Lauerde God we biddeth thus
 Mid edmode heorte gif hit us.
 That vre soule beo to the icore
 Noht for the flesce for lore.
 Dole us to biwepen vre sunne
 That we ne sternen noht therunne
 And gif us, lauerd, that ilke gifte
 Thet we hes ibeten thurh holie scrifte. AMEN.^d

In the valuable library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, is a sort of poetical biblical history, extracted from the books of Genesis and Exodus. It was probably composed about the reign of Henry the Second or Richard the First. But I am chiefly induced to cite this piece, as it proves the excessive attachment of our earliest poets to rhyme: they were fond of multiplying the same final sound to the most tedious monotony; and without producing any effect of elegance, strength, or harmony. It begins thus:

Man og to luuen that rimes ren.
 The wissed wel the logede men.
 Hu man may him wel loken
 Thog he ne be lered on no boken.

^d Quart. minor. 185. Cod. membran. vi. f. 21. b.

Luuen God and serven him ay
 For he it hem wel gelden may.
 And to al Cristenei men
 Boren pais and luue by twem.
 Than sal him almighti luuen.
 Here by nethen and thund abuuven,
 And given him blisse and soules reste.
 That him sal eayermor lesten.
 Ut of Latin this song is a dragen
 On Engleis speche on soche sagen,
 Cristene men ogen ben so fagen,
 So fueles arn quan he it sen dagen.
 Than man hem telled soche tale
 Wid londes speche and wordes smale
 Of blisses dune, of sorwes dale,
 Quhu Lucifer that devel dwale
 And held him sperred in helles male,
 Til God him frid in manlicheð
 Dede mankinde bote and red.
 And answered al the fendes sped
 And halp thor he sag mikel ned
 Biddi hie singen non other led.
 Thog mad hic folgen idel hed.
 Fader gode of al thinge,
 Almightin louerd, hegest kinge,
 Thu give me seli timinge
 To thau men this werdes bigininge.
 The lauerd God to wurthinge
 Quether so hic rede or singe.^e

We find this accumulation of identical rhymes in the Runic odes; particularly in the ode of Egill cited above, entitled EGILL'S RANSOM. In the Cotton library a poem is preserved of the same age, on the subjects of death, judgment, and hell torments, where the rhymes are singular, and deserve our attention.

^e MSS. B 11. Cod. membran. octavo. It seems to be in the Northern dialect.

Non mai longe lives, wene
 Ac ofte him lieth the wench.
 Feir weither turneth ofte into reine
 An wunderliche hit maketh his blench,
 Tharfore mon thu the biþench
 Al schal falewi thi grene.
 Weilawei! nis kin ne quene
 That ne schal drinche of deathes drench,
 Mon er thu falle of thi bench
 Thine sunne thu aquench.^f

To the same period of our poetry I refer a version of Saint Jerom's French psalter, which occurs in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. The hundredth psalm is thus translated.

Mirthes to God al erthe that es
 Serves to louerd in faines.
 In go yhe ai in his siht,
 In gladnes that is so briht.
 Whites that louerd God is he thus
 He us made and our self noht us,
 His folk and shep of his fode:
 In gos his yhates that are gode:
 In schrift his worches belive,
 In ympnes to him yhe schrive.
 Heryhes his name for louerde is hende,
 In all his merci do in strende and strande.^g

In the Bodleian library there is a translation of the Psalms, which much resembles in style and measure this just mentioned. If not the same, it is of equal antiquity. The hand-writing is of the age of Edward the Second: certainly not later than his successor. It also contains the Nicene creed^h, and some church hymns, versified: but it is mutilated and imperfect. The nineteenth psalm runs thus,

^f Bibl. Cotton. MSS. CALIG. A ix.—vi. f. 243.

^g O. 6. Cod. membr. 4to.

^h Hickes has printed a metrical version of the creed of St. Athanasius: to

whom, to avoid prolix and obsolete specimens already printed, I refer the reader. Thesaur. Par. i. p. 233. I believe it to be of the age of Henry the Second.

Hevens telles Goddis blisse,
 The walken schewes handes werkis hisse,
 Dai to dai worde riftes right,
 And wisdomes schewes night to night,
 Noght ere speches ne saghes even
 Of whilk noght es herd thair steven.
 In al land outyhode thair rorde
 And in endes of werld of tham the worde.
 In sun he set his telde to stand
 And he als bridegrome of his bouer comand.
 He gladed as yhoten to renne his wai
 Fra heghest heuene his outcome ai,
 And his ogaine raas til hegh sete,
 Nes whilk that hides him fra his hete.
 Lagh of laverd unwemmed esse,
 Tornand saules into blisse:
 Witnes of laverd es ai trewe
 Wisdomes lenand to littel newe:
 Rightwisenesses of laverd right hertes fainand,
 Gode of laverd light eghen lightand,
 Drede of laverd hali es it
 In werld of werld and ful of wit
 Domes of laverd soth er ai
 And rightwished in thar self er thai,
 Yornandlike over the golde
 And stane derworthi mikel holde;
 And wele swetter to mannes wambe
 Over honi and ye kambe¹.

This is the beginning of the eighteenth psalm.

I sal love the laverd in stalworth hede
 Laverd mi festnesse ai in nede
 And mi toflight that es swa
 And mi leser out of wa.

¹ [The Cotton MS. of this version of the Psalms was found to contain a better text than Warton's, and consequently has been adopted. See Vesp. D. vii. f. 11. and 9.—Edrr.]

I will add another religious fragment on the crucifixion, in the shorter measure, evidently coeval, and intended to be sung to the harp.

Vyen i o the rode se
 Jesu nayled to the tre,
 Jesu mi lefman,
 Ibunder bloe and blodi,
 An hys moder stant him bi,
 Wepand, and Johan:
 Hys bac wid scwrgw iswungen,
 Hys side depe istungen,
 Ffor sinne and louve of man,
 Weil anti sinne lete
 An nek wit teres wete
 Thif i of love can¹.

In the library of Jesus College at Oxford, I have seen a Norman Saxon poem of another cast, yet without much invention or poetry^m. It is a contest between an owl and a nightingale about superiority in voice and singing; the decision of which is left to the judgment of one John de Guldevordⁿ. It is not

¹ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. B 3. 18, Th. f. 101. b. (Langb. vi. 209.)

^m It is also in Bibl. Cotton. MSS. CALIG. ix. A 5. fol. 230.

ⁿ So it is said in Catal. MSS. Angl. p. 69. But by mistake, Our John de Guldevorde is indeed the author of the poem which immediately precedes in the manuscript, as appears by the following entry at the end of it, in the hand-writing of the very learned Edward Lwyhd. "On part of a broken leaf of this MS. I find these verses written, whearby the author may be guest at,

"Mayster Johan eu greteth of Guld-
 worde tho,

And sendeth eu to seggen that synge he
 nul he wo,

On thisse wise he will endy his songe,
 God louverde of bevene, beo us alle
 amonge."

The piece is entitled and begins thus;

*Ici commence la Passyon Ihu Christ en
 engleys.*

I hereth eu one lutele tale that ich eu
 wille telle

As we vyndeth hit iwrite in the god-
 spelle,

Nis hit nouht of Karlemeyne ne of
 the Duzpere

As of Cristes thruwyng, &c.

It seems to be of equal antiquity with that mentioned in the text. The whole manuscript, consisting of many detached pieces both in verse and prose, was perhaps written in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

[In the Cotton MS. "one Nichole of Guldeforde is twice named; not indeed as the poet, but as a sage person, an accomplished singer, and a fit judge of their controversy. He is mentioned to reside at Porteshom in Dorsetshire. Probably Nicholas was brother of John de Guldevord." Ritson.]

later than Richard the First. The rhymes are multiplied, and remarkably interchanged.

Ich was in one sunnie dale
 In one suwe dizele hale,
 I-herde ich hold grete tale,
 An hule^o and one niztingale.
 That plait was stif & starc and strong,
 Sum wile softe and lud among.
 [Either] agen other sval
 And let that wole mod ut al.
 And either seide of otheres custe,
 That alere worste that hi wuste
 And hure and hure of othere songe
 Hi holde plaiding suth stronge^p.

The earliest love-song which I can discover in our language, is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. I would place it before or about the year 1200. It is full of alliteration, and has a burthen or chorus.

Blow northerne wynd,
 Sent thou me my suetyng;e;
 Blow northerne wynd,
 Blou, blou, blou.
 Ich-ot a burde in boure bryht
 That fully semly is on syht,
 Menakful maiden of myht,
 Feir ant fre to fonde.
 In al this wurhliche won,
 A burde of blod and of bon,
 Never zete^a y nuste^r non
 Lussomore in Londe. *Blow, &c.*
 With lokkes leffiche^a and longe,
 With front ant face feir to fonde;
 With murthes monie mote heo monge

^a owl.

^p MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon, 86. membr.

^a yet [zero, Ritson].

^r knew not.

^a lively [lovely].

That brid so breme in boure;
 With lossum eie grete and gode,
 Weth browen blysfol underhode,
 He that rest him on the rode
 That leflych lyf hooure. *Blou,*¹ &c.
 Hire lure lumes liht,
 Ase a launterne a nyht,
 Hyre bleo² blynkyeth so bryht.
 So feyr heo is ant fyn,
 A suetly suyre heo hath to holde,
 With armes, shuldre ase mon wolde,
 Ant fyngres feyre forte folde:.
 God wolde hue were myn.
 Middel heo hath menskful smal,
 Hire loveliche chere as cristal;
 Theyes, legges, fet, and al,
 Ywraught wes of the beste;
 A lussum ledy lasteles,
 That sweting is and ever wes;
 A betere burde never nes
 Yheryed with the heste,
 Heo ys dere-worthe in day,
 Graciously, stout, and gaye,
 Gentil, jolyf, so the jay,
 Worhliche when she waketh,
 Maiden murgest³ of mouth
 Bi est, bi west, bi north, bi south,
 Ther nis ficle ne crouth,
 That such murthes maketh.
 Heo is corall of godnesse,
 Heo is rubie of ryht fulnesse,
 Heo is cristal of clairnesse;
 Ant baner of bealte,
 Heo is lillie of largesse,
 Heo is paruenke of prouesse,

¹ Sic.² *blee*, complexion.³ merriest.

Heo is solsecle of suetnesse,
 Ant ledy of lealte,
 To lou that leflich ys in londe
 Ytolde as hi as ych understonde, &c.^x

From the same collection I have extracted a part of another amatorial ditty, of equal antiquity; which exhibits a stanza of no inelegant or unpleasing structure, and approaching to the octave rhyme. It is, like the last, formed on alliteration.

In a fryhte as y con fare framede
 Y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere,
 Heo glystenede ase gold when hit glemede,
 Nes ner gome so gladly on gere,
 Y wolde wyte in world who hire kenede
 This burde bryht, zef hire wil were,
 Heo me bed go my gates, lest hire gremede,
 Ne kept heo non henyng here^y.

In the following lines a lover compliments his mistress named Alysoun.

Bytuene Mersh and Averil
 When spray beginneth to springe,
 The lutel foul hath hire wyl
 On hyre lud to synge,
 Ich libbe in louelonginge
 For semlokest of alle thynges.
 He may me blysse bringe
 Icham in hire bandoun,
 An hendy hap ichabbe yhent
 Ichot from hevene it is me sent.
 From all wymmen mi love is lent
 And lyht on Alisoun,

^x MSS. Harl. 3253. fol. membran. f. 72. b.

^y MSS. *ibid.* f. 66. The pieces which I have cited from this manuscript appear to be of the hand-writing of the reign of Edward the First.

[As this manuscript contains an elegy upon the death of Edward the First, Mr. Ritson very properly infers, that it could not have been written in the "life-time" of that monarch. He assigns it to "the reign of his son and successor."—*ERR.*]

On heu hire her is fayre ynoh,
 Hire browe broune, hire eye blake,
 With lossum chere he on me loh
 With middel smal and wel ymake,
 Bote he me wolle to hire take, &c.*

The following song, containing a description of the spring, displays glimmerings of imagination, and exhibits some faint ideas of poetical expression. It is, like the three preceding, of the Norman Saxon school, and extracted from the same inexhaustible repository. I have transcribed the whole*.

Lenten ys come with love to tounne,
 With blosmen ant with briddes rounne,
 That al this blisse bryngeth;
 Dayes ezes in this dales,
 Notes suete of nyhtegales,
 Uch foul song singeth.

The threstlecoc^a him threteth oo,
 Away is huere wynter wo,
 When woderoue springeth;
 This foules singeth ferly fele,
 Ant wlyteth on huere wynter wele,
 That al the wode ryngeth.

The rose rayleth hir rode,
 The leues on the lyhte wode
 Waxen all with wille:
 The mone mandeth hire bleo
 The lilie is lossum to heo;
 The fenyl and the fille.

* MSS. *ibid.* f. 63. b.

• [The following stanza formed the opening of this song as printed by War-ton. It appears to have been inadvertently copied from a poem in the parallel column of the manuscript:

In May hit murgeth when hit dawes^b,
 In dounes with this dueres plawes^c,
 Ant lef is lyht on lynde;
 Blosmes brideth on the bowes,

Al this wylde wyhtes woves,

So wel ich under-fynde.

The proper stanza, given above, was also cited, and introduced by the following passage: "The following hexastic on a similar subject is the product of the same rude period, although the context is rather more intelligible: but it otherwise deserves a recital, as it presents an early sketch of a favourite and fashionable stanza." vol. i. p. 30.—EDD.]

^a throstle, thrush.

^b "it is mery at dawn."

^c plays,

Wowes this wilde drakes,
 Miles murgeth huere makes.
 As streme that striketh stille
 Mody meneth so doh mo.
 Ichott ycham on of tho
 For love that likes illa.
 The mone mandeth hire lyht,
 [So doth the semly sonne bryht,
 When briddes syngeth breme,
 Deawes donketh the dounes :
 Deores with huere darne rounes,
 Domes forte dame.
 Wormes woweth under cloude,
 Wymmen waxith wondir proude,
 So wel hyt wol hem seme :
 Yef me shall wonte wille of on
 This wunne weole y wole forgon
 Ant whyt in wode be fleme^d.

This specimen will not be improperly succeeded by the following elegant lines, which a cotemporary poet appears to have made in a morning walk from Peterborough, on the blessed Virgin; but whose genius seems better adapted to descriptive than religious subjects.

^d MSS. *ibid.* ut *supr.* f. 71. b. [In the same style, as it is manifestly of the same antiquity, the following little descriptive song, on the Approach of Summer, deserves notice. MSS. HARL. 978. f. 5.

*Summer is i-cumen in,
 Lhude sing cuccu :
 Groweth sed, and bloweth med,
 And springeth the wode na.
 Sing cuccu, cuccu.*

*Awe bleateth after lomb,
 Lhouth after calve cu ;
 Bulluc sterteth, bukke verteth :
 Murie sing, cuccu,
 Cuccu, cuccu :
 Wel singes thu cuccu ;*

No wait thou neuer na.

*Sing cuccu na,
 Sing cuccu.*

That is, "Summer is coming: Loud sing, Cuckow! Groweth seed, and bloweth mead, and springeth the wood now. Ewe bleateth after lamb, loweth cow after calf; bullock starteth, bukke verteth¹: merry sing, Cuckow! Well singest thou, Cuckow, Nor cease to sing now." This is the most antient English song that appears in our manuscripts, with the musical notes annexed. The music is of that species of composition which is called *Canon in the Unison*, and is supposed to be of the fifteenth century.—ADDITIONAL.]

¹ goes to harbour among the fern.

Now skruketh rose and lylie flour,
That whilen ber that suete savour

In somer, that suete tyde;
Ne is no quene so stark ne stour,
Ne no luedy so bryht in bour

That ded ne shal by glyde :

Whoso wol fleysh-lust for-gon and hevene-blisse abyde
On Jhesu be is thoht anon, that therled was ys side^f.

To which we may add a song, probably written by the same author, on the five joys of the blessed Virgin.

Ase y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode, to seche play;
Mid herte y thohte al on a May.
Suetest of alle thinge :
Lythe, and ich ou tell may
Al of that suete thinge^g.

In the same pastoral vein, a lover, perhaps of the reign of king John, thus addresses his mistress, whom he supposes to be the most beautiful girl, "bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northampton and Lounde^h."

When the nyhtegale singes the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, and gras, and blosme, springes in Avril y wene.
Ant love is to myn herte gon with one spere so kene
Nyht and day my blod hit drynkes myn herte deth me teneⁱ.

Ich have loved al this yer that y may love na more,
Ich have siked moni syk, lemon, for thin ore,
Me nis love never the ner, and that me reweth sore;
Sute lemon, thench on me, ich have loved the zore,
Sute lemon, y preye the, of love one speche,
While y lyve in worlde so wyde other nullē y seche^k.
[With thy love, my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche
A suete cos of thy mouth mihte be my leche.]

^f MSS. *ibid.* f. 80.

^g *Ibid.* f. 81. b.

^h London.

ⁱ MSS. *ibid.* f. 80. b. [The same con-

fusion adverted to above, prevailed in the disposition of this song. The present copy follows the manuscript.—*EDR.*]

^k *Ibid.* f. 80. b.

Nor are these verses displeasing, in somewhat the same measure.

My deth y love, my lyf ich hate for a levedy shene,
 Heo is brith so daies liht, that is on me wel sene.
 Al y falewe so doth the lef in somer when hit is grene,
 Zef mi thoht helpeth me noht to whom schal I me mene?

Another, in the following little poem, enigmatically compares his mistress, whose name seems to be Joan, to various gems and flowers. The writer is happy in his alliteration, and his verses are tolerably harmonious.

Ichot a burde in a bour, ase beryl so bryht,
 Ase saphyr in selver semly on syht,
 Ase jasp¹ the gentil that lemeth^m with lyht,
 Ase gernetⁿ in golde and ruby wel ryht,
 Ase onycle^o he ys on yholden on hyht;
 Ase diamaund the dere in day when he is dyht:
 He is coral yend with Cayser and knyght,
 Ase emeraude a morewen this may haveth myht.
 The myht of the margarite haveth this mai mere,
 For charbocle iche hire chase bi chyn and bi chere,
 Hire rode ys as rose that red ys on rys^p,
 With lilye white leves lossum he ys,
 The primrose he passeth, the parevenke of prys,
 With alisaundre thareto ache and anys:
 Coynte^q as columbine such hire cande^r ys,
 Glad under gore in gro and in grys
 He is blosme upon bleo brihdest under bis
 With celydone ant sange as thou thi self sys, &c.
 From Weye he is wisist into Wyrhale,
 Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtegale;
 In an note is hire nom^e nempneth hit non
 Who so ryht redeth ronne to Johon.^s

¹ jasper.
^a garnet.

^m streams, shines.
^o onyx. ^p branch.

^q quaint. ^r white complexion.
^s MSS. *ibid.* f. 63.

The curious Harleian volume, to which we are so largely indebted, has preserved a moral tale, a Comparison between age and youth, where the stanza is remarkably constructed. The various sorts of versification which we have already seen, evidently prove that much poetry had been written, and that the art had been greatly cultivated, before this period.

Herkne to my ron,
 As ich ou tell con, *Of elde al hou yt ges.*
 Of a mody mon,
 Hihte Maximion, *Soth withoute les.*
 Clerc he was ful god,
 So moni mon undirstod. *Nou herkne hou it wes.*^t

For the same reason, a sort of elegy on our Saviour's crucifixion should not be omitted. It begins thus :

I syke when y singe for sorewe that y se
 When y with wypinge bihold upon the tre,
 Ant se Jhesu the suete
 Is hert blod for-lete,
 For the love of me;
 Ys woundes waxen wete,
 Thei wepen, still and mete,
 Marie reweth the.^u

Nor an alliterative ode on heaven, death, judgement, &c.

<p>Middel-erd for mon was mad, Un-mihti aren is meste mede, This hedy hath on honde yhad, That hevene hem is hest to hede. Icherde a blisse budel us bade, The dreri domesdai to drede, Of sinful sauhting sone be sad, That derne doth this derne dede,</p>	}	<p><i>Thah he ben derne done.</i></p>
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This wrakefall werkes under wede,
 In soule soteleth sone.^w

^t MSS. *ibid.* f. 82.

^u *Ibid.* f. 80.

^w *Ibid.* f. 62. b.

Many of these measures were adopted from the French *chansons*^{*}. I will add one or two more specimens.

On our Saviour's passion and death.

Jesu for thi muchele miht
 Thou zef us of thi grace,
 That we mowe day and nyht
 Thenken o thi face.
 In myn herte hit doth me god,
 When y thenke on Jhesu blod,
 That ran doun bi ys syde;
 From is herte doune to ys fot,
 For ous he spradde is herte blod
 His wondes were so wyde.[†]

On the same subject.

Lutel wot hit any mon
 Hou love hym haveth y bounde,
 That for us o the rode ron,
 Ant bohte us with is wounde;
 The love of him us haveth ynakend sounde,
 And y cast the grimly gost to ground:
 Ever and oo, nyht and day, he haveth us in is thohte,
 He nul nout leose that he so deore bohte.[‡]

The following are on love and gallantry. The poet, named Richard, professes himself to have been a great writer of love-songs.

Weping haveth myn wonges^{*} wet,
 For wilked worke ant wone of wyt,
 Unblithe y be til y ha bet,
 Bruches broken ase bok byt:
 Of levedis love that y ha let,
 That lemeth al with luefly lyt,
 Ofte in songe y have hem set,
 That is unsemly ther hit syt.

^{*} See MSS. Harl. ut supr. f. 49. 76.

[†] Ibid. f. 79. Probably this song has been somewhat modernised by transcribers.

[‡] Ibid. f. 128. These lines afterwards occur, burlesqued and parodied, by a writer of the same age.

^{*} [cheeks, A.S. *panz*, Ital. *guancia*.]

Hit syt and semeth noht,
 Ther hit ys seid in song
 That y have of them wroht,
 Y wis hit is all wrong.^a

It was customary with the early scribes, when stanzas consisted of short lines, to throw them together like prose. As thus:

“A wayle whyt as whalles bon | a grein in golde that godly
 shon | a tortle that min herte is on | in tounes trewe | Hire
 gladship nes never gon | whil y may glewe.”^b

Sometimes they wrote three or four verses together as one line.

With longyng y am lad | on molde y waxe mad | a maide
 marreth me,
 Y grede y grone un glad | for selden y am sad | that semly
 for te se.
 Levedi thou rewe me | to routhe thou havest me rad | be bote
 of that y bad | my lyf is long on the.^c

Again,

Most i ryden by rybbes dale | widle wymmen for te wale |
 ant welde wuch ich wolde:
 Founde were the feirest on | that ever was mad of blod ant
 bon | in boure best with bolde.^d

This mode of writing is not uncommon in antient manuscripts of French poetry. And some critics may be inclined to suspect, that the verses which we call Alexandrine, accidentally assumed their form merely from the practice of absurd transcribers, who frugally chose to fill their pages to the extremity, and violated the metrical structure for the sake of saving their vellum. It is certain, that the common stanza of four short lines may be reduced into two Alexandrines, and on

^a MSS. *ibid.* f. 66.

^b *Ibid.* f. 67.

^c *Ibid.* 63. b.

^d *Ibid.* f. 66.

the contrary. I have before observed, that the Saxon poem cited by Hickes, consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, is written in stanzas in the Bodleian, and in Alexandrines in the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge. How it came originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine.

Our early poetry often appears in satirical pieces on the established and eminent professions. And the writers, as we have already seen, succeeded not amiss when they clothed their satire in allegory. But nothing can be conceived more scurrilous and illiberal than their satires when they descend to mere invective. In the British Museum, among other examples which I could mention, we have a satirical ballad on the lawyers^c, and another on the clergy, or rather some particular bishop. The latter begins thus:

Hyrd-men hatieth ant vch mones hyne,
For everuch a parossh heo polketh in pyne
Ant clastreth wyf heore colle:
Nou wol vch fol clerc that is fayly
Wende to the bysshop ant bugge bayly,
Nys no wyt in is nolle.^f

The elder French poetry abounds in allegorical satire: and I doubt not that the author of the satire on the monastic profession, cited above, copied some French satire on the subject. Satire was one species of the poetry of the Provencial troubadours. Anselm Fayditt a troubadour of the eleventh century, who will again be mentioned, wrote a sort of satirical drama called the HERESY of the FATHERS, HEREGIA DEL PREYRES, a ridicule on the council which condemned the Albigenses. The papal legates often fell under the lash of these poets; whose favour they were obliged to court, but in vain, by the promise of ample gratuities^g. Hugues de Bercy, a French monk, wrote in the twelfth century a very lively and severe satire; in which

^c MSS. ut supr. f. 70. b.
[This stanza forms a part of the satire on the lawyers. Warton was led into the mistake by the transcriber having deviated in the present instance from

his usual order of transcription.—
Emrr.]

^f Ibid. f. 71.

^g Fontenelle, Hist. Theatr. Fr. p. 18. edit. 1742.

no person, not even himself, was spared, and which he called the BIBLE, as containing nothing but truth^h.

In the Harleian manuscripts I find an antient French poem, yet respecting England, which is a humorous panegyric on a new religious order called LE ORDRE DE BEL EYSE. This is the exordium:

Qui vodra a moi entendre
Oyr purra e aprendre
L'estoyre de un ORDRE NOVEL
Qe mout est delitous [e] bel.

The poet ingeniously feigns, that his new monastic order consists of the most eminent nobility and gentry of both sexes, who inhabit the monasteries assigned to it promiscuously; and that no person is excluded from this establishment who can support the rank of a gentleman. They are bound by their statutes to live in perpetual idleness and luxury: and the satirist refers them for a pattern or rule of practice in these important articles, to the monasteries of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, Beverley in Yorkshire, the Knights Hospitalers, and many other religious orders then flourishing in Englandⁱ.

When we consider the feudal manners, and the magnificence of our Norman ancestors, their love of military glory, the enthusiasm with which they engaged in the Crusades, and the wonders to which they must have been familiarised from those eastern enterprises, we naturally suppose, what will hereafter be more particularly proved, that their retinues abounded with minstrels and harpers, and that their chief entertainment was to listen to the recital of romantic and martial adventures. But I have been much disappointed in my searches after the metrical tales which must have prevailed in their times. Most of those old heroic songs are perished, together with the stately

^h See Fauchett, Rec. p. 151.

[The piece here alluded to was not written by De Bercy. It will be found in the second volume of Barbazan's *Fabliaux* p. 307, and is called "Bible Guiot de Provins." "La Bible au

Seigneur de Berse" is a more courtly composition, and forms a part of the same collection, p. 194. The earlier French antiquaries have frequently confounded these two productions.—EDR.]

ⁱ MSS. *ibid.* f. 121.

castles in whose halls they were sung. Yet they are not so totally lost as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them still partly exist in the old English metrical romances, which will be mentioned in their proper places; yet divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, successively modernised by repeated transcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original composition. This has not been the case of the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the Conquest, manuscripts of which abound in our libraries. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common; and being less frequently recited, became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration.

The most ancient English metrical romance which I can discover, is entitled the *GESTE OF KING HORN*. It was evidently written after the Crusades had begun, is mentioned by Chaucer^k, and probably still remains in its original state. I will first give the substance of the story, and afterwards add some specimens of the composition. But I must premise, that this story occurs in very old French metre in the manuscripts of the British Museum^l, so that probably it is a translation: a circumstance which will throw light on an argument pursued hereafter, proving that most of our metrical romances are translated from the French.

Mury, king of the Saracens, lands in the kingdom of Suddene, where he kills the king named Allof. The queen, Godylt, escapes; but Mury seizes on her son Horne, a beautiful youth aged fifteen years, and puts him into a galley, with two of his play-fellows, Athulph and Fykenyld: the vessel being driven on the coast of the kingdom of Westnesse, the young prince is found by Aylmer king of that country, brought to court, and delivered to Athelbrus his steward, to be educated in hawking, harping, tilting, and other courtly accomplishments. Here the princess Rymenild falls in love with

^k Rim. Thop. 3402. Urr.

^l MSS. Harl. 527. b. f. 59. Cod. membr.

him, declares her passion, and is betrothed. Horne, in consequence of this engagement, leaves the princess for seven years; to demonstrate, according to the ritual of chivalry, that by seeking and accomplishing dangerous enterprises he deserved her affection. He proves a most valorous and invincible knight: and at the end of seven years, having killed king Mury, recovered his father's kingdom, and atchieved many signal exploits, recovers the princess Rymenild from the hands of his treacherous knight and companion Fykenyld; carries her in triumph to his own country, and there reigns with her in great splendor and prosperity. The poem itself begins and proceeds thus:

Alle heo ben blythe,
 That to my songe ylythe^m:
 A song ychulle ou singe
 Of Allof the gode kynge,
 Kyng he wes by weste
 The whiles hit yleste;
 Ant Godylt his gode quene,
 No feyroke myhte bene,
 Ant huere sone hihthe Horn,
 Feyroke childe ne myhte be born:
 For reyn ne myhte byryne
 Ne sonne myhte shyne
 Feyroke child then he was,
 Bryht so ever eny glas,
 So whit so eny lylve flour,
 So rose red wes his colour;
 He wes feyr ant eke bold,
 Ant of fyftene wynter old,
 Nis non his yliche
 In none kinges ryche.
 Tueye ferenⁿ he hadde,
 That he with him ladde,

^m listen.ⁿ companions.

Alle richemenne sones,
 And alle suythe feyre gomes,
 Wyth him forté pleye
 Mest he lovede tueye,
 That on wes hoten Athulf chylde,
 And that other Fykenyld,
 Athulf wes the beste,
 And Fykenyld the werste.
 Hyt was upon a someres day
 Also ich ou telle may,
 Allof the gode kyng
 Rode upon his pleyyng,
 Bi the see side,
 Ther he was woned to ride;
 With him ne ryde bote tuo,
 Al to fewe hue were tho:
 He fond by the stronde,
 Aryved on is londe,
 Shipes fyftene
 Of Sarazynes kene:
 He askede whet hue sohten
 Other on is lond brohten.

But I hasten to that part of the story where prince Horne appears at the court of the king of Westnesse.

The kyng com into halle,
 Among his knyhtes alle,
 Forth he clepeth Athelbrus,
 His stiward, and him seide thus:
 "Stiward tac thou here
 My fundling for to lere,
 Of thine mestere
 Of wode and of ryvere^p,

^p So Robert de Brunne of king Marian. Hearne's Rob. Glouc. p. 622.

—Marian faire in chere
 He couthe of wode and ryvere
 In alle maner of venrie, &c.

Ant toggen o the harpe
 With is nayles sharpe^a,
 Ant tech him alle the listes
 That thou ever wystes,
 Byfore me to kerven,
 And of my coupe to serven^r,
 Ant his feren devyse
 With ous other servise;
 Horn child, thou understand,
 Tech him of harpe and song."
 Athelbrus gon leren
 Horn and hyse feren;
 Horn mid herte lahte
 Al that mon him tahte,
 Withinne court and withoute,
 And overal aboute,
 Lovede men Horn child,
 And most him lovede Rymenyld
 The kinges oun dohter,
 For he wes in hire thohte,
 Hue lovede him in hire mod,
 For he wes feir and eke god,

^a In another part of the poem he is introduced playing on his harp.

Horn sette him abenche,
 Is harpe he gan clenche,
 He made Rymenild a lay
 Ant hue seide weylaway, &c.

In the chamber of a bishop of Winchester at Merton castle, now ruined, we find mention made of benches only. Comp. MS. J. Gerveys, Episcop. Winton, 1266. "Idem red. comp. de ii. mensis in aula ad magnum descum. Et de iii. mensis, ex una parte, et ii. mensis ex altera parte cum tressellis in aula. Et de i. mensa cum tressellis in camera dom. episcopi. Et v. formis in eadem camera." *Descus*, in old English *dees*, is properly a canopy over the high

table. See a curious account of the goods in the palace of the bishop of Nivernois in France, in the year 1287, in Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 984. col. 2.

^r According to the rules of chivalry, every knight before his creation passed through two offices. He was first a page: and at fourteen years of age he was formally admitted an esquire. The esquires were divided into several departments; that of the body, of the chamber, of the stable, and the carving esquire. The latter stood in the hall at dinner, where he carved the different dishes with proper skill and address, and directed the distribution of them among the guests. The inferior offices had also their respective esquires. Mem. Anc. Cheval. i. 16. seq.

And thah hue ne dorste at borde
 Mid him speke ner a worde,
 Ne in the halle,
 Among the knyhtes alle,
 Hyre sorewe ant hire pyne
 Nolde never fyne,
 Bi daye ne bi nyhte
 For hue speke ne myhte,
 With Horn that wes so feir and fre
 Tho hue ne myhte with him be ;
 In herte hue had care and wo,
 And ther hue bithohte hire tho :
 Hue sende hyre sonde
 Athelbrus to honde,
 That he come hire to,
 And also shulde Horn do,
 In to hire boure,
 For hue bigon to loure,
 And the sonde^{*} sayde,
 That seek wes the mayde,
 And bed hym come suythe
 For hue nis nout blythe.
 The stiward was in huerte wo,
 For he nuste whet he shulde do,
 What Rymenyld bysohte
 Gret wonder him thohte;
 About Horn the yinge
 To boure forté bringe,
 He thohte on is mode
 Hit nes for none gode ;
 He tok with him another,
 Athulf Horne's brother[†],
 "Athulf," quoth he, "ryht anon
 Thou shalt with me to boure gon,

^{*} messenger.

[†] companion, friend.

To speke with Rymenyld stille,
 To wyte hyre wille,
 Thou art Horne's yliche,
 Thou shalt hire bysuyke,
 Sore me adrede
 That hue wole Horn mysrede."
 Athelbrus and Athulf bo
 To hire boure beth ygo,
 Upon Athulf childe
 Rymenild con waxe wilde,
 Hue wende Horn it were,
 That hue hade there;
 Hue seten adoun stille,
 Ant seyden hure wille,
 In hire armes tueye
 Athulf she con leye.
 "Horn," quoth heo, "wellonge
 Y have loved thee stronge,
 Thou shalt thy treuth plyhte
 In myn hond with ryhte,
 Me to spouse welde
 And ich the loverd to helde."
 So stille so hit were,
 Athulf seyde in hire eere,
 "Ne tel thou no more speche
 May y the byseche
 Thi tale gyn thou lynne,
 For Horn nis nout her ynne," &c.

At length the princess finds she has been deceived, the steward is severely reprimanded, and prince Horne is brought to her chamber; when, says the poet,

Of ys fayre syhte
 Al that boure gan lyhte".

" MSS. *ibid.* f. 83. Where the title is written, "þe geste of kynge Horne." There is a copy, much altered and modernised, in the Advocates library at

It is the force of the story in these pieces that chiefly engages our attention. The minstrels had no idea of conducting and describing a delicate situation. The general manners were gross, and the arts of writing unknown. Yet this simplicity sometimes pleases more than the most artificial touches. In the mean time, the pictures of antient manners presented by these early writers, strongly interest the imagination: especially as having the same uncommon merit with the pictures of manners in Homer, that of being founded in truth and reality, and actually painted from the life. To talk of the grossness and absurdity of such manners is little to the purpose; the poet is only concerned in the justness and faithfulness of the representation.

Edinburgh, W. 4. i. Numb. xxxiv. [and in Ritson's *Romances*, vol. 3.] The title *Horn-childe and Maiden Rimnild*. The beginning,

Mi leve frende dere,
Herken and ye shall here.

[The text of this romance has been taken from Mr. Ritson's edition; whose accuracy, by the way, though unimpeachable in the specimens quoted above, is not equally conspicuous throughout the poem. In fact, he seems neither to have been master of the language nor the subject. His glossary will afford sufficient evidence of the former assertion—to which much might be added from his omissions and misprints—and his notes will amply bear out the latter. The bishop of Dromore considered this production "of genuine English growth;" and though his lordship may have been mistaken in ascribing it, in its present form, to so early an æra as "within a century after the Conquest;" yet the editor has no hesitation in expressing his belief, that it owes its origin to a period long anterior to that event. The reasons for such an opinion cannot be entered upon here. They are too detailed to fall within the compass of a note; and though some of them will be introduced elsewhere, yet many perhaps are the result of convictions more easily felt than expressed, and whose shades of

evidence are too slight to be generally received, except in the rear of more obvious authority. However, to those who with Mr. Ritson persist in believing the French fragment of this romance, to be an earlier composition than "The Geste of Kyng Horn," the following passage is submitted, for the purpose of contrasting its highly wrought imagery with the simple narrative, and natural allusion, observed throughout the English poem:

Lors print la harpe a sei si commence a
temprer
Deu ki dunc lesgardast, cum il la sot
manier!
Cum les cordes tuchot, cum les feseit
trembler,
A quantes faire les chanz, a quantes
organer,
Del armonie del ciel lie pureit remembrer
Surtuz ceus ke i sunt fait cist à merveiller
Kuant celes notes ot fait prent sen
amunter
E par tut autre tuns fait les cordes soner:

It remains to observe, that "The noble Hystory of Kyng Pontus of Galyce" printed by De Worde, and quoted by Mr. Ritson, is but a more enlarged version of the same story, with some slight change of circumstance, and an almost total change of names, countries, &c.—
EORT.]

SECTION II.

HITHERTO we have been engaged in examining the state of our poetry from the Conquest to the year 1200, or rather afterwards. It will appear to have made no very rapid improvement from that period. Yet as we proceed, we shall find the language losing much of its antient barbarism and obscurity, and approaching more nearly to the dialect of modern times.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry the Third, a poem occurs, the date of which may be determined with some degree of certainty. It is a satirical song, or ballad, written by one of the adherents of Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, a powerful baron, soon after the battle of Lewes, which was fought in the year 1264, and proved very fatal to the interests of the king. In this decisive action, Richard king of the Romans, his brother Henry the Third, and prince Edward, with many others of the royal party, were taken prisoners.

I.

Sitteth alle stille, ant herkneth to me :
 The kyn of Alemaigne^a, bi mi leaute^b,
 Thritti thousent pound askede he
 Forte make the pees^c in the countre^d,
 And so he dude more.
 Richard, thah^e thou be ever trichard^f,
 Tricthen shall thou never more.

II.

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he was kyng,
 He spende al is tresour opon swyvyng,

^a The king of the Romans.
^b loyalty.
^c peace.

^d The barons made this offer of thirty thousand pounds to Richard.
^e though.
^f treacherous.

Haveth he nout of Walingford oferlyng^r,
 Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng^h,
 Maugre Wyndesoreⁱ.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

III.

The kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel^k,
 He saisede the mulne for a castel^l,
 With hare^m sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,
 He wende that the sayles were mangonel^a
 To help Wyndesore.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

IV.

The kyng of Alemaigne gederede^o ys host,
 Makede him a castel of a mulne post^p,
 Wende with is prude^q, ant is muchele bost,
 Brohte from Almayne mony sori gost^r
 To store Wyndesore.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

^r *Oferlyng*, i. e. superiour. But perhaps the word is osterlyng, for *esterlyng*, a French piece of money. Wallingford was one of the honours conferred on Richard, at his marriage with Sanchia daughter of the count of Provence.

[Perhaps *o ferlyng*, "one furlong."]

^h "Let him have, as he brews, poison [misery] to drink."

ⁱ Windsor-castle was one of the king's chief fortresses.

^k "Thought to do full well."

^l Some old chronicles relate, that at the battle of Lewes Richard was taken in a windmill. Hearne MSS. Coll. vol. 106. p. 82. Robert of Gloucester mentions the same circumstance, edit. Hearne, p. 547.

The king of Alemaigne was in a wind-mulle inome.

Richard and prince Edward took shelter in the Grey-friars at Lewes, but were afterwards imprisoned in the castle of Wallingford. See Hearne's Langtoft, Gloss. p. 616; and Rob. Glouc. p.

548. Robert de Brunne, a poet of whom I shall speak at large in his proper place, translates the onset of this battle with some spirit, edit. Hearne, p. 217:

Symon com to the felde, and put up his banere,

The king schewed forth his schelde, his dragon ful austere:

The kyng saide on hie, *Simon ieo sous defie*, &c.

^m their.

^a battering-rams. [Vid. infra p. 71. note n.]

^p mill-post. ^o gathered.

^q price.

^r He brought with him many foreigners, when he returned to England, from taking possession of his dignity of king of the Romans. This gave great offence to the barons. It is here insinuated, that he intended to garrison Windsor-castle with these foreigners. The barons obliged him to dismiss most of them soon after he landed in England.

V.

By God that is aboven ous he dude multe synne,
 That lette passen over see the erl of Warynne¹ :
 He hath robbed Engeland, the mores, ant the fenne,
 The gold, ant the selver, and y-boren henne,
 For love of Wyndesore.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

VI.

Sire Simond de Mountfort hath suore bi ys chyn,
 Hevede² he nou here the erle of Waryn,
 Shuld he never more come to is yn³,
 Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn⁴,
 To help of Wyndesore :
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

VII.

Syre Simond de Montfort hath swore bi ys cop,
 Hevede he nou here Sire Hue de Bigot,
 Al he shulde grante here twelfemoneth scot⁵
 Shulde he never more with his fot pot,
 To helpe Wyndesore.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

VIII.

[Be the luef, be the loht Sire Edward,
 Thou shalt ride sporeless o thy lyard,
 Al the ryhte way to Douere ward,
 Shalt thou never more breke foreward,
 And that reweth sore ;
 Edward, thou duest ase a shreward,
 Forsoke thyn emes⁶ lore.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.]

¹ The earl of Warren and Surry, and Hugh le Bigot the king's justiciary, mentioned in the seventh stanza, had fled into France.

² had.

³ habitation, home.

⁴ engine, weapon.

⁵ year's tax. I had transcribed this ballad from the British Museum, and written these few cursory explanations, before I knew that it was printed in the second edition of Doctor Percy's Ballads, ii. 1. See MSS. Harl. ut supr. f. 58. b.

⁶ [uncle's.]

These popular rhymes had probably no small influence in encouraging Leicester's partisans, and diffusing his faction. There is some humour in imagining that Richard supposed the windmill to which he retreated, to be a fortification; and that he believed the sails of it to be military engines. In the manuscript from which this specimen is transcribed, immediately follows a song in French, seemingly written by the same poet, on the battle of Evesham fought the following year; in which Leicester was killed, and his rebellious barons defeated^y. Our poet looks upon his hero as a martyr; and particularly laments the loss of Henry his son, and Hugh le Despenser justiciary of England. He concludes with an English stanza, much in the style and spirit of those just quoted.

A learned and ingenious writer, in a work which places the study of the law in a new light, and proves it to be an entertaining history of manners, has observed, that this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne probably occasioned a statute against libels in the year 1275, under the title, "Against slanderous reports, or tales to cause discord betwixt king and people^z." That this spirit was growing to an extravagance which deserved to be checked, we shall have occasion to bring further proofs.

I must not pass over the reign of Henry the Third, who died in the year 1272, without observing, that this monarch entertained in his court a poet with a certain salary, whose name was Henry de Avranches^a. And although this poet was a Frenchman, and most probably wrote in French, yet this first instance of an officer who was afterwards, yet with sufficient impropriety, denominated a *poet laureate* in the English court, deservedly claims particular notice in the course of these annals. He is called *Master Henry the Versifier*^b: which

^y f. 59. It begins,
Chaunter mestoit | mon over le voit | en
un duré langage,
Tut en pluraunt | fust fet le chaunt | de
noïtre dux Baronage, &c.

^z OBSERVATIONS UPON THE STATUTES,
CHIEFLY THE MORE ANCIENT, &c. edit.
1766. p. 71.

^a See Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 58.
edit. 1602.

^b Henry of Huntingdon says, that
Walo *Versificator* wrote a panegyric on
Henry the First; and that the same
Walo *Versificator* wrote a poem on the
park which that king made at Wood-
stock. Apud Leland's Collectan. vol.
ii. 303. i. 197. edit. 1770. Perhaps he
was in the department of Henry men-
tioned in the text. One Gualo, a Latin
poet, who flourished about this time,

appellation perhaps implies a different character from the royal *Minstrel* or *Joculator*. The king's treasurers are ordered to pay this *Master Henry* one hundred shillings, which I suppose to have been a year's stipend, in the year 1251^c. And again the same precept occurs under the year 1249^d. Our master Henry, it seems, had in some of his verses reflected on the rusticity of the Cornish men. This insult was resented in a Latin satire now remaining, written by Michael Blaunpayne, a native of Cornwall, and recited by the author in the presence of Hugh abbot of Westminster, Hugh de Mortimer official of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop elect of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester^e. While we are speaking of the *Versifier* of Henry the Third, it will not be foreign to add, that in the thirty-sixth year of the same king; forty shillings and one pipe of wine were given to Richard the king's harper, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife^f.

is mentioned by Bale, iii. 5. and Pitts, p. 233. He is commended in the *POLLICRATICON*. A copy of his Latin hexametrical satire on the monks is printed by Mathias Flacius, among miscellaneous Latin poems *De corrupto Ecclesie statu*, p. 489. Basil. 1557. oct.

^c "Magistro Henrico Versificatori." See Madox, *Hist. Excheq.* p. 268.

^d *Ibid.* p. 674. In MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. I find, in John of Hoveden's *Satutaciones quinquaginta Marice*, "Mag. Henricus, VERSIFICATOR MAGNUS, de B. Virgine," &c.

^e MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. Bodl. 29. in pergam. 4to. viz. "Versus magistri Michaelis Cornubiensis contra Mag. Henricum Atricensensem coram dom. Hugone abbate Westmon. et aliis." fol. 81. b. *Princ.* "ARCHIPOETA vide quod non sit cura tibi de." See also fol. 83. b. Again, fol. 85.

Pendo poeta prius tã diximus ARCHIPOETAM,
Quam pro postico nunc dicimus esse poetam,
Imo poeticulum, &c.

Archipoeta means here the king's chief poet.

In another place our Cornish satirist thus attacks master Henry's person.

Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, et
latus apri;
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens et gena
mulæ;
Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, et color un-
dique mauri.

In a blank page of the Bodleian manuscript, from which these extracts are made, is written, "Iste liber constat fratri Johanni de Wallis monacho Rameseya." The name is elegantly enriched with a device. This manuscript contains, among other things, *Planctus de Excidio Troje*, by Hugo Prior de Montacuto, in rhyming hexameters and pentameters, viz. fol. 89. Camden cites other Latin verses of Michael Blaunpaine, whom he calls "Merry Michael the Cornish poet." *Rem.* p. 10. See also p. 489. edit. 1674. He wrote many other Latin pieces, both in prose and verse.

[Compare Tanner in *JOANNES CORNUBIENSIS*, who recites his other pieces. *Bibl.* p. 432. Notes^g.—*ADDITIO.*]

^g Rot. Pip. an 36 Henr. iii. "Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato magistro Ricardo Citharistæ regis, xl. sol. per Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi."

But why this gratuity of a pipe of wine should also be made to the wife, as well as to the husband, who from his profession was a genial character, appears problematical according to our present ideas*.

The first poet whose name occurs in the reign of Edward the First, and indeed in these annals, is Robert of Glocester, a monk of the abbey of Glocester. He has left a poem of considerable length, which is a history of England in verse, from Brutus to the reign of Edward the First. It was evidently written after the year 1278, as the poet mentions king Arthur's sumptuous tomb, erected in that year before the high altar of Glastenbury church†: and he declares himself a living witness of the remarkably dismal weather which distinguished the day on which the battle of Evesham above mentioned was fought, in the year 1265‡. From these and other circumstances this piece appears to have been composed about the year 1280. It is exhibited in the manuscripts, is cited by many antiquaries, and printed by Hearne, in the Alexandrine measure; but with equal probability might have been written in four-lined stanzas. This rhyming chronicle is totally destitute of art or imagination. The author has clothed the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth in rhyme, which have often a more poetical air in Geoffrey's prose. The language is not much more easy or intelligible than that of many of the Norman Saxon poems quoted in the preceding section: it is full of Saxonisms, which indeed abound, more or less, in every writer before Gower and Chaucer. But this obscurity is perhaps owing to the western dialect, in which our monk of

* [Beatrice may possibly have been a *jugleress*, whose pantomimic exhibitions were accompanied by her husband's harp, or who filled up the intervals between his performances. This union of professional talents in husband and wife was not uncommon. In a copy of the ordinances for regulating the minstrels, &c. residing at Paris, a document drawn up by themselves in the year 1391, and signed by thirty-seven

persons on behalf of all the *menestriers joueurs et jougeresses* of that city, we find among others the names of Jehanot Langlois et Adeline, femme de Langlois Jaucous, fils le moine et Marguerite, la femme au moine. See Roquefort de la Poesie Francoise dans les xii. et xiii. Siècles. p. 288.—EHR.]

† Pag. 224. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1724.

‡ Pag. 560.

Glocester was educated. Provincial barbarisms are naturally the growth of extreme counties, and of such as are situated at a distance from the metropolis; and it is probable that the Saxon heptarchy, which consisted of a cluster of seven independent states, contributed to produce as many different provincial dialects. In the mean time it is to be considered, that writers of all ages and languages have their affectations and singularities, which occasion in each a peculiar phraseology.

Robert of Gloucester thus describes the sports and solemnities which followed king Arthur's coronation.

The kyng was to ys paleys, tho the servyse was y do^s,
 Ylad wyth his menye, and the quene to hire also.
 Vor hii hulde the olde usages, that men wyth men were
 By them sulve, and wymmen by hem sulve also there^b.
 Tho hii were echone ysett, as yt to her stat bycom,
 Kay, king of Aungeo, a thousand knytes nome
 Of noble men, yclothed in ermyne echone
 Of on sywete, and servede at thys noble fest anon.
 Bedwer the botyler, kyng of Normandye,
 Nom also in ys half a vayr companye
 Of one sywyte¹ wortio servy of the botelerye.
 Byvore the quene yt was also of al suche cortesy, e,
 Vorto telle al the noblye thet ther was ydo,
 They my tonge were of stel, me ssolde noght dure therto.
 Wymmen ne kepte of no kyngt as in druery^k,
 Bote he were in armys wel yproved, and atte leste thrye^l.
 That made, lo, the wymmen the chastore lyf lede,
 And the kyngtes the stalwordore^m, and the betere in her dede.
 Sone after thys noble meteⁿ, as ryght was of such tyde,
 The kynghts atyled hem aboute in eche syde,

^s "when the service in the church was finished."

^b "They kept the antient custom at festivals, of placing the men and women separate. Kay, king of Anjou, brought a thousand noble knights cloathed in ermyne of one suit, or *secta*."

¹ "brought also, on his part, a fair company cloathed uniformly."

^k modesty, decorum [*galantry*].

^l thrice.

^m more brave.

ⁿ "Soon after this noble feast, which was proper at such an occasion, the knights accoutred themselves."

In feldys and in medys to prove her bachelerye^o.
 Somme wyth lance, some wyth suerd, wythoute vylenye,
 Wyth pleyng at tables, other atte chekere^p,
 Wyth castynge, other wyth ssettinge^q, other in some ogyrt
 manere.

And wuch so of eny game adde the maystrye,
 The kyng hem of ys gyfeth dyde large cortysye.
 Upe the alurs of the castles the laydes thanne stode,
 And byhulde thys noble game, and wyche kyngts were god.
 All the thre hexte dawes^r ylaste thys nobleye
 In halles and in veldes, of mete and eke of pleye.
 Thys men com the verthe^s day byvore the kyngre there,
 And he gef hem large gyfts, evere as hii werthe were.
 Bisshopyches and cherches clerkes he gef somme,
 And castles and townes kyngtes that were ycome.^t

Many of these lines are literally translated from Geoffry of Monmouth. In king Arthur's battle with the giant at Barbesfleet, there are no marks of Gothic painting. But there is an effort at poetry in the description of the giant's fall.

Tho grislych yal the ssrewe tho, that grislych was his bere,
 He vel doun as a gret ok, that bynethe ycorve were,
 That it thogte that al hul myd the vallynge ssok.^u

That is, "This cruel giant yelled so horribly, and so vehement was his fall, that he fell down like an oak cut through at the

^o chivalry, courage, or youth.

^p chess. It is remarkable, that among the nine exercises, or accomplishments, mentioned by Kolson, an ancient northern chief, one is playing at chess. Bartholin. ii. c. 8. p. 420. This game was familiarised to the Europeans after the Crusades. The romances which followed those expeditions are full of it. Kolson, above mentioned, had made a pilgrimage into the Holy Land. But from the principles advanced in the first INTRADUCTORY DISSERTATION, this game might have been known in the North before.

In the mean time, it is probable that the Saracens introduced it into Spain before the Crusades. It is mentioned by G. of Monmouth, and in the Alexiad of Anna Comnena. See Mem. Acad. Lit. v. 232.

^q Different ways of playing at chess. "The ladies stood on the walks made within the battlements of the castle."

^r "All the three high or chief days. In halls and fields, of feasting, and turneyng, &c."

^s fourth.

^t Pag. 191. 192.

^u Pag. 208.

bottom, and all the hill shook while he fell." But this stroke is copied from Geoffrey of Monmouth; who tells the same miraculous story, and in all the pomp with which it was perhaps dressed up by his favourite fablers. "*Exclamavit vero invisus ille; et velut quercus ventorum viribus eradicata, cum maximo sonitu corruit.*" It is difficult to determine which is most blameable, the poetical historian, or the prosaic poet.

It was a tradition invented by the old fablers, that giants brought the stones of Stonehenge from the most sequestered deserts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland; that every stone was washed with juices of herbs, and contained a medical power; and that Merlin the magician, at the request of king Arthur, transported them from Ireland, and erected them in circles on the plain of Amesbury, as a sepulchral monument for the Britons treacherously slain by Hengist. This fable is thus delivered, without decoration, by Robert of Gloucester.

"Sire kyng," quoth Merlin tho, "suche thynges y wis
Ne bethe for to schewe nogt, but wen gret nede ys,
For gef iche seid in bismare, other bute it ned were,
Sone from me he wold wende the gost, that doth me lere^v :"
The kyng, tho non other nas, bod hym som quoyntise
Bithinke about thilk cors that so noble were and wyse^x.
"Sire kyng," quoth Merlin tho, "gef thou wolt here caste
In the honour of men, a worke that ever schal ylaste^y,
To the hul of Kylar^z send in to Yrlond,
Aftur the noble stones that ther habbet^a lenge ystonde;
That was the treche of giandes^b, for a quoynte work ther ys
Of stones al wyth art ymad, in the world such non ys.

^v If I should say any thing out of wantonness or vanity, the spirit, or demon, which teaches me, would immediately leave me. "*Nam si ea in derisionem, sive vanitatem, proferrem, taceret Spiritus qui me docet, et, cum opus superveniret, recederet.*" Galfrid. Mon. viii. 10.

^x "bade him use his cunning, for the

sake of the bodies of those noble and wise Britons."

^y "if you would build, to their honour, a lasting monument."

^z "To the hill of Kildare."

^a have.

^b "the dance of giants." The name of this wonderful assembly of immense stones.

Ne ther nys nothing that me scholde myd strengthe adoune cast.
Stode heo here, as heo doth there ever a wolde last^c."

The kyng somdele to lyghe^d, tho he herde this tale,
"How mygte," he seyde, "suche stones so grete and so fale^e,
Be ybrogt of so fer lond? And get mist of were,
Me wolde wene, that in this londe no ston to wonke nere."
"Syre kyng," quoth Merlyn, "ne make noght an ydel such
lyghyng.

For yt nys an ydel noght that ich tell this thythyng^f.
For in the farreste stude of Affric giands while fette^g
Thike stones for medycyne and in Yrlond hem sette,
While heo wonenden in Yrlond to make here bathes there,
Ther undir forto bathi wen thei syk were.
For heo wuld the stones wasch and ther enne bathe ywis.
For ys no ston ther among that of gret vertu nys^h."
The kyng and ys conseil raddeⁱ the stones forto fette,
And with gret power of batail gef any more hem lette
Uter the kynges brother, that Ambrose hett also,
In another name ychose was therto,
And fiteene thousant men this dede for to do
And Merlyn for his quointise thider went also^k.

^c "Grandes sunt lapides, nec est aliquis cuius virtuti cedant. Quod si eo modo, quo ibi positi sunt, circa plateam locabuntur, stabunt in æternum." Galfrid. Mon. viii. x. 11.

^d somewhat laughed.

^e so great and so many.

^f tying.

^g "Giants once brought them from the farthest part of Africa, &c."

^h "Lavabant namque lapides et infra balnea diffundeant, unde ægroti curabantur. Miscebant etiam cum herbarum confectionibus, unde vulnerati sanabantur. Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat." Galfrid. Mon. ibid.

ⁱ rode [advised or counselled].

^k Pag. 145. 146. 147. That Stonehenge is a British monument, erected in memory of Hengist's massacre, rests, I believe, on the sole evidence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who had it from the British bards. But why should not the

testimony of the British bards be allowed on this occasion? For they did not invent facts, so much as fables. In the present case, Hengist's massacre is an allowed event. Remove all the apparent fiction, and the bards only say, that an immense pile of stones was raised on the plain of Ambresbury in memory of that event. They lived too near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge. The whole story was recent, and, from the immensity of the work itself, must have been still more notorious. Therefore their forgery would have been too glaring. It may be objected, that they were fond of referring every thing stupendous to their favourites hero Arthur. This I grant: but not when known authenticated facts stood in their way, and while the real cause was remembered. Even to this day, the massacre of Hengist, as I have partly hinted, is an undisputed piece of history.

If any thing engages our attention in this passage, it is the wildness of the fiction; in which however the poet had no share.

I will here add Uther's intrigue with Ygerne.

At the fest of Estre tho kyng sende ys sonde,
That heo comen alle to London the hey men of this londe,
And the levedys al so god, to ys noble fest wyde,
For he schulde crowne here, for the hye tyde.
Alle the noble men of this lond to the noble fest come,
And heore wyves and heore dogtren with hem mony nome,
This fest was noble ynow, and nobliche y do;
For mony was the faire ledy, that y come was therto.
Ygerne, Gorloys wyf, was fairest of echon,
That was contasse of Cornewail, for so fair nas ther non.
The kyng by huld hire faste y now, and ys herte on hire caste,
And thogte, thay heo were wyf, to do folye atte last.
He made hire semblant fair y now, to non other so gret.
The erl nas not ther with y payed, tho he yt under get.
Aftur mete he nom ys wyfe myd stordly med y now,
And, with oute leve of the kyng, to ys contrei drow.
The kyng sende to hym tho, to by leve al nygt,
For he moste of gret consel habbe som insygt.
That was for nogt. Wolde he nogt the kyng sende get ys sonde.
That he by levede at ys parlemente, for nede of the londe.
The kyng was, tho he nolde nogt, anguyssous and wroth.
For despyte he wolde a wreke be he swor ys oth,

Why should not the other part of the story be equally true? Besides the silence of Nennius, I am aware that this hypothesis is still attended with many difficulties and improbabilities. And so are all the systems and conjectures ever yet framed about this amazing monument. It appears to me to be the work of a rude people who had some ideas of art: such as we may suppose the Romans left behind them among the Britons. In the mean time I do not remember, that in the very controverted

etymology of the word *Stonhenge* the name of *Hengist* has been properly or sufficiently considered.

[The etymology referred to by Mr. Ritson is evidently the most plausible that has been suggested: *Scan-henge*—*hanging stone: Observations, &c.* In addition to this it is supported by an authority of high antiquity:

Stinheng ont non en Anglois,
Pierres pendues en François.
Wace's *Brut*.—Edit.]

Bute he come to amendement. Ys power atte laste
He garkode, and wende forth to Cornewail faste.
Gorloys ys casteles a store al a boutte.
In a strong castel he dude ys wyf, for of hire was al ys doute.
In another hym self he was, for he nolde nogt,
Gef cas come, that heo were bothe to dethe y brogt.
The castel, that the erl inne was, the kyng by segede faste,
For he mygte ys gynnes for schame to the oter caste.
Tho he was ther sene nygt, and he spedde nogt,
Igerne the contesse so mucche was in ys thogt,
That he niste nen other wyt, ne he ne mygte for schame
Telle yt bute a pryve knygt, Ulfyn was ys name,
That he truste mest to. And tho the knygt herde this,
"Syre," he seide, "y ne can wyte, wat red here of ys,
For the castel ys so strong, that the lady ys inne,
For ich wene al the lond ne schulde yt myd strengthe wyne.
For the se geth al aboute, but entre on ther nys,
And that ys up on harde rockes, and so narw wei it ys,
That ther may go bote on and on, that thre men with inne
Mygte sle al the londe, er heo com ther inne.
And nogt for than, gef Merlyn at thi conseil were,
Gef any mygte, he couthe the best red the lere."
Merlyn was sone of send, pleid yt was hym sone,
That he schulde the beste red segge, wat were to done.
Merlyn was sory ynow for the kynge's folye,
And natheles, "Sire kyng," he seide, "there mot to maistrie,
The erl hath twey men hym nert, Brygthoel and Jordan.
Ich wol make thi self gef thou wolt, thoru art that y can,
Habbe al tho fourme of the erl, as thou were rygt he,
And Olfyn as Jordan, and as Brithoel me."
This art was al clene y do, that al changet he were,
Heo thre in the otheres forme, the selve at yt were.
Ageyn even he wende forth, nuste nomon that cas,
To the castel heo come rygt as yt evene was.
The porter y se ys lord come, and ys moste privey twei,
With god herte he lette ys lord yn, and ys men beye.

The contas was glad y now, tho hire lord to hire com
And eyther other in here armes myd gret joye nom.
Tho heo to bedde com, that so longe a two were,
With hem was so gret delyt, that bitwene hem there
Bi gete was the beste body, that ever was in this londe,
Kyng Arthure the noble mon, that ever worthe understonde.
Tho the kyng's men nuste amorwe, wer he was bi come,
Heo ferde as wodemen, and wende he were ynome.
Heo a saileden the castel, as yt schulde a doun anon,
Heo that with inne were, garkede hem echon,
And smyte out in a fole wille, and fogte myd here fon :
So that the erl was y slave, and of ys men mony on,
And the castel was y nome, and the folk to sprad there,
Get, tho thei hadde al ydo, heo ne fonde not the kyng there.
The tything to the contas sone was y come,
That hire lord was y slawe, and the castel y nome.
Ac tho the messinger hym sey the erl, as hym thogte,
That he hadde so foule plow, ful sore hym of thogte,
The contasse made som del deol, for no sothnesse heo nuste.
The kyng, for to glade here, bi clupte hire and cust.
" Dame," he seide, " no sixt thou wel, that les yt ys al this :
Ne wost thou wel ich am olyue. Ich wole the segge how it ys.
Out of the castel stilleliche ych wende al in privete,
That none of myne men yt nuste, for to speke with the.
And tho heo miste me to day, and nuste wer ich was,
Heo ferden rigt as gydie men, myd wam no red nas,
And fogte with the folk with oute, and habbeth in this manere
Y lore the castel and hem selue, ac wel thou wost y am here.
Ac for my castel, that is ylore, sory ich am y now,
And for myn men, that the kyng and ys power slog.
Ac my power is now to lute, ther fore y drede sore,
Leste the kyng us nyme here, and sorwe that we were more,
Ther fore ich wole, how so yt be, wende agen the kyng,
And make my pays with hym, ar he us to schame brynge."
Forth he wende, and het ys men that gef the kyng come,
That hei schulde hym the castel gelde, ar he with strengthe
it nome.

The webbes ant the fullaris assembleden hem alle,
 And makeden huere consail in huere commune halle,
 Token Peter Conyng huere kynge to calle
 Ant beo huere cheveteyne, &c.*

These verses shew the familiarity with which the affairs of France were known in England, and display the disposition of the English towards the French, at this period. It appears from this and previous instances, that political ballads, I mean such as were the vehicles of political satire, prevailed much among our early ancestors. About the present era, we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers^o. There is a libel remaining, written indeed in French Alexandrines, on the commission of *trayl-baston*^p, or the justices so denominated by Edward the First, during his absence in the French and Scotch wars, about the year 1306. The author names some of the justices or commissioners, now not easily discoverable: and says, that he served the king both in peace and war in Flanders, Gascony, and Scotland^q. There is likewise a ballad against the Scots, traitors to Edward the First, and taken prisoners at the battles of Dunbar and Kykenclef, in 1305 and 1306^r. The licentiousness of their rude manners was perpetually breaking out in these popular pasquins, although this species of petulance usually belongs to more polished times.

Nor were they less dexterous than daring in publishing their satires to advantage, although they did not enjoy the many conveniencies which modern improvements have afforded for the circulation of public abuse. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, to pursue the topic a little lower, we find a ballad of this species stuck on the gates of the royal palace, severely reflecting

* MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. b.

^o Ibid. f. 64. There is a song half Latin and half French, much on the same subject. Ibid. f. 137. b.

^p See Spelman and Dufrene in v. and Rob. Brunne's Chron. ed. Hearne, p. 328.

^q MSS. Harl. ibid. f. 113. b.

^r Ibid. f. 59.

[This and the ballad against the French will be found in Ritson's Ancient Songs.—Edit.]

on the king and his counsellors then sitting in parliament. This piece is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, with the following Latin title prefixed. "*Copia scedula valvis domini regis existentis in parlamento suo tento apud Westmonasterium mense marcii anno regni Henrici sexti vicesimo octavo**." But the antient ballad was often applied to better purposes: and it appears from a valuable collection of these little pieces, lately published by my ingenious friend and fellow-labourer Doctor Percy, in how much more ingenuous a strain they have transmitted to posterity the praises of knightly heroism, the marvels of romantic fiction, and the complaints of love.

At the close of the reign of Edward the First, and in the year 1303, a poet occurs named Robert Mannyng, but more commonly called Robert de Brunne. He was a Gilbertine canon in the monastery of Brunne, or Bourne, near Depyng in Lincolnshire: but he had been before professed in the priory of Sixhille, a house of the same order, and in the same county†. He was merely a translator. He translated into English metre, or rather paraphrased, a French book, written by Grosthead bishop of Lincoln, entitled MANUEL PECHE, or MANUEL DE PECHE, that is, the MANUAL OF SINS. This translation was never printed*. It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue, and the seven deadly sins, which are illustrated with many legendary stories. This is the title of the translator: "Here

* [This piece is not a ballad. See Hearne's Hemingi Chartularium. R. 11. 10. 1.]

† [De Brunne's account rather varies from this statement.

In the third Edward's time was I,
When I wrote all this story;
In the house of Sixille, I was a throwe,
Dan Robert of Malton that ye know,
Did it write for felaws sake.

"By this passage he seems to mean that he was born at a place called Malton; that he had resided some time in a house in the neighbourhood called Sixhille; and that *there* he, Robert de Brunne, had composed at least a part of his poem during the reign of Edward III." ELLIS.]

* MSS. Bibl. Bodl. N. 415. membr. fol. Cont. 80. pag. Pr. "Fadyr and some and holy goste." And MSS. Harl. 1701.

[The Harleian manuscript has been collated for the present text. Like the Bodleian, if Warton followed the Bodleian manuscript, it professes to be a translation from the French of Grosteste. But this may be a mere dictum of the transcriber. All we gather from the work itself is an acknowledgement of a French original called "Manuel Pêche," whose author was clearly unknown to De Brunne. Had it been written by a man of Grosteste's eminence, it would hardly have been published anonymously; nor can we suppose this circumstance, if really true, would have been passed over

bygynneþ the boke that men clepyn in Frenshe MANUEL PECHE, the which boke made yn Frenshe Robert Groosteste byshop of Lyncoln." From the Prologue, among other circumstances, it appears that Robert de Brunne designed this performance to be sung to the harp at public entertainments, and that it was written or begun in the year 1303^t.

For lewede^u men y undyrtoke,
On Englysh tunge to make thys boke:
For many ben of swyche manere
That talys and rymys wyl blethly^w here,
Yn gamys and festys at the ale^x
Love men to lestene trotevale^y: &c.

in silence by his translator. Be this as it may, the French production upon which De Brunne unquestionably founded his poem, is claimed by a writer calling himself William of Wadigton, and that in language too peculiar and self-condemning to leave a doubt as to the justice of his title.

De le françois vile ne del rimer,
Ne me deit nuls hom blamer,
Kar en Engleterre fu ne,
E norri, e ordiné, e alevé.
De une vile sui nomé,
Ou ne est burg ne cité, &c.
De Deu seit beneit chescun hom,
Ke prie por Wilhelm de Wadigton.
Manuel de Peches, Harl. MSS. 4657.

De Brunne, however, is not a mere translator. He generally amplifies the moral precepts of his original; introduces occasional illustrations of his own, (as in the case of Groseteste cited in the text;) and sometimes avails himself of Wadigton's Latin authorities, where these are more copious or circumstantial than their French copyist. Wadigton's work, according to M. de la Rue, (*Archæologia*, vol. xiv.) is a free translation of a Latin poem called *Floretus*; by some ascribed to St. Bernard, and by others to Pope Clement. This I have not been able to meet with; but the following lines which De Brunne extracted from the "Latin Boke," may either

confirm this opinion or lead to a knowledge of the true source.

Equitabat Bevo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat secum Merswyndam formosam,
Quid stamus? cur non imus?

By the loved wode rode Bevolynne,
Wyth hym he ledde feyre Merswynne,
Why stond we? why go we noight?

The Harleian MS. No. 273 of the "*Manuel de Peches*," calls the author William de Windingdon; but this part of the manuscript is written by a comparatively recent and careless hand.—No. 4657, reads Wadigton, but perhaps we should read Wadigton.—Err.]

^t fol. 1. a. ^u laymen, illiterate.
^w gladly.

^x So in the *Vision* of P. Plowman, fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.

I am occupied every day, holly day and
other,
With idle tales at the Ale, &c.

Again, fol. 1. b.

—Foughten at the Ale
In glotony, godwote, &c.

Chaucer mentions an *Alestake*, *Prol.* v. 669. Perhaps, a May-pole. And in the *Plowman's Tale*, p. 185. Urr. edit. v. 2110.

And the chief chantours at the nale.
^y truth and all.

To alle Crystyn men undir sunne,
 And to gode men of Brunne;
 And speciali alle be name
 The felaushepe of Sympryngthame^a,
 Roberd of Brunne greteth yow,
 In alle godenesse that may to prow^a.
 Of Brymwake yn Kestevene^b
 Syxe myle besyde Sympryngtham evene,
 Y dwelled in the pryorye
 Fyftene yere yn cumpanye,
 In the tyme of gode Dane Jone
 Of Camelton that now ys gone;
 In hys tyme was I ther ten yeres
 And knewe and herde of hys maneres;
 Sythyn with Dan Jon of Clyntone
 Fyve wyntyr wyth hym gan I wone,
 Dan Felyp was maystyr in that tyme
 That y began thys Englyssh ryme,
 The yeres of grace fyl^c than to be
 A thousand and thre hundred and thre.
 In that tyme turned y thys
 On Englysh tunge out of Frankys.

From the work itself I am chiefly induced to give the following specimen; as it contains an anecdote relating to bishop Grosthead his author, who will again be mentioned, and on that account.

Y shall you telle as y have herd
 Of the bysshope seynt Roberd,
 Hys toname^d ys Grostest
 Of Lynkolne, so seyth the gest.

^a the name of his order. ^a profit.

^b A part of Lincolnshire. Chron. Br. p. 311.

At Lincoln the parlement was in
Lyndesay and Kestevene.

Lyndesay is Lincolnshire, *ibid.* p. 243.
See a story of three monks of Lyndesay,
ibid. p. 80. ^c fell.

^d surname. See Rob. Br. Chron.
p. 168. "Thei cald hi this toname," &c.
Fr. "Est surnomes," &c.

He lovede moche to here the harpe,
 For mannys wytte hyt makyth sharpe.
 Next hys chaumber, besyde hys stody,
 Hys harper's chaumber was fast ther by.
 Many tymes, be nyztys and dayys,
 He hadd solace of notes and layys,
 One asked hym onys [the] resun why
 He hadde delyte in mynstralsy?
 He answered hym on thys manere
 Why he helde the harper so dere.
 "The vertu of the harpe, thurgh skyle and ryght,
 Wyll destroye the fendes^e myzt;
 And to the croys by gode skylle
 Ys the harpe lykened weyle.—
 Therefore, gode men, ye shul lere,
 Whan ye any glemen^f here,
 To wurshepe God at your power,
 As Davyd seyth yn the sautere^g.
 Yn harpe yn thabour and symphan gle^h
 Wurshepe God in troumpes and sautre:
 Yn cordys, an organes, and bellys ringyng,
 Yn all these wurshepe ye hevene kyng, &c."ⁱ

But Robert de Brunne's largest work is a metrical chronicle of England^k. The former part, from Æneas to the death of Cadwallader, is translated from an old French poet called MAISTER WACE or GASSE, who manifestly copied Geof-

^e fiend's; the *Devil's*.

^f harpers; minstrels.

^g psalter.

^h Chaucer *R. Sir Thop.* v. 3321. *Urr.* edit. p. 135.

Here wonnith the queene of Fairie,
 With harpe, and pipe, and *Simphonie*.

ⁱ fol. 30. b. There is an old Latin song in "Burton's Melancholy," which I find in this MS. poem. Burton's *Mel.* Part iii. § 2. Memb. iii. pag. 423.

^k The second part was printed by

Hearne at Oxford, which he calls *PETER LANGTOFT'S CHRONICLE*, 1725. Of the first part Hearne has given us the Prologue, Pref. p. 96. An extract, *ibid.* p. 188. And a few other passages in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester. But the first part was never printed entire. Hearne says this Chronicle was not finished till the year 1338. *Rob. Gloucester.* Pref. p. 59. It appears that our author was educated and graduated at Cambridge, from *Chron.* p. 337.

fry of Monmouth¹, in a poem commonly entitled *ROMAN DE ROIS D'ANGLETERRE*. It is esteemed one of the oldest of the French romances; and begun to be written [by Eustace, sometimes called Eustache, Wistace, or Huistace, who finished his part] under the title of *BRUT D'ANGLETERRE*, in the year 1155. Hence Robert de Brunne [somewhat inaccurately] calls it simply the *BRUT*^m. This romance was soon afterwards con-

¹ [This erroneous account of Wace and his writings, has been copied from the statements of Fauchet and others, who have multiplied his person, and confounded his writings with the most unparalleled absurdity. Whether written Eustace, Eustache, Wistace, Huistace, Vace, Gasse, or Gace, the name through all its disguises is intended for one and the same person, Wace of Jersey. Mr. Tyrwhitt was the first to rescue this ingenious writer from the errors which had gathered round his name; and M. de la Rue has fully established his rights, by supplying us with an authentic catalogue of his works, and exhibiting their importance both to the historian and antiquary. De Brunne was induced to follow the *Brut d'Angleterre* in the first part of his Chronicle, from the copiousness of its details upon British history. But the continuation noticed in the text was the production of Geoffri Gaimar, a poet rather anterior to Wace; and is supposed to have formed a part of a larger work on English and Norman history. *Le Roman du Rou*, or the History of Rollo first duke of Normandy, is another of Wace's works: and *Les Vies des Ducs de Normandie*, which is brought down to the sixth year of Henry I., a third. But the reader who is desirous of further information on this subject, is referred to the 12, 13, and 14th volumes of the "Archæologia," where he will find a brief but able outline of the history of Anglo-Norman poetry, by M. de la Rue. By omitting the passages inclosed within brackets, and substituting the name of Geoffri Gaimar for Robert Wace, and the year 1146 for 1160, Warton's text will be made to cancel its errors.—*Emm.*]

In the British Museum there is a fragment of a poem in very old French verse,

a romantic history of England, drawn from Geoffry of Monmouth, perhaps before the year 1200. MSS. Harl. 1605. 1. f. 1. Cod. membran. 4to. In the manuscript library of Doctor N. Johnston of Pontefract, now perhaps dispersed, there was a manuscript on vellum, containing a history in old English verse from Brute to the eighteenth year of Edward the Second. And in that of Basil lord Denbigh, a metrical history in English, from the same period to Henry the Third. Wansley supposed it to have been of the hand-writing of the time of Edward the Fourth.

^m The *BRUT OF ENGLAND*, a prose Chronicle of England, sometimes continued as low as Henry the Sixth, is a common manuscript. It was at first translated from a French Chronicle [MSS. Harl. 200. 4to.], written in the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third. I think it is printed by Caxton under the title of *Fructus Temporum*. (The Chronicles of England.) The French have a famous antient prose romance called *Baur*, which includes the history of the Sangreal. I know not whether it is exactly the same. In an old metrical romance, The story of *Rosier*, there is this passage. MS. Vernon, Bibl. Bodl. f. 123.

Lordus gif ye wil lesten to me,
Of Croteye the nobile citee
As wrytten i fynde in his story
Of Baur the chronicle, &c.

In the British Museum we have *Le poëte Brut*, compiled by Meistre Raufe de Boun, and ending with the death of Edward the First. MSS. Harl. 902. f. 1. Cod. chart. fol. It is an abridgement of the grand *Baur*. In the same library I find *Liber de Bauro et de gestis Anglorum metrificatus*; (that is, turned into rude Latin hexameters). It is con-

tinned to William Rufus, by Geoffri Gaimar, [Robert Wace or Vace, Gasse or Gace, a native of Jersey, educated at Caen, canon of Bayeux, and chaplain to Henry the Second, under the title of *LE ROMAN LE ROU ET LES VIES DES DUCS DE NORMANDIE*, yet sometimes preserving its original one,] in the year 1146 [1160ⁿ]. Thus both parts were blended, and became one work. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum it is thus entitled: "*LE BRUT, ke maistre Wace translata de Latin en Franceis de tutt les Reis de Brittainne*." That is, from the Latin prose history of Geoffry of Monmouth. And that master Wace aimed only at the merit of a translator, appears from his exordial verses.

Maistre Gasse l'a translâté
Que en conte le verité.

Otherwise we might have suspected that the authors drew their materials from the old fabulous Armoric manuscript, which is said to have been Geoffry's original.

[Although this romance, in its antient and early manuscripts,

tinued to the death of Richard the Second. Many prose annotations are intermixed. MSS. *ibid.* 1808. 24. f. 31. Cod. membran. 4to. In another copy of this piece, one Peckward is said to be the versifier. MSS. *ib.* 2386. 23. f. 35. In another manuscript the grand Baur is said to be translated from the French by "John Maundeule parson of Brunham Thorpe." MSS. *ibid.* 2279. 3.

^a See Lenglet, *Biblioth. des Romans*, ii. p. 226. 227. And Lacombe, *Diction. de vieux Lang. Fr.* pref. p. xviii. Paris. 1767. 8vo. And compare Montfaucon, *Catal. Manusc.* ii. p. 1669. See also M. Galland, *Mem. Lit.* iii. p. 426. 8vo.

^o 3 A xxi. 3. It occurs again, 4 C xi. "*Histoire d'Angleterre en vers, par Maistre Wace.*" I cannot help correcting a mistake into which both Wanley and bishop Nicholson have fallen, with regard to this Wace. In the Cotton library, a Saxo-Norman manuscript occurs twice, which seems to be a translation of Geoffry's History, or very like it.

Calig. A ix. and Otho. C 13. 4to. In vellum. The translator is one Lazamon, a priest, born at Ernly on Severn. He says, that he had his original from the book of a French clergyman, named *Wate*; which book *Wate* the author had presented to Eleanor, queen of Henry the Second. So Lazamon in the preface. "*Bot he nom the thriddē, leide ther amididen: tha makede a frenchis clerc: Wate (Wate) wes ihoten, &c.*" Now because Geoffry of Monmouth in one of his prefaces, cap. i. b. 1. says that he received his original from the hands of Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford; both Wanley and Nicholson suppose that the *Wate* mentioned by Lazamon is *Walter Mapes*. Whereas Lazamon undoubtedly means Wace, perhaps written or called *Wate*, author of *LE ROMAN LE ROU* above mentioned. Nor is the Saxo-Norman perfectly distinguishable from *c*. See Wanley's *Catal.* *Hickes's Thesaur.* p. 228. and Nicholson, *Hist. Libr.* i. 8. And compare Leland's *Coll.* vol. i. P. ii. p. 509. edit. 1770.

has constantly passed under the name of its finisher, Wace; yet the accurate Fauchet cites it by the name of its first author, Eustace^p. And at the same time it is extraordinary, that Robert de Brunne, in his Prologue, should not once mention the name of Eustace, as having any concern in it: so soon was the name of the beginner superseded by that of the continuator.] An ingenious French antiquary very justly supposes, that Wace took many of his descriptions from that invaluable and singular monument the *Tapestry of the Norman conquest*, preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Bayeux^q, and lately engraved and explained in the learned Doctor Du Carell's *Anglo-Norman ANTIQUITIES*. Lord Lyttelton has quoted this romance, and shewn that important facts and curious illustrations of history may be drawn from such obsolete but authentic resources^r.

The measure used by Robert de Brunne, in his translation of the former part of our French chronicle or romance, is exactly like that of his original. Thus the Prologue.

Lordynges that be now here,
 If ye wille listene and lere,
 All the story of Inghlande,
 Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,
 And on Inglysch has it schewed,
 Not for the lered but for the lewed;
 For tho that on this lond wonn
 That the Latin ne Frankys conn,
 For to half solace and gamen
 In felauschip when tha sitt samen

^p Rec. p. 82. edit. 1581.

^q Mons. Lancelot, Mem. Lit. viii. 602. 4to. And see Hist. Acad. Inscript. xiii. 41. 4to.

[M. de la Rue has advanced some very satisfactory reasons for supposing this tapestry to have been made by, or wrought under the direction of, the empress Matilda, who died in the year 1167. (See *Archæologia*, vol. xviii.) It was evidently sent to Bayeux at a period sub-

sequent to the death of its projector; at whose demise it was left in an unfinished state. Wace probably never saw it. At all events, could it be proved that he did, he disdained to use it in his "History of the Irruption of the Normans into England," his only work where it could have assisted him; since his narrative is at variance with the representations this monument contains.—ENR.]

^r Hist. Hen. II. vol. iii. p. 180.

And it is wisdom forto wytten
The state of the land, and hef it wryten,
What manere of folk first it wan,
And of what kynde it first began.
And gude it is for many thynges,
For to here the dedis of kynges,
Whilk were foles, and whilk were wyse,
And whilk of tham couth most quantyse;
And whylk did wrong, and whilk ryght,
And whilk mayntened pes and fyght.
Of thare dedes sall be mi sawe,
In what tyme, and of what law,
I sholl yow from gre to gre,
Sen the tyme of Sir Noe:
From Noe unto Eneas,
And what betwixt tham was,
And fro Eneas till Brutus tyme,
That kynde he tells in this ryme.
For Brutus to Cadweladres,
The last Briton that this lande lees.
Alle that kynd and alle the frute
That come of Brutus that is the Brute;
And the ryght Brute is told no more
Than the Brytons tyme wore.
After the Bretons the Inglis camen,
The lordschip of this land thai namen;
South, and north, west, and east,
That call men now the Inglis gest.
When thai first among the Bretons,
That now ere Inglis than were Saxons,
Saxons Inglis hight all oliche.
Thai aryved up at Sandwyche,
In the kynges synce Vortogerne
That the lande wolde tham not werne, &c.
One mayster WACE the Frankes telles
The Brute all that the Latin spelles,

Fro Eneas to Cadwaladre, &c.
 And ryght as mayster Wace says,
 I telle myne Inglis the same ways, &c.*

The second part of Robert de Brunne's CHRONICLE, beginning from Cadwallader, and ending with Edward the First, is translated, in great measure, from the second part of a French metrical chronicle, written in five books, by Peter Langtoft, an Augustine canon of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote not many years before his translator. This is mentioned in the Prologue preceding the second part.

Frankis spech is cald romance[†],
 So sais clerkes and men of France.
 Pers of Langtoft, a chanon
 Schaven in the house of Bridlyngton
 On Frankis style this storie he wrote
 Of Inglis kinges, &c.[‡]

As Langtoft had written his French poem in Alexandrines[¶], the translator, Robert de Brunne, has followed him, the Prologue excepted, in using the double distich for one line, after the manner of Robert of Gloucester. As in the first part he copied the metre of his author Wace. But I will exhibit a specimen from both parts. In the first, he gives us this dialogue between Merlin's mother and king Vortigern, from Master Wace.

"Dame, said the kyng, welcom be thow :
 Nedeli at the I mette witte how^x

* Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 98.

† The Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France about the ninth century; and was succeeded by what was called the ROMANCE tongue, a mixture of Frankish and bad Latin. Hence the first poems in that language are called ROMANS or ROMANTS. Essay on Poesy, p. 281. In the following passages of this Chronicle, where Robert de Brunne mentions ROMANCE, he sometimes means Langtoft's French book, from which he translated: viz. Chron. p. 205.

This that I have said it is Pers sawe
 Als he in *Romanes* laid thereafter gan
 I drawe.

See Chauc. Rom. R. v. 2170. Also *Ballades*, p. 554. v. 508. Urr. And Crescemb. Istor. della Volg. Poes. vol. i. L. v. p. 316. seq.

¶ Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 106.

¶ Some are printed by Hollinsh. Hist. iii. 469. Others by Hearne, Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 58. and in the margin of the pages of the Chronicle.

x "I must by all means know of you."

Who than gate^y thi sone Merlyn
 And on what maner was he thin?"
 His moder stode a throwe^z and thought
 Are scho^a to the kyng ansuerd ouht:
 When scho had standen a litelle wight^b,
 Scho said, by Jhesu in Mari light,
 That I ne saugh hym never ne knewe
 That this knave^c on me sewe^d.
 Ne I wist, ne I herd,
 What maner schap with me so ferd^e.
 But this thing am I wole ograunt^f,
 That I was of elde avenaunt^g:
 One com to my bed I wist,
 With force he me halsed^h and kist:
 Alsⁱ a man I him felte,
 Als a man he me welte^k;
 Als a man he spake to me.
 Bot what he was, myght I not se^l."

The following, extracted from the same part, is the speech of the Romans to the Britons, after the former had built a wall against the Picts, and were leaving Britain.

We haf closed ther most nede was;
 And yf ye defend wele that pas
 With archers^m and with magnelsⁿ,
 And kepe wele the kyrnels;

^y begot.

^z awhile.

^a e'er she.

^b while, while.

^c child.

^d begot.

^e lay [fared. Ritson].

^f assured.

^g "I was then young and beautiful."
 [of a fit age. Ritson.]

^h embraced. ⁱ as. ^k wielded, moved.

^l Apud Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glouc.
 p. 721.

^m Not *Bowmen*, but apertures in the wall for shooting arrows. Viz. In the repairs of Taunton castle, 1866. Comp. J. Gerneys, Episc. Wint. "TANTONIA. *Expense domorum.* In mercede Cementarii pro muro erigendo juxta turrim ex

parte orientali cum Kernellis et Archieris faciendis, xvi. s. vi. d." In Archiv. Wolves. apud Wint. Kernellis mentioned here and in the next verse were much the same thing: or perhaps Battlements. In repairs of the great hall at Wolvesey-palace, I find, "In kyrnillis emptis ad idem, xii. d." Ibid. There is a patent granted to the monks of Abingdon, in Berkshire, in the reign of Edward the Third, "Pro kernellatione monasterii." Pat. an. 4. par. 1.

ⁿ Cotgrave has interpreted this word, an *old-fashioned sling*. V. MAFSONNEAU. Viz. Rot. Pip. An. 4 Hen. iii. [A.D.

Ther may ye bothe schote and cast
 Waxes bold and fend you fast.
 Thinkes your faders wan franchise,
 Be ye no more in other servise:
 Bot frely lyf to your lyves end:
 We fro you for ever wende°.

1219.) "NORDHANT. Et in expensis regis in obsidione castri de Rockingham, 100*l.* per Br. Reg. Et custodibus ingeniorum (engines) regis ad ea carienda usque Bisham, ad castrum illud obsidendum, 13*s.* 10*d.* per id. Br. Reg. Et pro duobus coriis, emptis apud Northampton ad fundas petriarum et mangonellorum regis faciendas, 5*s.* 6*d.* per id. Br. Reg."—Rot. Pip. 9 Hen. III. (A.D. 1225.) "SUMM. Comp. de Carnarburc. Et pro vii. cablis emptis ad petriarias et mangonellos in eodem castro, 7*s.* 11*d.*" Rot. Pip. 5 Hen. III. (A.D. 1220.) "DEVONS. Et in custo posito in I. petriaria et II. mangonellis cariatis a Nottingham usque Bisham, et in eisdem reductis a Bisham usque Nottingham, 7*l.* 4*s.*"

[See *infr.* p. 76. MANGONEL also signified what was thrown from the machine so called. Thus Froissart: "Et avoient les Brabançons de tres grans engins devant la ville, qui gettoient pierres de faix et mangoneaux jusques en la ville." Liv. iii. c. 118. And in the old French OVIDE cited by Borel, *TRESOR.* in v.

Onques pour une tor abatre,
 Ne oit on Mangoniaux descendre
 Plus briement ne du ciel descendre
 Foudre pour abatre un clocher.

ADDITIONS.]

Chaucer mentions both *Mangonels* and *Kyrnills*, in a castle in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 4195. 6279. Also *archiers*, i. e. *archerie*, v. 4191. So in the French *Roman de la Rose*, v. 3945.

Vous puisiez bien les Mangonneaulx,
 Voir la par-dessus les Creneaulx.
 Et aux archieres de la Tour
 Sont arbalestres tout entour.

Archieres occur often in this poem. Chaucer, in translating the above passage, has introduced guns, which were not known when the original was written, v. 4191.

[The use of artillery, however, is proved by a curious passage in Petrarch to be older than the period to which it has been commonly referred. The passage is in Petrarch's book de *REMEDIIS UTRIUSQUE FORTUNE*, undoubtedly written before the year 1334. "G. Habeo machinas et balistas. R. Mirum, nisi et glandes aeneas, quæ flammis injectis horrissono sonitu jaciuntur.—Erat hæc pestis nuper rara, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur: nunc, ut rerum pessimarum dociles sunt animi, ita communis est, ut quodlibet genus armorum." Lib. i. DIAL. 99. See Muratori, *ANTIQUITAT. Med. Æv.* tom. ii. col. 514. Cannons are supposed to have been first used by the English at the battle of Cressy, in the year 1346. It is extraordinary that Froissart, who minutely describes that battle, and is fond of decorating his narrative with wonders, should have wholly omitted this circumstance. Musquets are recited as a weapon of the infantry so early as the year 1475. "Quilibet peditum habet balistam vel bombardam." Lit. Casimiri III. an. 1475. LEO. POLOV. tom. i. p. 228. These are generally assigned to the year 1520.—ADDITIONS.]

I am of opinion, that some of the great military battering engines, so frequently mentioned in the histories and other writings of the dark ages, were fetched from the Crusades. See a species of the catapult, used by the Syrian army in the siege of Mecca, about the year 680. Mod. Univ. Hist. b. i. c. 2. tom. ii. p. 117. These expeditions into the East undoubtedly much improved the European art of war. Tasso's warlike machines, which seem to be the poet's invention, are formed on descriptions of such wonderful machines which he had read in the Crusade historians, particularly Wilhelmus Tyrensis.

° Gloss. Rob. Glouc. p. 664.

Vortigern, king of the Britons, is thus described meeting the beautiful princess Rouwen, daughter of Hengist, the Rosamond of the Saxon ages, at a feast of wassaile. It is a curious picture of the gallantry of the times.

Hengest that day did his might,
That alle were glad, king and knight,
And as thei were best in glading,
And wele cop schotin ^p knight and king,
Of chambir Rouewen so gent,
Be fore the king in halle scho went.
A coupe with wyne sche had in hand,
And hir hatire ^q was wele farand ^r.
Be fore the king on kne sett,
And on hir langage scho him grett.
“Lauerid ^s king, Wassaille,” seid sche.
The king asked, what suld be.
On that langage the king ne couthe ^t.
A knight ther ^u langage lerid ^w in youthe.
Breg hiht ^x that knight born Bretoun,
That lerid the langage of Sessoun ^y.
This Breg was the latimer ^z.
What scho said told Vortager.

^p “Sending about the cups space. Ca-
rousing briskly.” ^q attire.

^r very rich [very becoming.—ELLIS].

^s lord. ^t was not skilled. ^u their.

^w learned. ^x was called. ^y Saxons.

^z For *Latimer*, or *Latiner*, an *Inter-
preter*. Thus, in the Romance of KING
RICHARD, hereafter cited at large, Sala-
din's *Latimer* at the siege of Babylon
proclaims a truce to the Christian army
from the walls of the city. Signat. M. i.

The LATIMER tho tourned his eye
To that other syde of the tounne,
And cryed trues with gret sounne.

In which sense the French word occurs
in the Roman de GARIN. MSS. Bibl.
Reg. Paris. Num. 7542.

LATIMER fu si sot parler Roman,
Englois, Gallois, et Breton, et Norman.
And again,

Un LATINIER viel ferant et henu
Molt sot de plet, et molt entresmie fu.

And in the manuscript Roman de Rou,
which will again be mentioned:

L' archevesque Franches a Jumege ala,
A Rou, et a sa gent par LATINIER parla.

We find it in Froissart, tom. iv. c. 87.
And in other antient French writers.
In the old Norman poem on the subject
of king Dermot's expulsion from his
kingdom of Ireland, in the Lambeth
library, it seems more properly to signify,
in a limited sense, the king's domestic
SECRETARY.

Par son demecine LATINIER

Que moi conta de luy l'histoire, &c.

See lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II.
vol. iv. App. p. 270. We might here
render it literally his *Latinist*, an officer
retained by the king to draw up the

" Sir, Breg seid, Rowen yow gretis,
 And king callis and lord yow letis^a.
 This es ther custom and ther gest,
 Whan thei are atte the ale or fest.
 Ilk man that lous quare him think,
 Salle say Wosseille, and to him drink.
 He that bidis salle say, Wassaille,
 The tother salle say again, Drinkhaille.
 That sais Wosseille drinkis of the cop,
 Kissand^b his felaw he gives it up.
 Drinkheille, he sais, and drinke ther of,
 Kissand him in bourd and skof^c.
 The king said, as the knight gan ken^d,
 Drinkheille, smiland on Rouewen.
 Rouwen drank as hire list,
 And gave the king, sine^e him kist.
 There was the first wassaille in dede,
 And that first of fame gede^f.
 Of that wassaille men told grete tale,
 And wassaille whan thei were at ale.
 And drinkheille to tham that drank,
 Thus was wassaille tane^g to thank.
 Fele sithes^h that maidin yingⁱ,
 Wassailed and kist the king.
 Of bodi sche was right avenant^k,
 Of fair colour, with swete semblaunt^l.
 Hir hatire^m fulle wele it semed,
 Mervelikⁿ the king sche quemid^o.
 Oute of messure was he glad,
 For of that maidin he wer alle mad.

public instruments in Latin. As in *DOUGLAS'S* BOOK. "Godwinus accipitarius, Hugo LATINARIUS, Milo portarius." MS. Excerpt. penes me. But in both the last instances the word may bear its more general and extensive signification. Camden explains *LATIMES* by *interpreter*. Rem. p. 158. See also p. 151. edit. 1674.

^a esteems.

^c sport, joke.

^e since, afterwards.

^f went.

^h many times.

^k handsome, gracefully shaped, &c.

^l countenance [appearance, Ellis.]

^m attire.

^o pleased.

^b kissing.

^d to signify.

^g taken.

ⁱ young.

^j young.

^k handsome, gracefully shaped, &c.

^l countenance [appearance, Ellis.]

^m attire.

ⁿ marvelously.

Drunkenes the feend wrought,
 Of that paen^p was al his thoght.
 A meschaunche that time him led.
 He asked that paen for to wed.
 Hengist wild not draw a lite^q,
 Bot graunted him alle so tite.
 And Hors his brother consentid sone.
 Her frendis said, it were to done.
 Thei asked the king to gife hir Kent,
 In douary to take of rent.
 O pon that maidin his hert so cast,
 That thei askid the king made fast.
 I wene the king toke her that day,
 And wedded hire on paiens lay^r.
 Of prest was ther no benison^s
 No mes songen, no orison.
 In seisine he had her that night.
 Of Kent he gave Hengist the right.
 The erelle that time, that Kent alle held,
 Sir Goragon, that had the scheld,
 Of that gift no thing ne wist^t
 To^u he was cast oute with^v Hengist. ^w

In the second part, copied from Peter Langtoft, the attack of Richard the First, on a castle held by the Saracens, is thus described.

The dikes were fulle wide that closed the castle about,
 And depe on ilka side, with bankis hie without.
 Was ther non entre that to the castelle gan ligge^x,
 Bot a streiht kauce^y; at the end a drauht brigge.
 With grete duple cheynes drauhen over the gate,
 And fifti armed sueynes^z porters at that yate.

^p pagan, heathen.

^q "would not fly off a bit."

^r "in pagans law; according to the heathenish custom."

^s benediction, blessing.

^t knew not.

^u till.

^v by.

^w Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glo. p. 695.

^x lying.

^y causey.

^z swains, young men, soldiers.

With slenges and magneles^a thei kast^b to kyng Rychard
 Our cristen by pârcelles kasted ageynward^c.
 Ten sergeauns of the best his targe gan him bere
 That egre were and prest to covere hym and to were^d.
 Himself as a geaunt the cheynes in tuo hew,
 The targe was his warant^e, that non tille him threw.
 Right unto the gate with the targe thei yede
 Fightand on a gate, undir him the slouh his stede,
 Therfor ne wild he sesse^f, alone into the castele
 Thorgh than all wild presse on fote faught he fulle wele.
 And whan he was withinne, and fauht as a wilde leon,
 He fondred the Sarazins otuynne^g, and fauht as a dragon.
 Without the Cristen gan crie, Allas! Richard is taken,
 Tho Normans were sorie, of contenance gan blaken,
 To sle downe and to stroye never wild thei stint
 Thei left for dede no noye^h, ne for no wound no dynt,
 That in went alle their pres, mangre the Sarazins alle,
 And fond Richard on des fightand, and wonne the halle.ⁱ

From these passages it appears that Robert of Brunne has scarcely more poetry than Robert of Glocester. He has however taken care to acquaint his readers that he avoided high description, and that sort of phraseology which was then used by the minstrels and harpers; that he rather aimed to give information than pleasure, and that he was more studious of truth than ornament. As he intended his chronicle to be sung, at least by parts, at public festivals, he found it expedient to apologise for these deficiencies in the prologue; as he had partly done before in his prologue to the *MANUAL OF SINS*.

^a *mangonels*. Vid. *supr.* p. 72.

^b cast.

^c In Langtoft's French,

"Dis seriauntz des plus feres e de melz
 vanez,
 Devaunt le cors le Reis sa targe ount
 portez."

^d ward, defend.

^e guard, defence.

^f "he could not cease."

^g "he formed the Saracens into two parties." [^h Fondered' (explained forced in Hearne's Glossary) is perhaps a mistake of the transcriber for *wondered*, i. e. sundered, separated. *ELLIS*.]

^h annoyance.

ⁱ Chron. p. 182. 183.

I mad noht for no disours^k
 Ne for seggers no harpours,
 Bot for the luf of symple men,
 That strange Inglis cannot ken^l:
 For many it ere^m that strange Inglis
 In ryme wateⁿ never what it is.
 I made it not for to be praysed,
 Bot at the lewed men were aysed^o.

He next mentions several sorts of verse, or prosody; which were then fashionable among the minstrels, and have been long since unknown.

If it were made in ryme *couvée*,
 Or in *strangere* or *enterlaccé*, &c.*

^k tale-tellers, *Narratores*, Lat. *Con-
 teours*, Fr. *Seggers* in the next line per-
 haps means the same thing, i. e. *Sayers*.
 The writers either of metrical or of prose
 romances. See Antholog. Fran. p. 17.
 1765. 8vo. Or *Disours* may signify *Dis-
 courses*, i. e. adventures in prose. We
 have the "Devil's disours," in P. Plow-
 man, fol. xxxi. b. edit. 1550. *Disour*
 precisely signifies a *tale-teller at a feast*
 in Gower. Conf. Amant. lib. vii. fol.
 155. a. edit. Berthel. 1554. He is speak-
 ing of the coronation festival of a Ro-
 man emperor.

When he was gladest at his mete,
 And every minstrell had plaide
 And every disours had saide
 Which most was pleasaunt to his ere.

Du Cange says, that *Disours* were judges
 of the turney. Diss. Joinv. p. 179.

^l know.

^m it ere, there are.

ⁿ knew.

^o eased.

* [The rhymes here called, by Robert
 de Brunne, *Couvée*, and *Enterlaccé*, were
 undoubtedly derived from the Latin
 rhymers of that age, who used versus
coudati et *interlaccati*. Brunne here
 professes to avoid these elegancies of
 composition, yet he has intermixed many
 passages in *Rime Couvée*. See his
Chronicle, p. 266. 273. &c. &c. And
 almost all the latter part of his work
 from the Conquest is written in rhyme

enterlaccé, each couplet rhyming in the
 middle as well as the end. As thus,
 MSS. HARL. 1002.

Plausus Græcorum | lux cæcis et via
 claudis |
 Incola cælorum | virgo dignissima lau-
 dis.

The rhyme *Baston* had its appellation
 from Robert Baston, a celebrated Latin
 rhymers about the year 1315. The rhyme
strangere means *uncommon*. See CAN-
 TERBURY TALES, vol. iv. p. 72. seq. ut
 infr. The reader, curious on this sub-
 ject, may receive further information
 from a manuscript in the Bodleian li-
 brary, in which are specimens of *METRA*
Leonina, cristata, cornuta, reciproca, &c.
 MSS. LAUD. K 3. 4to. In the same
 library there is a very antient manu-
 script copy of Aldhelm's Latin poem
De Virginitate et Laude Sanctorum, writ-
 ten about the year 700, and given by
 Thomas Allen, with Saxon glosses, and
 the text almost in semi-saxon characters.
 These are the two first verses.

Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina
 casti,
 Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine
 Virgo.

Langbaine, in reciting this manuscript,
 thus explains the *quadratum* carmen.
 "Scil. prima cujusque versus litera, per
 Acrostichidem, conficit versum illum
Metrica tyrones. Ultima cujusque versus

He adds, that the old stories of chivalry had been so disguised by foreign terms, by additions and alterations, that they were now become unintelligible to a common audience: and particularly, that the tale of SIR TRISTRAM*, the noblest of all, was much changed from the original composition of its first author THOMAS.

I see in song in sedgeying tale^p
Of Erceldoune, and Kendale,
Non tham says as thai tham wrought^q,
And in ther saying^r it semes noght,
That may thou here in Sir Tristram^s;
Over gestes^t it has the steem^u,

litera, ab ultimo carmine ordine retrogrado numerando, hunc versum facit.

"Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti."

(Langb. MSS. v. p. 126.) MSS. Digz. 146. There is a very antient tract, by one Mico, I believe called also LEVITA, on Prosody, *De Quantitate Syllabarum*, with examples from the Latin poets, perhaps the first work of the kind. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. A 7. 9. See J. L. Hocker's CATAL. MSS. Bibl. Heidelb. p. 24. who recites a part of Mico's Preface, in which he appears to have been a grammatical teacher of youth. See also Dacheri SPICILEG. tom. ii. p. 300. b. edit. ult.—ADDITIONS.]

^p [See Note at the end of this vol.]

^q "among the romances that are sung, &c."

^r "none recite them as they were first written."

^s "as they tell them."

^t "this you may see, &c."

^u Hearne says that *Geste* were opposed to *Romance*. Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 37. But this is a mistake. Thus we have the *Geste of kyng Horne*, a very old metrical Romance. MSS. Harl. 2253. p. 70. Also in the Prologue of *Rychard Cuer de Lyon*.

King Richard is the best
That is found in any *jeste*.

And the passage in the text is a proof against his assertion. Chaucer, in the following passage, by *Jesrouns*, does not mean *Jesters* in modern significa-

tion, but writers of adventures. *House of Fame*, v. 108.

And *Jesrouns* that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game.

In the *House of Fame* he also places those who wrote "*olde Geste*." v. 425. It is however obvious to observe from whence the present term *Jest* arose. See Fauchet, Rec. p. 73. In P. Plowman, we have *Job's Jestes*. fol. xiv. b.

Job the gentyl in his *jestes*, greatly wytnesseth.

That is, "Job in the account of his Life." In the same page we have,

And japers and judgelers, and jangelers
of *jestes*.

That is, Minstrels, Resiters of tales. Other illustrations of this word will occur in the course of the work. *Chansons de gestes* were common in France in the thirteenth century among the troubadours. See Mem. concernant les principaux monumens de l'Histoire de France, Mem. Lit. xv. p. 582; by the very learned and ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye. I add the two first lines of a manuscript entitled, *Art de Kalender par Rauf*, who lived 1296. Bibl. Bodl. J. b. 2. Th. (Langb. MSS. 5. 439.)

De *geste* ne voil pas chanter,
Ne veilles estoires el canter.

There is even *Gesta Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi*, in many manuscript libraries. ^u *estecum*.

Over all that is or was,
If men yt sayd as made Thomas.—
Thai sayd in so quaynte Inglis
That manyone^w wate not what it is.—
And forsooth I couth nought
So strange Inglis as thai wrought.

On this account, he says, he was persuaded by his friends to write his Chronicle in a more popular and easy style, that would be better understood.

And men besought me many a time
To turn it bot in light ryme.
Thai said if I in strange it turne
To here it manyon would skurne^x,
For it are names fulle selcouthe^y
That ere not used now in mouth.—
In the hous of Sixille I was a throwe^z
Danz Robert of Meltone^a, that ye knowe,
Did it wryte for felawes sake,
When thai wild solace make.^b

Erceldoune and Kendale are mentioned, in some of these lines of Brunne, as [writers of] old romances or popular tales. Of the latter I can discover no traces in our antient literature. As to the former, Thomas Erceldoun, or Ashelington, is said to have written *Prophecies*, like those of Merlin. Leland, from the *Scala Chronicon*^c, says that "William Banastre^d,

^w many a one.

^x scorn.

^y strange.

^z a little while.

^a "Sir Robert of Malton." It appears from hence that he was born at Malton in Lincolnshire.

^b Pref. Rob. Glouc. p. 57. 58.

^c An antient French history or Chronicle of England never printed, which Leland says was translated out of French rhyme into French prose. Coll. vol. i. P. ii. pag. 59. edit. 1770. It was probably written or reduced by Thomas Gray into prose. Londinens. Antiquitat. Cant. lib. i. p. 38. Others affirm it to have been the work of John Gray, an eminent churchman, about the year 1212.

It begins, in the usual form, with the creation of the world, passes on to Brutus, and closes with Edward the Third.

^d One Gilbert Banestre was a poet and musician. The *Prophecies of Banister of England* are not uncommon among manuscripts. In the *Scotch Prophecies*, printed at Edinburgh, 1680, Banaster is mentioned as the author of some of them. "As Berlington's books and Banester tell us." p. 2. Again, "Beid hath briefed in his book and Banester also." p. 18. He seems to be confounded with William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward the Third. Berlington is probably John Bridlington, an Augus-

and Thomas Erceldoune, spoke words yn figure as were the prophecies of Merlin^c." In the library of Lincoln cathedral, there is a metrical romance entitled, THOMAS OF ERSELDOWN^a, which begins with the usual address,

Lordynges both great and small.

In the Bodleian library, among the theological works of John Lawern, monk of Worcester, and student in theology at Oxford about the year 1448, written with his own hand, a fragment of an English poem occurs, which begins thus :

Joly chepert [sheperd] of Askeldowne^f.

In the British Museum a manuscript English poem occurs, with this French title prefixed, "La Countesse de Dunbar, demanda a Thomas Essedoune quant la guere d'Escoce prendret fyn^g." This was probably our prophesier Thomas of Erceldoune. One of his predictions is mentioned in an antient Scots poem entitled A NEW YEAR'S GIFT, written in the year 1562, by Alexander Scott^h. One Thomas Leirmouth, or Rymer, was also a prophetic bard, and lived at Erslington, sometimes perhaps pronounced Erseldoun. This is therefore probably the same person. One who personates him, says,

In ERSLINGTON I dwell at hame,
THOMAS RYMER men call me.

tine canon of Bridlington, who wrote three books of *Carmina Vaticinalia*, in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England. MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 89. and 186. There are also *Versus Vaticinales* under his name, MSS. Bodl. NE. E. ii. 17. f. 21. He died, aged sixty, in 1379. He was canonised. There are many other *Prophetia*, which seem to have been fashionable at this time, bound up with Bridlington in MSS. Digb. 186.

^a Ub. supr. p. 510.

^b [Another copy is preserved at Cambridge, a transcript from which has been published by Mr. Jamieson in his Popular Ballads and Songs. The various readings of the Lincoln MS. are there given.—Edrr.]

^c MSS. Bodl. 692. fol.

[Mr. Risson has said of this poem that "it was found impracticable [by him] to make out more than the first two lines.

Joly chepte of Aschell downe

Can more on love than al the town."

Edrr.]

^e MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 127. It begins thus,

When man as mad a kingge of a cap-
ped man

When mon is lever other monnes thyng
then ys owen.

^h Ancient Scots Poems, Edinb. 1770. 12mo. p. 194. See the ingenious editor's notes, p. 312.

He has left vaticinal rhymes, in which he predicted the union of Scotland with England, about the year 1279¹. Fordun mentions several of his prophecies concerning the future state of Scotland².

Our author, Robert de Brunne, also translated into English rhymes the treatise of cardinal Bonaventura, his cotemporary³, *De cœna et passione domini et pœnis S. Mariæ Virginis*, with the following title: "Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jhesu, and also of hys Passyun, and eke of the Peynes of hys swete Modyr mayden Marye, the whyche made yn Latyn Bonaventure Cardynall^m." But I forbear to give further extracts from this writer, who appears to have possessed much more industry than genius, and cannot at present be read with much pleasure. Yet it should be remembered, that even such a writer as Robert de Brunne, uncouth and unpleasing as he naturally seems, and chiefly employed in turning the theology of his age into rhyme, contributed to form a style, to teach expression, and to polish his native tongue. In the infancy of language and composition, nothing is wanted but writers: at that period even the most artless have their use.

Robert Grossthead bishop of Lincoln⁴, who died in 1253, is said in some verses of Robert de Brunne, quoted above, to have been fond of the metre and music of the minstrels. He

¹ See *Scotch Prophecies*, ut suprà. p. 19. 11. 13. 18. 36. viz. *The Prophecy of Thomas Rymur*. Pr. "Stille on my wayes as I went."

² Lib. x. cap. 43. 44. I think he is also mentioned by Spotswood. See Dempst. xi. 810.

³ He died 1272. Many of Bonaventura's tracts were at this time translated into English. In the Harleian manuscripts we have, "The Treatis that is kallid *Prickynge of Love*, made bi a Frere menour Bonaventure, that was Cardinal of the courte of Rome." 2254. 1. f. 1. This book belonged to Dame Alys Brantwat "the worchyfull prioras of Dartforde." This is not an uncommon manuscript.

⁴ MSS. Harl. 1701. f. 84. The first

line is,

Almighti god in trinite.

It was never printed.

⁵ See Diss. ii.—The author and translator are often thus confounded in manuscripts. To an old English religious poem on the holy Virgin, we find the following title: *Incipit quidam cantus quem composuit frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum minorum*, &c. MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. 85. suprà. citat. But this is the title of our friar's original, a Latin hymn de B. MARIA VIRGINE, improperly adopted in the translation. Thomas de Hales was a Franciscan friar, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and flourished about the year 1340. We shall see other proofs of this.

was most attached to the French minstrels, in whose language he has left a poem, never printed, of some length. This was probably translated into English rhyme about the reign of Edward the First. Nor is it quite improbable, if the translation was made at this period, that the translator was Robert de Brunne; especially as he translated another of Grossthead's pieces. It is called by Leland *Chateau d'Amour*^o. But in one of the Bodleian manuscripts of this book we have the following title, *Romanze par Mestre Robert Grosseteste*^p. In another it is called, *Ce est la vie de D. Jhu de sa humanite fet a ordine de Saint Robert Grosseteste ke fut eveque de Nichole*^q: And in this copy, a very curious apology to the clergy is prefixed to the poem, for the language in which it is written^r. "Et quamvis lingua romana [romance] coram CLERICIS SAPO-

^o Script. Brit. p. 285.

^p MSS. Bodl. NE. D. 69.

[It has been shown in a former note, that Grosseteste's claim to the authorship of the French "Manuel de Pechees"—at least to the work at present known by that name—is extremely doubtful. The following extract from the "Chateau d'Amour," ascribed to him by Leland and others, will render his title to the composition of any poem in French still more problematical :

Ici comence un escrit,
Ke Seint Robert de Nichole fist.
Romanze de romanze est apelé,
Tel num a dfeit li est assigné;
Kar de ceo livre la materie,
Est estret de haut cleregie,
E pur ceo ke il pasco (surpasse) altre
romanz

Apelé est romanz de romanz.
Les chapitres ben conuz serunt
Par les titres ke siverunt
Les titles ne voil pas rimer
Kar leur n'atiere ne volt suffer.
Primis sera le prologe mis
E puz les titles tuz assis.

MSS. Reg. 20 B. xiv.

The probability is, that both the present poem, and the "Manuel de Pechees" are founded on similar works of Grosseteste written in the Latin language; and that

the transcribers, either from ignorance, or a desire of giving a fictitious value to their own labours, have inscribed his name upon the copies. His "Templum Domini," a copious system of mystical divinity, abounding in pious raptures and scholastic subtleties, may have afforded the materials for the former poem; and his treatise "De sept. vitiis et remediis"—if we except the *Contes devots* which Wadigton may have gleaned from another source—possibly supplied the doctrines of the latter. The title adopted by Leland and the English translator, has been taken from the following passage of the French work:

En un chastel bel e grant,
Bien fourme et avenant,
Ceo est le chastel d'amour,
E de solaz e de socour.

Harl. MS. no. 1121.

With regard to Warton's conjecture, that Robert de Brunne was the author of the English version, it can only be said, that the internal evidence is most decidedly against such an opinion.—EDR.]

^q F 16. Laud. fol. membran. The word *Nicole* is perfectly French, for *Liacula*. See likewise MSS. Bodl. E 4. 14.

^r In the hand-writing of the poem itself, which is very antient.

REM SUAVITATIS non habeat, tamen pro laicis qui minus intelligunt opusculum illud aptum est.*" This piece professes to treat of the creation, the redemption, the day of judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell: but the whole is a religious allegory, and under the ideas of chivalry the fundamental articles of Christian belief are represented. It has the air of a system of divinity written by a troubadour. The poet, in describing the advent of Christ, supposes that he entered into a magnificent castle, which is the body of the immaculate virgin. The structure of this castle is conceived with some imagination, and drawn with the pencil of romance. The poem begins with these lines.

Ki pense ben, ben peut dire :
Sanz penser ne poet suffise:
De nul bon oure commencer
Deu nos dont de li penser
De ki par ki, en ki, sont
Tos les biens ki font en el mond.

But I hasten to the translation, which is more immediately connected with our present subject, and has this title: "Her bygenet a tretys that ys yclept CASTEL OF LOVE that biscop Grosteyzt made ywis for lewde mennes by hove^t." Then follows the prologue or introduction.

That good thinketh good may do,
And God wol help him thar to:
Ffor nas never good work wrought
With oute biginninge of good thought.
Ne never was wrought non vuel^u thyng
That vuel thought nas the biginnyng.
God ffuder, and sone and holigoste
That alle thing on eorthe sixt^w and wost,

* f. 1. So also in MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 232. In MSS. Harl. 1121. 5. "[Ici demoustre] Robert Grosseteste evesque de Nichole un tretis en Franceis, del commencement du monde, &c." f. 156. Cod. membran.

^t Bibl. Bodl. MS. Vernon, f. 292. This translation was never printed: and is, I believe, a rare manuscript.

^u well, good [foul].

^w F. *hert.* highest [seest].

That one God art and thrillihod^x,
 And threo persones in one hod^y,
 Withouten end and bi ginninge,
 To whom we ougten over alle thinge,
 Worschepe him with trewe love,
 That kineworthe king art us above,
 In whom, of whom, thorw whom beoth,
 Alle the good schipes that we hire i seoth,
 He leve us thenche and worchen so,
 That he us schylde from vre fo,
 All we habbeth to help neode
 That we ne beth all of one theode,
 Ne i boren in one londe,
 Ne one speche undirstonde,
 Ne mowe we al Latin wite^z
 Ne Ebreu ne Gru^a that beth i write,
 Ne Ffrench, ne this other spechen,
 That me mihte in worlde sechen.
 To herie God our derworthi drihte^b,
 As vch mon ougte with all his mihte;
 Loft song syngen to God zerne^c,
 With such speche as he con lerne:
 Ne monnes mouth ne be i dut
 Ne his ledene^d i hud,
 To serven his God that him wrougte,
 And maade al the worlde of nougte.
 Of Englische I shal nir resun schowen
 Ffor hem that can not i knowen,
 Nouthur French ne Latyn
 On Englisch I chulle tullen him.

^x trinity.

^y unity.

^z understand.

^a Greek. In John Trevisas's dialogue concerning the translation of the Polychronicon, MSS. Harl. 1900. b. f. 42. "Aristotle's booke, &c. were translated out of *grue* into Latin. Also with pray-

ing of kyng Charles [the Bald], Johan Scott translated Denys bookes out of *grue* into Latyn."

^b "to bless [praise] God our beloved lord."

^c earnestly.

^d language.

Wherefor the world was i wroht,
 Ther after how he was bi tauht,
 Adam vre ffader to ben his,
 With al the merthe of paradys
 To wonen and welden to such ende
 Til that he scholde to hevene wende,
 And hou sone he hit fu les
 And seththen hou for bouht wes,
 Thurw the heze kynges sone
 That here in eorthe wolde come,
 Ffor his sustren that were to boren,
 And ffor a prison thas was for loren.
 And hou he made as ze schal heren
 That heo i cust and sauht weren
 And to wruche a castel he alihte, &c.

But the following are the most poetical passages of this poem.

God nolde a lihte in none manere,
 But in feir stude^c and in clere,
 In feir and clene siker hit wes,
 Ther God almihti his in ches^f
 In a CASTEL well comeliche,
 Muche^e and ffeire, and loveliche,
 That is the castell of alle floure,
 Of solas and of socour,
 In the mere he stont bi twene two,
 Ne hath he forlak for no fo:
 For the tour^h is so wel with outen,
 So depe i diked al abouten,
 That non kunnes asayling,
 Ne may him derven fer no thing;
 He stont on heiz rocke and sound,
 And is y planed to the ground,

^c place.

^f "chose his habitation."

^e great.

^h La tur est si bien en clos. *Fr. Orig.*

That ther may won non vuelⁱ thing,
 Ne derve ne gynnes castyng;
 And thaug he be so lovliche,
 He is so dredful and hatcliche,
 To all thulke that ben his fon,
 That heo fien him everichon;
 Ffor smal toures that beth abouten,
 To witen the heige toure withouten,
 Sethe^k beoth thre bayles withalle^l,
 So feir i diht with strange walle,
 As heo beth here after I write,
 Ne may no man the feirschipe^m i wite,
 Ne may no tongue ne may hit telle,
 Ne thought thincke, ne mouthe spelle:
 On trusti rocke heo stondest fast,
 And with depe diches bethe bi cast,
 And the carnelsⁿ so stondest upright,
 Wel I planed, and feir i dight:
 Seven barbicanes ther beth i wrouht
 With gret ginne al bi thouht^o,
 And evrichon hath gat and toure,
 Ther never fayleth ne socoure.
 Never schal fo him stonde with
 That thider wold fien to sechen grith^p.
 This castel is siker fair abouten,
 And is al depeynted withouten,
 With threo heowes that wel beth sene^q;
 So is the foundement al grene,
 That to the rock fast lith.
 Wel is that ther murthe i sith,
 Ffor the greneschip lasteth evere,
 And his heuh ne keoseth nevere,

ⁱ vile.^k Tres bailes en tour. *Fr. Orig.*^l "moreover there are three," &c.^m beauty.ⁿ kernels.—Kerneus bien poli. *Fr.**Orig.*^o Pur bon engin fait. *Fr. Orig.*^p counsel [grace].^q La chastel est a bel bon
De hors de peint a en virun
De treis culurs diversement.*Fr. Orig.*

Sethen abouten that other heug
 So is ynde so ys blu^r.
 That the midel heug we clepeth ariht
 And schyneth so faire and so briht.
 The thridde heug an ovemast
 Over wrigeth al and so ys i cast
 That withinnen and withouten,
 The castel lihteth al abouten,
 And is raddore than eny rose schal
 That shunneth as hit barnd^s were^t.
 Withinne the castel is whit schinyng
 So^u the snows that is snewynge,
 And casteth that liht so wyde,
 After long the tour and be syde,
 That never cometh ther wo ne woug,
 As swetnesse ther is ever i noug.
 Amydde^w the heige toure is springynge
 A well that ever is eorninge^x
 With four stremes that striketh wel,
 And erneth upon the gravel,
 And fulleth the duches about the wal,
 Much blisse ther is over al,
 Ne dar he seeke non other leche
 That mai riht of this water eleche.
 In^y thulke derworthi faire toure
 Ther stont a trone with much honour,
 Of whit yvori and feiroke of liht
 Than the someres day when heis briht,
 With cumpas i throwen and with gin al i do
 Seven steppes ther beoth therto, &c.

^r Si est ynde si est blu. *Fr. Orig.*

^s burned, on fire.

^t Plus est vermail ke nest rose
 E piert un ardant chose. *Fr. Orig.*

^u as.

^w In mi la tur plus hauteine
 Est surdant une funtaine

Dunt issent quater ruissell.

Ki bruinet par le gravel, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

^x running.

^y En cele bel tur a bone

A de yvoire un trone

Ke plus eissi blanchor

Ci en mi este la beau jur

Par engin est compassez, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

The ffoure smale toures abouten,
 That with the heige tour withouten,
 Ffour had thewes that about hire i seoth,
 Ffour vertus cardinals beoth, &c.
 And ^a which beoth threo bayles get,
 That with the carnels ben so wel i set,
 And i cast with cumpas and walled abouten
 That wileth the heihe tour with outen :
 Bote the inmost bayle i wote
 Bitokeneth hire holi maydenhode, &c.
 The middle bayle that wite ge,
 Bitokeneth hire holi chastite
 And sethen the overmast bayle
 Bitokeneth hire holi sposaile, &c.
 The seven kernels abouten,
 That with groot gin beon y wrought withouten,
 And witeth this castel so well,
 With arwe and with quarrel ^a;
 That beoth the seven vertues with wunne
 To overcum the seven deadly sinne, &c. ^b

It was undoubtedly a great impediment to the cultivation and progressive improvement of the English language at these early periods, that the best authors chose to write in French. Many of Robert Grossthead's pieces are indeed in Latin; yet where the subject was popular, and not immediately addressed to learned readers, he adopted the Romance or French language, in preference to his native English. Of this, as we have already seen, his MANUEL PECHE, and his CHATEAU D'AMOUR, are sufficient proofs, both in prose and verse: and his example and authority must have had considerable influence in encouraging this practice. Peter Langtoft, our Augustine

^a Les treis baïlles du chastel
 Ki sunt overt au kernel
 Qui a compas sunt en virun
 E defendent le dungun. *Fr. Orig.*
^b Les barbiganes seet
 Kis hors de baïlles sunt fait,

Ki bien gardent le chastel,
 E de secte e de quarrel. *Fr. Orig.*

^b Afterwards the fountain is explained to be God's grace: Charity is constable of the castle, &c. &c.

canon of Bridlington, not only compiled the large chronicle of England, above recited, in French; but even translated Herbert Boscam's Latin Life of Thomas Becket into French rhymes^c. John Hoveden, a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to queen Eleanor mother of Edward the First, wrote in French rhymes a book entitled, *Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, Ascensione, Jhesu Christi*^d. Various other proofs have before occurred. Lord Lyttelton quotes from the Lambeth library a manuscript poem in French or Norman verse on the subject of king Dermot's expulsion from Ireland, and the recovery of his kingdom^e. I could mention many others. Anonymous French pieces both in prose and verse, and written about this time, are innumerable in our manuscript repositories^f. Yet this fashion proceeded rather from necessity

^c Pits. p. 890. Append. Who with great probability supposes him to have been an Englishman.

^d MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Cant. G. 16. where it is also called the *Nightingale*. Pr. "Alme fesse lit de peresse."

[In this manuscript the whole title is this: "Le Rossionol, ou la pensee Jehan de Hovedene clerc la roine d'Engleterre mere le roi Edward, de la naissance et de la mort et du relievement et de l'ascension Jesu Crist et de l'assumption nostre dame." This manuscript was written in the fourteenth century.—*ADDITIONS*.]

Our author, John Hoveden, was also skilled in sacred music, and a great writer of Latin hymns. He died, and was buried, at Hoveden, 1275. Pits. p. 356. Bale, v. 79.

There is an old French metrical life of Tobiah, which the author, most probably an Englishman, says he undertook at the request of William, Prior of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. MSS. Jes. Coll. Oxon. 85. *supr. citat.*

Le prior Gwilleyme me prie
De l'eglyse seynte Marie
De Kenelworth an Ardenne,
Ki porte le plus haute peyne
De charite, ke nul eglyse
Del reume a devyse
Ke jeo liz en romanz le vie
De celui ki ont nun Tobie, &c.

^e Hist. Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 270. Notes. It was translated into prose by Sir George Carew in Q. Elizabeth's time: this translation was printed by Harris in his *Hibernia*. It was probably written about 1190. See Ware, p. 56. And compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. 28. Notes. The Lambeth manuscript seems to be but a fragment. viz. MSS. Bibl. Lamb. Hib. A. See *supr.* p. 73. Note^h.

^f [Among the learned Englishmen who now wrote in French, the Editor of the *CANTERBURY TALES* mentions Helis de Guineestre, or WINCHESTER, a translator of Cato into French. (See vol. ii. sect. xxvii.) And Hue de Roteland, author of the Romance, in French verse, called *Ipomedon*, MSS. Cott. Vesp. A vii. The latter is also supposed to have written a French Dialogue in metre, MSS. Bodl. 3904. *La plainte par entre mis Sire Henry de Lacy Counte de Nichole [Lincoln] et Sire Wauter de Byblesworth par la croiserie en la terre seinte.* And a French romantic poem on a knight called *CAPANEUS*, perhaps Statius's *Capaneus*. MSS. Cott. Vesp. A vii. *ut supr.* It begins,

Qui bons countes viel entendre.

[See "THE *CANTERBURY TALES* OF CHAUCER. To which are added AN ESSAY upon his LANGUAGE and VERSIFICATION, an INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE,

and a principle of convenience, than from affectation. The vernacular English, as I have before remarked, was rough and unpolished: and although these writers possessed but few ideas of taste and elegance, they embraced a foreign tongue, almost equally familiar, and in which they could convey their sentiments with greater ease, grace, and propriety. It should also be considered, that our most eminent scholars received a part of their education at the university of Paris. Another, and a very material circumstance, concurred to countenance this fashionable practice of composing in French. It procured them readers of rank and distinction. The English court, for more than two hundred years after the Conquest, was totally French: and our kings, either from birth, kindred, or marriage, and from a perpetual intercourse, seem to have been more closely connected with France than with England. It was however fortunate that these French pieces were written, as some of them met with their translators: who perhaps unable to aspire to the praise of original writers, at least by this means contri-

and Notes. Lond. 1775. 4 vol. 8vo." This masterly performance, in which the author has displayed great taste, judgment, sagacity, and the most familiar knowledge of those books which peculiarly belong to the province of a commentator on Chaucer, did not appear till more than half of my second volume was printed.—ADDITIONS.]

I have before hinted that it was sometimes customary to intermix Latin with French. As thus. MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 137. b.

Dieu roy de Mageste,
Ob personas trinas,
Nostre roy esa meyne
Ne perire sinas, &c.

Again, *ibid.* f. 76. Where a lover, an Englishman, addresses his mistress who was of Paris.

*Dum ludis floribus volut lacinia,
Le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel
Angustia, &c.*

Sometimes their poetry was half French and half English. As in a song

to the holy virgin on our Saviour's passion. *Ibid.* f. 83.

Mayden moder milde, oyez cel oreysoun,
From shome thou me shilde, e de ly mal
feloun:

For love of thine childe me menez de
tresoun,
Ich wes wod and wilde, ore su en pri-
soun, &c.

In the same manuscript I find a French poem probably written by an Englishman, and in the year 1300, containing the adventures of Gilote and Johanne, two ladies of gallantry, in various parts of England and Ireland; particularly at Winchester and Pontefract. f. 66. b. The curious reader is also referred to a French poem, in which the poet supposes that a minstrel, *jugleur*, travelling from London, clothed in a rich tabard, met the king and his retinue. The king asks him many questions; particularly his lord's name, and the price of his horse. The minstrel evades all the king's questions by impertinent answers; and at last presumes to give his majesty advice. *Ibid.* f. 107. b.

buted to adorn their native tongue: and who very probably would not have written at all, had not original writers, I mean their cotemporaries who wrote in French, furnished them with models and materials.

Hearne, to whose diligence even the poetical antiquarian is much obliged, but whose conjectures are generally wrong, imagines, that the old English metrical romance, called RYCHARDE CUEER DE LYON, was written by Robert de Brunne. It is at least probable, that the leisure of monastic life produced many rhymers. From proofs here given we may fairly conclude, that the monks often wrote for the minstrels: and although our Gilbertine brother of Brunne chose to relate true stories in plain language, yet it is reasonable to suppose, that many of our antient tales in verse containing fictitious adventures, were written, although not invented, in the religious houses. The romantic history of *Guy earl of Warwick*, is expressly said, on good authority, to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan friar of Carocus in Cornwall, about the year 1292^s. The libraries of the monasteries were full of romances. *Bevis of Southampton*, in French, was in the library of the abbey of Leicester^b. In that of the abbey of Glastonbury, we find *Liber de Excidio Trojæ*, *Gesta Ricardi Regis*, and *Gesta Alexandri*

^s Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 59. edit. ut supr. I suppose Carew means the metrical Romance of Guy. But Bale says that Walter wrote *Vitam Guidonis*, which seems to imply a prose history. x. 78. Giraldus Cambrensis also wrote Guy's history. Hearne has printed an *Historia Guidonis de Warwik*, Append. ad Annal. Dunstaple, num. xi. It was extracted from Girald. Cambrensis. Hist. Reg. West-Sax. capit. xi. by Girardus Cornubiensis. Lydgate's *life of Guy*, never printed, is translated from this Girardus; as Lydgate himself informs us at the end. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. D 31. f. 64. Tit. Here gynneth the liff of Guy of Warwyk.

Out of the Latyn made by the Chronyler
Called of old GIBARD CORNUBYENCE:

Which wrote the dedis, with grete diligence,
Of them that were in Westsex crowned kynges, &c.

See Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 89. Some have thought that Girardus Cornubiensis and Giraldus Cambrensis were the same persons. This passage of Lydgate may perhaps shew the contrary. We have also in the same Bodleian manuscript, a poem on Guy and Colbrand, viz. MSS. Laud. D 31. f. 87. More will be said on this subject.

^b See *Registrum Librorum omnium et Jocalium in monasterio S. Mariae de Præstis prope Leycestriam*. fol. 132. b. In MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I 75. This catalogue was written by Will. Charite, one of the monks, A.D. 1517. fol. 139.

Regis, in the year 1247¹. These were some of the most favourite subjects of romance, as I shall shew hereafter. In a catalogue of the library of the abbey of Peterborough are recited, *Amys and Amelion*², *Sir Tristram*, *Guy de Burgoyne*, and *Gesta Osuelis*³, all in French: together with *Merlin's Prophecies*, *Turpin's Charlemagne*, and the *Destruction of Troy*⁴. Among the books given to Winchester college by the founder William of Wykeham, a prelate of high rank, about the year 1387, we have *Chronicon Trojæ*⁵. In the library of Windsor college, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, were discovered in the midst of missals, psalters, and homilies, *Duo libri Gallici de Romances, de quibus unus liber de Rose, et alius difficilis materiæ*⁶. This is the language of the king's commissioners, who searched the archives of the college: the first of these two French romances is perhaps John de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*. A friar, in Pierce Plowman's Visions, is said to be much better acquainted with the *Rimes of Robin Hood*, and *Randal [Erle] of Chester*, than with his Pater-noster⁷. The monks, who very naturally sought all opportunities of amusement in their retired

¹ Hearne's Joann. Glaston. Catal. Bibl. Glaston. p. 435. One of the books on Trôys is called *bonus et magnus*. There is also "Liber de Captione Antiochie, Gallice. *legibilia*." *ibid*.

² The same Romance is in MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. 2386. § 42.

[The Harl. MS. is a bad copy of about one half of the poem. This Romance was translated into German verse by Conrad of Würzburg, who flourished about the year 1300. He chose to name the heroes Engelhard and Engeldrud. WERNER.]

See Du Cang. Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Auctor. p. 193. There is an old manuscript French MORALITY on this subject, *Comment Amille tue ses deux enfans pour guerir Amis son compaignon*, &c. Beauchamps, Rech. Theatr. Fr. p. 109. There is a French metrical romance *Histoire d'Amys et Amilion*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12. C. xii. 9.

[And at Bennet college, Num. L. 1. It begins,

Ki veut oir chaunçon damur.

ADDITIONS.]

³ There is a Romance called *Orux*, MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W. 4. 1. xxviii. I think he is mentioned in *Charlemagne's* story. He is converted to Christianity, and marries *Charlemagne's* daughter. [Analysed by Mr. Ellis: vol. ii. p. 324.]

⁴ Gunton's Peterb. p. 108. seq.—I will give some of the titles as they stand in the catalogue. *Dares Phrygius de Excidio Trojæ*, bis. p. 180. *Prophecia Merlini versifice*. p. 182. *Gesta Caroli secundum Turpinum*. p. 187. *Gesta Æneæ post destructionem Trojæ*. p. 198. *Bellum contra Runcivallum*. p. 202. There are also the two following articles, viz. "Certamen inter regem Johannem et Barones, versifice. Per H. de Davench." p. 188. This I have never seen, nor know any thing of the author. "Versus de ludo scaccorum." p. 195.

⁵ Ex archivis Coll. Wint.

⁶ Dugd. Mon. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 80. ⁷ Fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1530.

and confined situations, were fond of admitting the minstrels to their festivals; and were hence familiarised to romantic stories. Seventy shillings were expended on minstrels, who accompanied their songs with the harp, at the feast of the installation of Ralph abbot of Saint Augustin's at Canterbury, in the year 1309. At this magnificent solemnity, six thousand guests were present in and about the hall of the abbey^a. It was not deemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, visited his cathedral priory of Saint Swithin in that city, a minstrel named Herbert was introduced, who sung the *Song of Colbrond* a Danish giant, and the tale of *Queen Emma delivered from the plough-shares*, in the hall of the prior Alexander de Herriard, in the year 1338. I will give this very curious article, as it appears in an antient register of the priory. "*Et cantabat Joculator quidam nomine Herebertus CANTICUM Colbrondi, necnon Gestum Emme regine a judicio ignis liberate, in aula prioris*." In an annual accompt-roll of the Augustine priory of Bicester in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, the following entries relating to this subject occur, which I chuse to exhibit in the words of the original. "*DONA PRIORIS. Et in datis cuidam citharizatori in die sancti Jeronimi, viii. d.—Et in datis alteri citharizatori in ffesto Apostolorum Simonis et Jude cognomine Hendy, xii d.—Et in datis cuidam minstrallo domini le Talbot infra natale domini, xii. d.—Et in datis ministrallis domini le Straunge in die Epiphanie, xx. d.—Et in datis duobus ministrallis domini Lovell in crastino S. Marci evangeliste, xvi. d.—Et in datis ministrallis ducis*

^a Dec. Script. p. 2011.

^b Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MSS. pergam. in Archiv. de Wolvesey Wint. These were local stories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond a Danish champion, just without the northern walls of the city of Winchester, in a meadow to this day called Danemarch: and Colbrond's battle-axe was kept in the treasury of St. Swithin's priory till the Dissolution. Th. Rudb. apud Wharton, Angl. Sac. i. 211. This history remained in rude painting against the

walls of the north transept of the cathedral till within my memory. Queen Emma was a patroness of this church, in which she underwent the trial of walking blindfold over nine red hot ploughshares. Colbrond is mentioned in the old romance of the *Squyr of Lowe Degree*. Signat. a. iii.

Or els so doughty of my honde
As was the gyaunte syr Colbronde.

See what is said above of Guy earl of Warwick, who will again be mentioned.

Glocestrie in festo nativitatis beate Marie, iii s. iv d." I must add, as it likewise paints the manners of the monks, "*Et in datis cuidam Ursario*, iiii d."* In the prior's accounts of the Augustine canons of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, of various years in the reign of Henry the Sixth, one of the styles, or general heads, is DE JOCULATORIBUS ET MIMIS. I will, without apology, produce some of the particular articles; not distinguishing between *Mimi*, *Joculatores*, *Jocatores*, *Lusores*, and *Citharistæ*: who all seem alternately, and at different times, to have exercised the same arts of popular entertainment. "*Joculatori in septimana S. Michaelis*, iv d.—*Cithariste tempore natalis domini et aliis jocatoribus*, iv d.—*Mimis de Solihull*, vi d.—*Mimis de Coventry*, xx d.—*Mimo domini Ferrers*, vi d.—*Lusoribus de Eton*, viii d.—*Lusoribus de Coventry*, viii d.—*Lusoribus de Daventry*, xii d.—*Mimis de Coventry*, xii d.—*Mimis domini de Asteley*, xii d.—*Item iiii. mimis domini de Warewyck*, x d.—*Mimo ceco*, ii d.—*Sex mimis domini de Clynton*.—*Duobus Mimis de Rugeby*, x d.—*Cuidam cithariste*, vi d.—*Mimis domini de Asteley*, xx d.—*Cuidam cithariste*, vi d.—*Cithariste de Coventry*, vi d.—*Duobus citharistis de Coventry*, viii d.—*Mimis de Rugeby*, viii d.—*Mimis domini de Buckeridge*, xx d.—*Mimis domini de Stafford*, ii s.—*Lusoribus de Coleshille*, viii d."† Here we may observe, that the minstrels of the nobility, in whose families they were constantly retained, travelled about the county to the neighbouring monasteries; and that they generally received better gratuities for these occasional performances than the others. Solihull, Rugby, Coleshill, Eton, or Nun-Eton, and Coventry, are all towns situated at no great distance from the priory. Nor must I omit that two

* Ex. Orig. in Rotul. pergamen. Tit. "Comptus dni Ricardi Parentyn Prioris, et fratris Ric. Albon canonici, bursarii ibidem, de omnibus bonis per eosdem receptis et liberatis a crastino Michaelis anno Henrici Sexti post Conquestum octavo usque in idem crastinum anno R. Henrici prædicti nono." In Thesauriar. Coll. SS. Trin. Oxon. Bi-

shop Kennet has printed a *Comptus* of the same monastery under the same reign, in which three or four entries of the same sort occur. Paroch. Antiq. p. 578.

† Ex orig. penes me.

"In the antient annual rolls of account of Winchester college, there are many articles of this sort. The few following, extracted from a great number,

minstrels from Coventry made part of the festivity at the consecration of John, prior of this convent, in the year 1432, viz. "*Dat. duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris, xiiid.*" Nor is it improbable, that some of our greater monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay. So early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry the Second, *Jeffrey the harper* received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hide near Winchester*; undoubtedly on condition that he should serve the monks in the profession of a harper on public

may serve as a specimen. They are chiefly in the reign of Edward IV. viz. *In the year 1481.* "Et in sol. ministrallis dom. Regis venientibus ad collegium xv. die Aprilis, cum 12*d.* solut. ministrallis dom. Episcopi Wynton venientibus ad collegium primo die junii, iiii*s.* iiii*d.*—Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Arundell ven. ad Coll. cum viii*d.* dat. ministrallis dom. de Lawarr, ii*s.* iiii*d.*"—*In the year 1483.* "Sol. ministrallis dom. Regis ven. ad Coll. iiii*s.* iiii*d.*"—*In the year 1472.* "Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Regis cum viii*d.* dat. duobus Berewardis ducis Clarentie, xx*d.*—Et in dat. Johanni Stullo quondam dom. de Warewyc, cum iiii*d.* dat. Thome Neryle taborario.—Et in datis duobus ministrallis ducis Glocestrie, cum iiii*d.* dat. uni ministrallo ducis de Northumberlond, viii*d.*—Et in datis duobus citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad collegium viii*d.*"—*In the year 1479.* "Et in datis satrapis Wynton venientibus ad coll. festo Epiphanie, cum xii*d.* dat. ministrallis dom. episcopi venient. ad coll. infra octavas epiphanie, iiii*s.*"—*In the year 1477.* "Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Principis venient. ad coll. festo Ascensionis Domini, cum xx*d.* dat. ministrallis dom. Regis, v*s.*"—*In the year 1464.* "Et in dat. ministrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad Coll. in mense julii, iiii*s.* iiii*d.*"—*In the year 1467.* "Et in datis quatuor mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad Coll. xiii. die ffebr. ex curiositate dom. Custodis, ii*s.*"—*In the year 1466.* "Et in dat. satrapis, [ut sup*ra.*] cum ii*s.* dat. iiii. interludentibus et Jo. Meke citharistæ eodem festo, iiii*s.*"—*In the year 1484.* "Et in dat. uni ministrallo dom. principis, et in aliis

ministrallis ducis Glocestrie v. die julii, xx*d.*"—The minstrels of the bishop, of lord Arundel, and the duke of Gloucester, occur very frequently. In domo muniment coll. prædict. in cista ex orientali latere.

In rolls of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the countess of Westmoreland, sister of cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the minstrels of her household, who received gratuities. Ex Rot. Comp. orig.

In these rolls there is an entry, which seems to prove that the *Lusores* were a sort of actors in dumb show or masquerade. Rot. ann. 1467. "Dat. lusoribus de civitate Winton, venientibus ad collegium in apparatu suo mens. julii, v*s.* viii*d.*" This is a large reward. I will add from the same rolls, ann. 1479. "In dat. Joh. Pontisbery and socio ludentibus in aula in die circumcisiōnis, ii*s.*"

* Ibid. It appears that the Coventry-men were in high repute for their performances of this sort. In the entertainment presented to queen Elizabeth at Killingworth castle, in the year 1575, the Coventry-men exhibited "their old storiall sheaw." Laneham's *Narrative*, &c. p. 32. Minstrels were hired from Coventry to perform at Holy Crosse feast at Abingdon, Berks, 1422. Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. ii. p. 598. See an account of their play on Corpus Christi day, in Stevens's *Monasticon*, i. p. 138. and Hearne's *Fordun*, p. 1450. sub an. 1492.

* Madox, *Hist. Exchequer*, p. 251. Where he is styled, "Galfridus citharædus."

occasions. The abbies of Conway and Stratflur in Wales respectively maintained a bard^y: and the Welsh monasteries in general were the grand repositories of the poetry of the British bards^z.

In the statutes of New-college at Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder bishop William of Wykeham orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days in the hall after dinner and supper, to entertain themselves with songs, and other diversions consistent with decency: and to recite poems, chronicles of kingdoms, the wonders of the world, together with the like compositions, not misbecoming the clerical character. I will transcribe his words. "Quando ob dei reverentiam aut sue matris, vel alterius sancti cujuscunque, tempore yemali, ignis in aula sociis ministratur; tunc scolaribus et sociis post tempus prandii aut cene, liceat gracia recreationis, in aula, in Cantilenis et aliis solaciis honestis, moram facere condecentem; et Poemata, regnorum Chronicas, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera que statum clericalem condecorant, serius pertractare^a." The latter part of this injunction seems to be an explication of the former: and on the whole it appears, that the *Cantilenæ* which the scholars should sing on these occasions, were a sort of *Poemata*, or poetical Chronicles, containing general histories of kingdoms^b. It is natural to conclude, that they preferred pieces of English history: and among Hearne's manuscripts I have discovered some fragments on

^y Powel's CAMBRIA. *To the Reader.* pag. 1. edit. 1581.

^z Evans's *Diss. de Bardis.* Specimens of Welsh Poetry. p. 92. Wood relates a story of two itinerant priests coming, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacrist, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their *gestulatoris ludicrisque artibus*, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics who could only administer spiritual consolation, and being consequently disappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the

monastery. Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 67. Under the year 1294.

^a Rubric. xviii. The same thing is enjoined in the statutes of Winchester college, Rubr. xv. I do not remember any such passage in the statutes of preceding colleges in either university. But this injunction is afterwards adopted in the statutes of Magdalene college; and from thence, if I recollect right, was copied into those of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

^b Hearne thus understood the passage. "The wise founder of New college permitted them [metrical chronicles] to be sung by the fellows and scholars upon extraordinary days." Heming. Cartul. ii. APPEND. Numb. ix. § vi. p. 662.

vellum^c, containing metrical chronicles of our kings; which, from the nature of the composition, seem to have been used for this purpose, and answer our idea of these general *Chronica regnorum*. Hearne supposed them to have been written about the time of Richard the First^d: but I rather assign them to the reign of Edward the First, who died in the year 1307. But the reader shall judge. The following fragment begins abruptly with some rich presents which king Athelstan received from Charles the Third, king of France: a nail which pierced our Saviour's feet on the cross, a spear with which Charlemagne fought against the Saracens, and which some supposed to be the spear which pierced our Saviour's side, a part of the holy cross enclosed in crystal, three of the thorns from the crown on our Saviour's head, and a crown formed entirely of precious stones, which were endued with a mystical power of reconciling enemies.

Ther in was closyd a nayle grete
 That went thorw oure lordis fete.
 Gyt^e he presentyd hym the spere
 That Charles was wont to bere
 Agens the Sarasyns in batayle;
 Many swore and sayde saunfayle^f,
 That with that spere smerte^g
 Our lorde was stungen to the herte.
 And a party^h of the holi crosse
 In crystal done in a cloos.
 And three of the thornes kene
 That was in Cristes hede sene,
 And a ryche crowne of golde
 Non rycher kyng wer y scholde,

^c Given to him by Mr. Murray. See *the Saints*, MSS. supr. citat. In the Life of S. Edmund.
 Heming. Chartul. ii. p. 654. And Rob. Glouc. ii. p. 731. Nunc MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. RAWLINS. Cod. 4to. (E. Pr. 87.) For Saint Edmund had a *meris* zerde, &c.

^d ubi supr.

^e yet, moreover.

^f without doubt. *Pr.*

i. e. "He had a strong rod in his hand, &c."

^g sharp, strong. So in the *Lives of* ^h part, piece.

Y made within and withowt
 With pretius stonys alle a bowte,
 Of eche manir vertu thryⁱ
 The stonys hadde the maystry
 To make frendes that evere were fone,
 Such a crowne was never none,
 To none erthelyche mon y wroght
 Syth God made the world of nogth.
 Kyng Athelstume was glad and blythe,
 And thankud the kyng of Ffraunce swythe,
 Of gyfts nobul and ryche
 In Crystiante was no hym leche.
 In his tyme, I understonde,
 Was Guy of Warwyk yn Inglonde,
 And ffor Englund dede batayle
 With a mygti gyande, without fayle;
 His name was hote Colbrond
 Gwy hym slough with his hond.
 Seven yere kyng Athelston
 Held this his kyngdome
 In Ingland that ys so murry,
 He dyedde and lythe at Malmesbury^k.
 After hym regned his brother Edmond
 And was kyng of Ingelond,
 And he ne regned here,
 But unneth nine yere,
 Sith hyt be falle at a feste
 At Caunterbury^l a cas unwrest^m,

ⁱ three.

^k To which monastery he gave the fragment of the holy cross given him by the king of France. Rob. Glouc. p. 276.

King Athelston loved much Malmesbury y wis,

He zef of the holy cross som, that there zut ya.

It is extraordinary that Peter Langtoft should not know where Athelstan was

buried: and as strange that his transcriber Rob. de Brunne should supply this defect by mentioning a report that his body was lately found at Hexham in Northumberland. Chron. p. 32.

^l Rob. of Gloucester says that this happened at Pucklechurch near Bristol. p. 277. But Rob. de Brunne at Caunterbury, whither the king went to hold the feast of S. Austin. p. 33.

^m a wicked mischance.

As the kyng at the mete sat
 He behelde and under that
 Of a theef that was desgyse
 Amonge hys knyghtes god and wise;
 The kyng was hesty and sterte uppe
 And hent the thefe by the toppe^a
 And cast hym doune on a ston:
 The theefe brayde out a knyfe a non
 And the kyng to the hert threste,
 Or any of his knyghtes weste^o:
 The baronys sterte up anone,
 And slough the theefe swythe sone,
 But arst^p he wounded many one,
 Through the fflesh and through the bone:
 To Glastenbury they bare the kyng,
 And ther made his buryinge^q.
 After that Edmund was ded,
 Reyned his brother Edred;
 Edred reyned here
 But unnethe thre yere, &c.
 After hym reyned seynt Edgare,
 A wyse kyng and a warre:
 Thilke nyghte that he was bore,
 Seynt Dunstan was glad ther fore;
 Ffor herde that swete stevene
 Of the angels of hevene:
 In the songe thei songe bi ryme,
 "Y blessed be that ylke tyme
 That Edgare y bore y was,
 Ffor in hys tyme schal be pas,
 Ever more in hys kyngdome."^r
 The while he liveth and seynt Dunston,

^a head. ^o perceived. ^parest, first. hence the town of Pucklechurch became

^q At Gloucester, says Rob. de Brunne, part of the possessions of Glastonbury
 p. 33. But Rob. of Gloucester says his abbey. p. 278.
 body was brought from Pucklechurch, ^r This song is in Rob. Gl. Chron.
 and interred at Glastonbury: and that p. 281.

Ther was so meche grete foyson¹,
 Of all good in every tonne;
 All wyle that last his lyve,
 Ne lored he never fyght ne stryve.

* * *

The knyghtes of Wales, all and some
 Han to swery and othes holde,
 And trewe to be as y told,
 To bring trynge hym trewage¹ yeare,
 CCC. wolves eche zere;
 And so they dyde trewliche
 Three yere pleyneverlyche,
 The ferthe yere myght they fynde non
 So clene thay wer all a gon,

* * *

And the kyng hyt hem forgat
 For he nolde hem greve,
 Edgare was an holi man
 That oure lorde, &c.

Although we have taken our leave of Robert de Brunne, yet as the subject is remarkable, and affords a striking portraiture of antient manners, I am tempted to transcribe that chronicler's description of the presents received by king Athelstane from the king of France; especially as it contains some new circumstances, and supplies the defects of our fragment. It is from his version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle above mentioned.

At the feste of oure lady the Assumpcion,
 Went the king fro London to Abindon.
 Thider out of France, fro Charles kyng of fame,
 Com the of Boloyne, Adulphus was his name,
 And the duke of Burgoyn Edmonde sonne Reynere.
 The brouht kyng Althelston present withouten pere:
 Fro Charles kyng sanz faile thei brouht a gonfaynoun²
 That saynt Morice in batayle before the legioun;

¹ provision.

² ready.

³ banner.

And scharp lance that thrilled Jhesu side;
 And a suerd of golde, in the hilde did men hide
 Tuo of tho nayles that war thorch Jhesu fete;
 Tached^w on the croys, the blode thei out lete;
 And som of the thornes that don were on his heved,
 And a fair pece that of the croys leved^x,
 That saynt Heleyn sonne at the batayle won
 Of the soudan of Askalone his name was Madan.
 Than blewe the trumpets full loud and full schille,
 The kyng com in to the halle that hardy was of wille:
 Than spak Reyner Edmunde sonne, for he was messengere,
 "Athelstan, my lord the gretes, Charles that has no pere;
 He sends the this present, and sais, he wille hym bynde
 To the thorch^y Ilde thi sistere, and tille alle thi kynde."
 Befor the messengers was the maiden brouht,
 Of body so gentill was non in erthe wrouht;
 No non so faire of face, of spech so lusty,
 Scho granted befor tham all to Charles hir body:
 And so did the kyng, and alle the baronage,
 Mikelle was the richesse thei purveied in hir passage.^z

Another of these fragments, evidently of the same composition, seems to have been an introduction to the whole. It begins with the martyrdom of saint Alban, and passes on to the introduction of Wassail, and to the names and division of England.

And now he ys alle so hole y fonde,
 As whan he was y leyde on grounde.
 And gyf ge wille not trow^a me,
 Goth to Westmynstere, and ye mow se.
 In that tyme Seynt Albon,
 For Goddys love tholed^b martirdome,

^w tacked, fastened.

^y "thee through."

^z Chron. p. 29. 30. Afterwards follows the combat of Guy with "a hogge (huge) geant, hight Colibrant." As in our fragment. p. 31. See Will. Malms.

^x remained.

Gest. Angl. ii. 6. The lance of Charlemagne is to this day shewn among the relics of St. Dennis's in France. Carpenter, Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du-cang. tom. ii. p. 994. edit. 1766.

^a believe.

^b suffered.

And xl. yere with schame and schonde^c
 Was drowen^d oute of Englonde.
 In that tyme weteth^e welle,
 Cam ferst Wassayle and drynkehayl
 In to this lond, with owte wene^f,
 Thurghe a mayde brygh^g and schene^h.
 Sche was cleputⁱ mayde Ynge.
 For hur many dothe rede and synge
 Lordyngys gent^k and free.
 This lond hath y hadde namys thre.
 Ferest hit was cleput Albyon,
 And syth^l for Brut Bretayne a non,
 And now Ynglonde cleput hit ys,
 Aftir mayde Ynge y wysse.
 Thilke Ynge fro Saxone was come,
 And with here many a moder sonne.
 For gret hungure y understonde
 Ynge went oute of hure londe.
 And thorow leue of oure kyng
 In this land sche hadde restyng.
 As meche lande of the kyng sche bade^m,
 As with a hole hyde me myghⁿ sprede.
 The kyng graunt he bonne^o
 A strong castel sche made sone,
 And whan the castel was al made,
 The kyng to the mete sche bade^p.
 The kyng graunted here a none.
 He wist not what thay wold done.

* * *

And sayde to ham^q in this manere,
 "The kyng to morow schal ete here.
 He and alle hys men,
 Ever^r one of us and one of them,

^c confusion.^a know ye.^s bright.ⁱ called.^d driven, drawn.^f doubt.^h fair.^k gentle.^l from, because of [afterwards.]^m requested, desired.^o granted her request.^q them.ⁿ men might.^p bad.^r every.

To geder schal sitte at the mete.
 And when thay have al most y ete,
 I wole say wassayle to the kyng,
 And sle hym with oute any leyng¹.
 And loke that ye in this manere
 Eche of gow sle his fere¹.
 And so sche dede thenne,
 Slowe the kyng and alle hys men.
 And thus, thorowgh here queyntyse²,
 This londe was wonne in this wyse.
 Syth³ a non sone an swythe⁴
 Was Englund deled⁵ on fyve,
 To fyve kynggys trewelyche,
 That were nobyl and swythe ryche.
 That one hadde alle the londe of Kente,
 That ys free and swythe gente.
 And in hys lond bysshopus tweye.
 Worthy men where⁶ theye.
 The archebysshop of Caunturbery,
 And of Rochestore that ys mery.
 The kyng of Essex of renon⁷
 He hadde to his portion
 Westschire, Barkschire,
 Soussex, Southamptshire.
 And ther to Dorsetshyre,
 All Cornewalle and Devenshire,
 All thys were of hys anpyre⁸.
 The king hadde on his hond
 Five bysshopes starke and strong,
 Of Salusbury was that on.

As to the *Mirabilia Mundi*, mentioned in the statutes of
 New College at Oxford, in conjunction with these *Poemata* and
Regnorum Chronica, the immigrations of the Arabians into
 Europe and the Crusades produced numberless accounts,

¹ lye. ² companion. ³ stratagem. ⁴ divided. ⁵ were.
⁶ after. ⁷ very [quickly]. ⁸ renown. ⁹ empire.

partly true and partly fabulous, of the wonders seen in the eastern countries; which falling into the hands of the monks, grew into various treatises, under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*. There were also some professed travellers into the East in the dark ages, who surprised the western world with their marvellous narratives, which could they have been contradicted would have been believed^c. At the court of the grand Khan, persons of all nations and religions, if they discovered any distinguished degree of abilities, were kindly entertained and often preferred.

In the Bodleian library we have a superb vellum manuscript, decorated with antient descriptive paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Histoire de Grawnt Kaan et des MERVEILLES DU MONDE*^d. The same work is among the royal manuscripts^e. A Latin epistle, said to be translated from the Greek by Cornelius Nepos, is an extremely common manuscript, entitled, *De situ et Mirabilibus Indiæ*^f. It is from Alexander the Great to his preceptor Aristotle: and the

^c The first European traveller who went far Eastward, is Benjamin a Jew of Tudela in Navarre. He penetrated from Constantinople through Alexandria in Ægypt and Persia to the frontiers of Tsin, now China. His travels end in 1173. He mentions the immense wealth of Constantinople; and says that its port swarmed with ships from all countries. He exaggerates in speaking of the prodigious number of Jews in that city. He is full of marvellous and romantic stories. William de Rubruquis, a monk, was sent into Persic Tartary, and by the command of S. Louis king of France, about the year 1245. As was also Carpini, by Pope Innocent the Fourth. Their books abound with improbabilities. Marco Polo a Venetian nobleman travelled eastward into Syria and Persia to the country constantly called in the dark ages Cathay, which proves to be the northern part of China. This was about the year 1260. His book is entitled *De Regionibus Orientis*. He mentions the immense and opulent city of Cambalu, undoubtedly Pekin. Hak-

luyt cites a friar, named Oderick, who travelled to Cambalu in Cathay, and whose description of that city corresponds exactly with Pekin. Friar Bacon about 1280, from these travels formed his geography of this part of the globe, as may be collected from what he relates of the Tartars. See Purchas Pilgr. iii. 52. And Bac. Op. Maj. 228. 235.

^d MSS. Bodl. F. 10. fol. prægrand. ad calc. Cod. The hand-writing is about the reign of Edward the Third. I am not sure whether it is not Mandeville's book.

^e Brit Mus. MSS. Bibl. Reg. 19 D i. 3.

[The royal manuscript is a magnificent copy of the French translation of Marco Polo's travels, which it affirms to have been made in the year 1298.—EDMR.]

^f It was first printed at *Jacobo Catala-nensi* without date or place. Afterwards at Venice 1499. The epistle is inscribed: *Alexander Magnus Aristotelis præceptoris suo salutem dicit*. It was never extant in Greek.

Greek original was most probably drawn from some of the fabulous authors of Alexander's story.

There is a manuscript, containing *La Chartre que Prestre Jehan maunda a Fredewik l'Empereur DE MERVAILLES DE SA TERRE*². This was Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, or his successor; both of whom were celebrated for their many successful enterprises in the Holy Land, before the year 1230. Prester John, a Christian, was emperor of India. I find another tract, *DE MIRABILIBUS Terræ Sanctæ*³. A book of Sir John Mandeville, a famous traveller into the East about the year 1340, is under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*⁴. His Itinerary might indeed have the same title⁵. An English title in the Cotton library is, "The Voiage and Travailes of Sir John Maundeville knight, which treateth of the way to Hierusalem and of the MARVEYLES of Inde with other ilands and countryes." In the Cotton library there is a piece with the title, *Sanctorum Loca, MIRABILIA MUNDI, &c.*⁶ Afterwards the wonders of other countries were added: and when this sort of reading began to grow fashionable, Gyraldus Cambrensis composed his book *De MIRABILIBUS Hiberniæ*⁷.

² Ibid. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. 3. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. E 4. 3. "Litteræ Joannis Presbiteri ad Fredericum Imperatorem, &c."

³ MSS. Reg. 14. C. xiii. 3.

⁴ MSS. C. C. C. Cant. A. iv. 69. We find *De Mirabilibus Mundi Liber*, MSS. Reg. ut supr. 13. E. ix. 5. And again, *De Mirabilibus Mundi et Viris illustribus Tractatus* 14. C. vi. 3.

⁵ His book is supposed to have been interpolated by the monks. Leland observes, that Asia and Africa were parts of the world at this time "Anglis de sola fere nominis umbra cognitas." Script. Br. p. 366. He wrote his Itinerary in French, English, and Latin. It extends to Cathay, or China, before mentioned. Leland says, that he gave to Becket's shrine in Canterbury cathedral a glass globe enclosing an apple, which he probably brought from the East. Leland saw this curiosity, in which the apple remained fresh and undecayed. Ubi supr. Maundeville, on returning from his tra-

vels, gave to the high altar of S. Alban's abbey church a sort of Patern brought from Egypt, now in the hands of an ingenious antiquary in London. He was a native of the town of S. Alban's, and a physician. He says that he left many *MERVAYLES* unwritten; and refers the curious reader to his *MAPPA MUNDI*, chap. cviii. cix. A history of the Tartars became popular in Europe about the year 1310, written or dictated by Aiton a king of Armenia, who having traversed the most remarkable countries of the East, turned monk at Cyprus, and published his travels; which, on account of the rank of the author, and his amazing adventures, gained great esteem.

⁶ Galb. A. xxi. 3.

⁷ It is printed among the *Scriptores Hist. Angl.* Francof. 1602. fol. 692. Written about the year 1200. It was so favourite a title that we have even *DE MIRABILIBUS Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. MSS. Coll. Æn. Nas. Oxon. Cod. 12. f. 190. a.

There is also another *De Mirabilibus Angliæ*^a. At length the superstitious curiosity of the times was gratified with compilations under the comprehensive title of *MIRABILIA Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Orientalis*^o. But enough has been said of these infatuations. Yet the history of human credulity is a necessary speculation to those who trace the gradations of human knowledge. Let me add, that a spirit of rational enquiry into the topographical state of foreign countries, the parent of commerce and of a thousand improvements, took its rise from these visions.

I close this section with an elegy on the death of king Edward the First, who died in the year 1307.

I.

Alle that beoth of huert trewe^p
 A stounde herkneth to my song^q,
 Of duel that Deth hath diht us newe.
 That maketh me syke ant sorewe amonge:
 Of a knyht that wes so strong
 Of wham God hath done ys wille;
 Me thuncheth^r that Deth has don us wrong
 That he^s so sone shall ligge stille.

II.

Al Englund ahte forte^t knowe:
 Of wham that song ys that y synge,
 Of Edward kyng that lith so lowe,
 Zent^u al this world is nome con springe;
 Trewest mon of al thinge,
 Ant in werre war and wys;
 For him we ahte oure honden^w wrynge,
 Of Cristendome he ber the pris.

^a Bibl. Bodl. MSS. C 6.

^o As in MSS. Reg. 13 D. i. 11. I must not forget that the *Polyhistor* of Julius Solinus appears in many manuscripts under the title of *Solinus de Mirabilibus Mundi*. This was so favourite a book, as to be translated into hexameters by

some monk in the twelfth century, according to Voss. *Hist. Latin.* iii. p. 721.

^q "be of true heart."

^r a little while.

^s methinks.

^t the king.

^u ought for to.

^w through. Sax. gent. *Yent*.

^x hands.

III.

Byfore that oure kyng wes ded
 He speke ase mon that wes in care
 " Clerkes, knyhtes, barouns, he sayde
 Ycharge ou^x by oure sware^y
 That ye to Engelonde be trewe,
 Y deze^z y ne may lyven na more;
 Helpeth mi sone, ant crowneth him newe,
 For he is nest to buen ycore^z.

IV.

Iche biquethe myn hirte aryht,
 That hit be write at mi devys,
 Over the sea that hue^b be diht,
 With fourscore knyghtes al of pris,
 In werre that buen war ant wys,
 Agein the hethene forte fyhte,
 To wynne the croiz that lowe lys,
 Myself yholde zef that y myhte."

V.

Kyng of Fraunce! thou hevedest sunne^c,
 That thou the counsail woldest fonde,
 To latte^d the wille of kyng Edward,
 To wende to the holy londe:
 That oure kyng hede take on honde,
 All Engelond to zeme^e and wysse^f,
 To wenden in to the holy londe
 To wynnen us heveriche^g blisse.

VI.

The messenger to the pope com
 And seyde that our kyng was ded^h,

^x you.

^y oath.

^z dege. DEFE, die.

^z "next, to be chosen."

^b one of his officers [it].

^d let, hinder.

^e govern [instruct, teach].

^c sin.

^e zeme, protect.

^g every.

^h He died in Scotland, July 7, 1307.

The chroniclers pretend, that the Pope knew of his death the next day by a vision or some miraculous information. So Robert of Brunne, who recommends this tragical event to those who "Singe and

Ys¹ ounne honde the lettre he nom^k,
 Ywis is herte wes ful gret:
 The pope himself the lettre redde,
 And spec a word of gret honour.
 "Alas!" he seide, "is Edward ded?
 Of Cristendome he ber the flour!"

VII.

The pope to is chaumbre wende
 For del ne mihte he speke na more;
 Ant after cardinales he sende
 That muche couthen of Cristes lore.
 Both the lasse¹ ant eke the more
 Bed hem both rede ant synge:
 Gret deol me^m myhte se thoreⁿ,
 Many mon is honde wrynge.

VIII.

The pope of Peyters stod at is masse
 With ful gret solempnete,
 Ther me con^o the soule blesse:
 "Kyng Edward, honoured thou be:
 God leve thi sone come after the,
 Bring to ende that thou hast bygonne,
 The holy crois ymad of tre
 So fain thou woldest hit hav ywonne.

IX.

"Jerusalem, thou hast ilore
 The flour of al chivalerie,
 Nou kyng Edward liveth na more,
 Alas, that he yet shulde deye!"

say in romance and ryme." Chron. Was ded and lay on bere, Edward of
 p. 340. edit. ut supr. Ingeland.

The Pope the tother day wist it in the He said with hevye chere, in spirit he it
 court of Rome. fond.

The Pope on the morn bifor the clergi He adds, that the Pope granted five
 cam years of pardon to those who would pray
 And tolde tham biforn, the floure of for his soul. ¹ in his. ² took.

Cristendam ¹ less. ² men. ³ there. ⁴ began.

He wolde ha rered up ful heyge
 Our baners that bueth broht to grounde:
 Wel longe we mowe clepe^p and crie,
 Er we such a kyng hav yfounde!"

X.

Now is Edward of Carnarvan^q,
 Kyng of Engeland al aplyht^r;
 God lete him ner be worse man
 Then is fader ne lasse of myht,
 To holden is pore men to ryht
 Ant understonde good counsail,
 Al Engeland for to wisse ant diht
 Of gode knightes darh^s him nout fail.

XI.

Thah mi tonge were mad of stel
 Ant min herte yzote of bras
 The godness myht y never telle
 That with kyng Edward was.
 Kyng as thou are cleped conquerour
 In vch bataile thou hadest pris,
 God bringe thi soule to the honour
 That ever wes and ever ys,
 [That lesteth ay withouten ende
 Bidde we God ant oure ledy
 To thilke blisse Jesus us sende. Amen.]^c

That the pope should here pronounce the funeral panegyric of Edward the First, is by no means surprising, if we consider

^p call.

^q Edward the Second, born in Carnarvon castle.

^r completely.

^s thar, there.

^c MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. In a Miscellany called the *Muses Library*, compiled, as I have been informed, by an ingenious lady of the name of Cooper, there is an elegy on the death of Henry the First, "wrote immediately after his

death, the author unknown." p. 4. Lond. Pr. for T. Davies, 1738. octavo. But this piece, which has great merit, could not have been written till some centuries afterwards. From the classical allusions and general colour of the phraseology, to say nothing more, it with greater probability belongs to Henry the Eighth. It escaped me till just before this work went to press, that Dr. Percy had printed this elegy, Ball. ii. 9.

the predominant ideas of the age. And in the true spirit of these ideas, the poet makes this illustrious monarch's achievements in the Holy Land, his principal and leading topic. But there is a particular circumstance alluded to in these stanzas, relating to the crusading character of Edward*, together with its consequences, which needs explanation. Edward, in the decline of life, had vowed a second expedition to Jerusalem; but finding his end approach, in his last moments he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds to provide one hundred and forty knights^u, who should carry his heart into Palestine. But this appointment of the dying king was never executed. Our elegist, and the chroniclers, impute the crime of withholding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the succeeding king. But it is more probable to suppose, that Edward the Second, and his profligate minion Piers Gaveston, dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive pleasures.

* [It appears that king Edward the First, about the year 1271, took his *HARPER* with him to the Holy Land. This officer was a close and constant attendant of his master: for when Edward was wounded with a poisoned knife at Ptolemais, the harper, *cithareda suus*, hearing the struggle, rushed into the royal apartment, and killed the assassin. *CHRON.* Walt. Hemingford, cap. xxxv. p. 591.

Apud V *HISTOR. ANGLIC. SCARFFOR.* vol. ii. Oxon. 1687. fol.—*ANDERSON.*]

[After the king himself had slain the assassin [his harper] had the singular courage to brain a dead man with a tri-vet or tripod, for which act of heroism he was justly reprimanded by Edward. *REYSON.*]

^u The poet says eighty.

SECTION III.

WE have seen, in the preceding section, that the character of our poetical composition began to be changed about the reign of the first Edward: that either fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical and traditionary facts, or reality disguised by the misrepresentations of invention; and that a taste for ornamental and even exotic expression gradually prevailed over the rude simplicity of the native English phraseology. This change, which with our language affected our poetry, had been growing for some time; and among other causes was occasioned by the introduction and increase of the tales of chivalry.

The ideas of chivalry, in an imperfect degree, had been of old established among the Gothic tribes. The fashion of challenging to single combat, the pride of seeking dangerous adventures, and the spirit of avenging and protecting the fair sex, seem to have been peculiar to the Northern nations in the most uncultivated state of Europe. All these customs were afterwards encouraged and confirmed by corresponding circumstances in the feudal constitution. At length the Crusades excited a new spirit of enterprise, and introduced into the courts and ceremonies of European princes a higher degree of splendor and parade, caught from the riches and magnificence of eastern cities^a. These oriental expeditions established a taste for hyperbolical description, and propagated an infinity of marvellous tales, which men returning from distant coun-

^a I cannot help transcribing here a curious passage from old Fauchet. He is speaking of Louis the young, king of France about the year 1150. "Le quel fut le premier roy de sa maison, qui monstra dehors ses richesses allant en

Jerusalem. Aussi la France commença de son temps a s'embellir de bastimens plus magnifiques: prendre plaisir a pierrieres, et autres delicatesses goustus en Levant par luy, ou les seigneurs qui avoient ja fait ce voyage. De sorte qu'on

tries easily imposed on credulous and ignorant minds. The unparalleled emulation with which the nations of Christendom universally embraced this holy cause, the pride with which emperors, kings, barons, earls, bishops, and knights, strove to excel each other on this interesting occasion, not only in prowess and heroism, but in sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognisances, splendid pavilions, and other expensive articles of a similar nature, diffused a love of war, and a fondness for military pomp. Hence their very diversions became warlike, and the martial enthusiasm of the times appeared in tilts and tournaments. These practices and opinions co-operated with the kindred superstitions of dragons^b, dwarfs, fairies, giants, and enchanters, which the traditions of the Gothic scalders had already planted; and produced that extraordinary species of composition which has been called ROMANCE.

Before these expeditions into the East became fashionable, the principal and leading subjects of the old fablers were the achievements of king Arthur with his knights of the round table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve peers. But in the romances written after the holy war, a new set of champions, of conquests and of countries, were introduced. Trebizonde took place of Rouncevalles, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solyman, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the souldans, and the cities of Ægypt and Syria, became the favourite topics*. The trou-

peut dire qu'il a este le premier tenant Cour de grand Roy: estant si magnifique, que sa femme dedaignant la simplicité de ses predecesseurs, luy fit elever une sepulture d'argent, au lieu de pierre." *Recueil de la Lang. et Poes. Fr. ch. viii. p. 76. edit. 1581.* He adds, that a great number of French romances were composed about this period.

^b See Kircher's *Mund. Subterr.* viii. § 4. He mentions a knight of Rhodes made grand master of the order for killing a dragon, 1345.

* [Though this passage has been the subject of severe animadversion, and characterized as containing nothing but "random assertion, falsehood and im-

position," there are few of its positions which a more temperate spirit of criticism might not reconcile with the truth. The popularity of Arthur's story anterior to the first Crusade, is abundantly manifested by the language of William of Malmesbury and Alanus de Insulis; who refer to it as a fable of common notoriety and general belief among the people. Had it arisen within their own days, we may be certain that Malmesbury, who rejected it as beneath the dignity of history, would not have suffered an objection so well founded, as the novelty of its appearance, to have escaped his censure; nor can the narrative of Alanus be reconciled with the general

badours of Provence, an idle and unsettled race of men, took up arms, and followed their barons in prodigious multitudes to the conquest of Jerusalem. They made a considerable part of the household of the nobility of France. Louis the Seventh, king of France, not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but commanded a considerable company of them into his retinue, when he took ship for Palestine, that they might solace him with their songs during the dangers and inconveniencies of so long a voyage^c. The antient chronicles of France mention *Legions de poëtes* as embarking in this wonderful enterprise^d. Here a new and more copious source of fabling was opened: in these expeditions they picked up numberless extravagant stories, and at their return enriched

progress of traditionary faith—a plant of tardy growth—if we limit its first publicity to the period thus prescribed (1096-1142). With regard to Charlemagne and his peers, as their deeds were chaunted by Talliefer at the battle of Hastings (1066), it would be needless to offer further demonstrations of their early popularity; nor in fact does the accuracy of this part of Warton's statement appear to be called in question by the writer alluded to. It would be more difficult to define the degree in which these romances were superseded by similar poems on the achievements of the Crusaders; or, to use the more cautious language of the text, to state how far "Trebizonde took place of Roncevalles." But it will be recollected that in consequence of the Crusades, the action of several romances was transferred to the Holy Land, such as Sir Bevis, Sir Guy, Sir Isumbras, the King of Tars, &c.: and that most of these were "favorite topics" in high esteem, is clear from the declaration of Chaucer, who catalogued them among the "romances of Pris." In short, if we omit the names of the caliphs, and confine ourselves to the *Soldans*—a generic name used by our early writers for every successive ruler of the East—and the cities of Egypt and Syria, this rhapsody, as it has been termed, will contain nothing which is not strictly demonstrable by historical evidence, or the

language of the old romancers.—The Life of Godfrey of Boulogne was written in French verse by Gregory Béchada, about the year 1130. It is usually supposed to have perished; unless, indeed, it exist in a poem upon the same subject by Wolfram Von Eschenbach, who generally founded his romances upon a French or Provençal original.—EDRR.]

^c Velley, Hist. Fr. sub an. 1178.

^d Massieu, Hist. Poës. Fr. p. 105.

Many of the troubadours, whose works now exist, and whose names are recorded, accompanied their lords to the holy war. Some of the French nobility of the first rank were troubadours about the eleventh century; and the French critics with much triumph observe, that it is the glory of the French poetry to number counts and dukes, that is sovereigns, among its professors, from its commencement. What a glory! The worshipfull company of Merchant-taylors in London, if I recollect right, boast the names of many dukes, earls, and princes, enrolled in their community. This is indeed an honour to that otherwise respectable society. But poets can derive no lustre from counts, and dukes, or even princes, who have been enrolled in their lists; only in proportion as they have adorned the art by the excellence of their compositions.

romance with an infinite variety of Oriental scenes and fictions. Thus these later wonders, in some measure, supplanted the former: they had the recommendation of novelty, and gained still more attention, as they came from a greater distance^c.

In the mean time we should recollect, that the Saracens or Arabians, the same people which were the object of the Crusades, had acquired an establishment in Spain about the ninth century: and that by means of this earlier intercourse, many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, must have been known in Europe before the Christian armies invaded Asia. It is for this reason the elder Spanish romances have professedly more Arabian allusions than any other. Cervantes makes the imagined writer of Don Quixote's history an Arabian. Yet exclusive of their domestic and more immediate connection with this eastern people, the Spaniards from temper and constitution were extravagantly fond of chivalrous exercises. Some critics have supposed, that Spain having learned the art or fashion of romance-writing, from their naturalised guests the Arabians, communicated it, at an early period, to the rest of Europe^f.

It has been imagined that the first romances were composed in metre, and sung to the harp by the poets of Provence at festival solemnities: but an ingenious Frenchman, who has made deep researches into this sort of literature, attempts to prove, that this mode of reciting romantic adventures was in

^c The old French historian Mezeray goes so far as to derive the origin of the French poetry and romances from the Crusades. Hist. p. 416, 417.

[Geoffrey of Vinesauf says, that when king Richard the First arrived at the Christian camp before Ptolemais, he was received with *populares Cantiones*, which recited *Antiquorum Præclara Gesta*. It. Hierosol. cap. ii. p. 332. *Ibid.*—ADDITIONS.]

^f Huet in some measure adopts this opinion. But that learned man was a very incompetent judge of these matters. Under the common term *Romance*, he confounds romances of chivalry, romances of gallantry, and all the fables

of the Provençal poets. What can we think of a writer, who having touched upon the gothic romances, at whose fictions and barbarisms he is much shocked, talks of the *consummate degree of art and elegance to which the French are at present arrived in romances*? He adds, that the superior refinement and politesse of the French gallantry has happily given them an advantage of shining in this species of composition. Hist. Rom. p. 138. But the sophistry and ignorance of Huet's Treatise has been already detected and exposed by a critic of another cast in the SUPPLEMENT TO JARVIS'S PREFACE, prefixed to the Translation of Don Quixote.

high reputation among the natives of Normandy, above a century before the troubadours of Provence, who are generally supposed to have led the way to the poets of Italy, Spain, and France, and that it commenced about the year 1162.^a If the critic means to insinuate, that the French troubadours acquired their art of versifying from these Norman bards, this reasoning will favour the system of those, who contend that metrical romances lineally took their rise from the historical odes of the Scandinavian scalds: for the Normans were a branch of the Scandinavian stock. But Fauchet, at the same time that he allows the Normans to have been fond of chanting the praises of their heroes in verse, expressly pronounces that they borrowed this practice from the Franks or French^b.

It is not my business, nor is it of much consequence, to discuss this obscure point, which properly belongs to the French antiquaries. I therefore proceed to observe, that our Richard the First, who began his reign in the year 1189, a distinguished hero of the Crusades, a most magnificent patron of chivalry, and a Provencal poet^c, invited to his court many minstrels or

^a Mons. L'Eveque de la Ravalierre, in his *Revolutions de Langue François, à la suite des Poésies du Roi de Navarre*.

^b "Ce que les Normans avoyent pris des François." Rec. liv. i. p. 70. edit. 1581.

^c See Observations on Spenser, i. § i. p. 28. 29. And Mr. Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, i. 5. See also Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy*, ch. vii. p. 73. edit. 1693. Savarie de Mauleon, an English gentleman who lived in the service of Saint Louis king of France, and one of the Provencal poets, said of Richard,

Coblas a teira faire adroitement
Pou voz oillez enten dompna gentiltz.

"He could make stanzas on the eyes of gentle ladies." Rymer, *ibid.* p. 74. There is a curious story recorded by the French chroniclers, concerning Richard's skill in the minstrel art, which I will here relate.—Richard, in his return from the Crusade, was taken prisoner about the

year 1193. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was imprisoned. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite minstrel, resolved to find out his lord; and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained in custody. Here he found that the castle belonged to the Duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before a window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson, which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song, he knew it was Blondell who sung it; and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. On this, Blondell returned home to England, and acquainted Richard's barons with the place of his imprisonment, from which he was soon afterwards released. See also Fauchet, Rec. p. 93. Ri-

troubadours from France, whom he loaded with honours and rewards¹. These poets imported into England a great multitude of their tales and songs; which before or about the reign of Edward the Second became familiar and popular among our ancestors, who were sufficiently acquainted with the French language. The most early notice of a professed book of chivalry in England, as it should seem, appears under the reign

chard lived long in Provence, where he acquired a taste for their poetry. The only relic of his sonnets is a small fragment in old French accurately cited by Mr. Walpole, and written during his captivity; in which he remonstrates to his men and barons of England, Normandy, Poitiers, and Gascony, that they suffered him to remain so long a prisoner. Catal. Roy. and Nob. Auth. i. 5. Nostradamus's account of Richard is full of false facts and anachronisms. Poet. Provenc. artic. RICHARD.

[There is too much reason to believe this story of Blondell and his illustrious patron to be purely apocryphal. The poem published by Walpole is written in the Provençal language, and a Norman version of it is given by M. Sismondi, in his "Literature du Midi," vol. i. p. 149. In which of these languages it was originally composed remains a matter of dispute among the French antiquaries.—EDR.]

¹ "De regno Francorum cantores et joculariores muneribus allexerat." Rog. Hoved. Ric. i. p. 340. These gratuities were chiefly arms, cloaths, horses, and sometimes money.

[On a review of this passage in Hoveden, it appears to have been William bishop of Ely, chancellor to king Richard the First, who thus invited minstrels from France, whom he loaded with favours and presents to sing his praises in the streets. But it does not much alter the doctrine of the text, whether he or the king was instrumental in importing the French minstrels into England. This passage is in a letter of Hugh bishop of Coventry, which see also in Hearne's *Benedictus Abbas*, vol. ii. p. 704. sub ann. 1191. It appears from this letter, that he was totally ignorant of the English language. *ibid.* p. 708. By his co-

temporary Gyraldus Cambrensis, he is represented as a monster of injustice, impiety, intemperance, and lust. Gyraldus has left these anecdotes of his character, which shew the scandalous grossness of the times. "Sed taceo quod ruminare solet, nunc clamat Anglia tota, qualiter puella, matris industria tam coma quam cultu puerum professa, simulansque virum verbis et vultu, ad cubiculum bellæ istius est perducta. Sed statim ut exosi illius sexus est inventa, quanquam in se pulcherrima, thalamique thorique deliciis valde idone, repudiata tamen est et abjecta. Unde et in crastino, matri filia, tam flagitiosi facinoris conscia, cum Petitionis effectu, terrisque non modicis eandem jure hæreditario contingentibus, virgo, ut venerat, est restituta. Tantæ nimirum intemperantiæ, et petulantiae fuerat tam immoderate, quod quotidie in prandio circa finem, pretiosis tam potionibus quam cibariis ventre distento, virga aliquantulum longa in capite aculeum præferente pueros nobiles ad mensam ministrantes, eique propter multimodam qua fungebatur potestatem in omnibus ad nutum obsequentes, pungere vicissim consueverit: ut eo indicio, quasi signo quodam secretiore, quem fortius, inter alios, atque frequentius sic quasi ludicro pungebat, &c. &c." De Vit. GALFRID. Archiepiscop. Ebor. Apud Whart. *ANGL. SACR.* vol. ii. p. 406. But Wharton endeavours to prove, that the character of this great prelate and statesman in many particulars had been misrepresented through prejudice and envy. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 632.

It seems the French minstrels, with whom the Song of *ROLAND* originated, were famous about this period. Muratori cites an old history of Bologna, under the year 1288, by which it appears that they swarmed in the streets of Italy.

of Henry the Third; and is a curious and evident proof of the reputation and esteem in which this sort of composition was held at that period. In the revenue roll of the twenty-first year of that king, there is an entry of the expence of silver clasps and studs for the king's great book of romances. This was in the year 1237. But I will give the article in its original dress. "Et in firmaculis hapsis et clavis argenteis ad magnum librum ROMANCIS regis^k." That this superb volume was in French, may be partly collected from the title which they gave it: and it is highly probable, that it contained the Romance of Richard the First, on which I shall enlarge below. At least the victorious achievements of that monarch were so

"Ut CANTATORES FRANCIGENARUM in plateis comunis ad cantandum morari non possent." On which words he observes, "Colle quali parole sembra verosimile, che sieno disegnati i cantatore del favole romanze, che *specialmente della Francia* erano portate in Italia." *DISSERT. ANTICHT.* Ital. tom. ii. c. xxix. p. 16. In Napoli, 1752. He adds, that the minstrels were so numerous in France, as to become a pest to the community; and that an edict was issued about the year 1200, to suppress them in that kingdom. Muratori, in further proof of this point, quotes the above passage from Hoveden; which, as I had done, he misapplies to our king Richard the First. But, in either sense, it equally suits his argument. In the year 1334, at a feast on Easter Sunday, celebrated at Rimini, on occasion of some noble Italians receiving the honour of knight-hood, more than one thousand five hundred *HISTRIONES* are said to have attended. "Triumphus quidem maximus fuit ibidem, &c.—Fuit etiam multitudo *HISTRIORUM* circa mille quingentos et ultra." *ANNAL. CÆSENAT.* tom. xiv. *RER. ITALIC. SCRIPTOR.* col. 1141. But their countries are not specified. In the year 1227, at a feast in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, a sumptuous banquet and vestments without number were given to the minstrels, or *Joculatores*, then present, who came from Lombardy, Provence, Tuscany, and other countries. *Cassari ANNAL. GENUENS.* lib. vi. p. 442.

D. Apud Tom. vi. ut supr. In the year 774, when Charlemagne entered Italy and found his passage impeded, he was met by a minstrel of Lombardy, whose song promised him success and victory. "Contigit *JOCULATORUM* ex *Longobardorum gente* ad Carolum venire, et *CANTIUNCULAM* a se COMPOSITAM, rotando in conspectu suorum, cantare." Tom. ii. P. 2. ut supr. *CHRON. MONAST. NOVAL.* lib. iii. cap. x. p. 717. D.

To recur to the origin of this Note. Rymer, in his *SHORT VIEW OF TRAGEDY*, on the notion that Hoveden is here speaking of king Richard, has founded a theory, which is consequently false, and is otherwise but imaginary. See p. 66. 67. 69. 74. He supposes, that Richard, in consequence of his connection with Raimond count of Tholouse, encouraged the heresy of the Albigeneses; and that therefore the historian Hoveden, as an ecclesiastic, was interested in abusing Richard, and in insinuating, that his reputation for poetry rested only on the venal praises of the French minstrels. The words quoted are, indeed, written by a churchman, although not by Hoveden. But whatever invidious turn they bear, they belong, as we have seen, to quite another person; to a bishop who justly deserved such an indirect stroke of satire, for his criminal enormities, not for any vain pretensions to the character of a Provençal songster.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^k Rot. Pip. an. 21. Henr. III.

famous in the reign of Henry the Third, as to be made the subject of a picture in the royal palace of Clarendon near Salisbury. A circumstance which likewise appears from the same ancient record, under the year 1246. "Et in camera regis subtus capellam regis apud Clarendon lambruscanda, et muro ex transverso illius cameræ amovendo et hystoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum DUELLO REGIS RICARDI¹." To these anecdotes we may add, that in the Royal library at Paris there is, "*Lancelot du Lac mis en François par Robert de Borron, du commandement d'Henri roi de Angleterre avec figures*^m." And the same manuscript occurs twice again in that library in three volumes, and in four volumes of the largest folioⁿ. Which of our Henrys it was who thus commanded the romance of LANCELOT DU LAC to be translated into French, is indeed uncertain: but most probably it was Henry the Third just mentioned, as the translator Robert Borron* is placed soon after the year 1200^o.

But not only the pieces of the French minstrels, written in French, were circulated in England about this time; but translations of these pieces were made into English, which containing much of the French idiom, together with a sort of poetical phraseology before unknown, produced various innovations in our style. These translations, it is probable, were

¹ Rot. Pip. an. 36. Henr. III. Richard the First performed great feats at the siege of Antioch in the Crusade. The *Duellum* was another of his exploits among the Saracens. Compare Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. 10. Who mentions a certain *great book* borrowed for the queen, written in French, containing *GESTA ANTIOCHLÆ et regum aliorum, &c.* This was in the year 1249. He adds, that there was a chamber in the old palace of Westminster painted with this history, in the reign of Henry the Third, and therefore called the ANTIOCH CHAMBER: and another in the Tower.

^m Cod. 6783. fol. max. See Montfaucon. Cat. MSS. p. 785 a. " See Montf. *ibid.*

* [See Note A. at the end of the section.—EDR.]

^o Among the infinite number of old manuscript French romances on this subject in the same noble repository, the learned Montfaucon recites, "*Le Roman de Tristan et Iseult traduit de Latin en François par Lucas chevalier sieur du chastel du Gast pres de Salisberi, Anglois, avec figures.*" Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again, "*Livres de Tristan mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat.*" Cod. 6956. seq. fol. max. In another article, this translator, the chevalier Lucas, of whom I can give no account, is called *Ilu* or *Hue*. [Luc?] Cod. 6976. seq. Nor do I know of any castle, or place, of this name near Salisbury. See also Cod. 7174.

enlarged with additions, or improved with alterations of the story. Hence it was that Robert de Brunne, as we have already seen, complained of *strange* and *quaint* English, of the changes made in the story of SIR TRISTRAM, and of the liberties assumed by his cotemporary minstrels in altering facts and coining new phrases. Yet these circumstances enriched our tongue, and extended the circle of our poetry. And for what reason these fables were so much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne, it is obvious to conjecture. The gallantries of chivalry were exhibited with new splendour, and the times were growing more refined. The Norman fashions were adopted even in Wales. In the year 1176, a splendid carousal, after the manner of the Normans, was given by a Welsh prince. This was Rhees ap Gryffyth king of South Wales, who at Christmas made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then called Aberteivi, which he ordered to be proclaimed throughout all Britain; and to "which came many strangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, so that no man departed discontented. And among deeds of arms and other shewes, Rhees caused all the poets of Wales^p to come thither: and provided chairs for them to be set in his hall, where they should dispute together

^p In illustration of the argument pursued in the text we may observe, that about this time the English minstrels flourished with new honours and rewards. At the magnificent marriage of the countess of Holland, daughter of Edward the First, every king minstrel received xl. shillings. See Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. p. 303. And Dugd. Mon. i. 355. In the same reign a multitude of minstrels attended the ceremony of knightng prince Edward on the feast of Pentecost. They entered the hall, while the king was sitting at dinner surrounded with the new knights. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 342. edit. Oxon. The whole number knighted was two hundred and sixty-seven. Dugd. Bar. i. 80. b. Robert de Brunne says, this was the greatest royal feast since king Arthur's at Carleon:

concerning which he adds, "therof yit men rime," p. 332. In the wardrobe-roll of the same prince, under the year 1306, we have this entry. "Will. Fox et Cradoco socio suo CANTATORIBUS cantantibus coram Principe et aliis magnatibus in comitiva sua existente apud London, &c. xxx." Again, "Wilko Ffox et Cradoco socio suo cantantibus in presentia principis et al. Magnatum apud London de dono ejusdem dni per manus Johis de Ringwode, &c. 8. die jan. xxx." Afterwards, in the same roll four shillings are given, "Ministrallo comitisse Mareschal. facienti menestralciam suam coram principe, &c. in comitiva sua existent. apud Penreth." Comp. Garderob. Edw. Princip. Wall. ann. 35. Edw. 1. This I chiefly cite to shew the greatness of the gratuity. Minstrels were

to try their cunning and gift in their several faculties, where great rewards and rich giftes were appointed for the over-comers⁹." Tilts and tournaments, after a long disuse, were revived with superiour lustre in the reign of Edward the First. Roger earl of Mortimer, a magnificent baron of that reign, erected in his stately castle of Kenelworth a Round Table, at which he restored the rites of king Arthur. He entertained in this castle the constant retinue of one hundred knights, and as many ladies; and invited thither adventurers in chivalry from every part of Christendom^r. These fables were therefore an image of the manners, customs, mode of life, and favourite amusements, which now prevailed, not only in France but in England, accompanied with all the decorations which fancy could invent, and recommended by the graces of romantic fiction. They complimented the ruling passion of the times, and cherished in a high degree the fashionable sentiments of deal honour, and fantastic fortitude.

Among Richard's French minstrels, the names only of three are recorded. I have already mentioned Blondell de Nesle. Fouquet of Marseilles, and Anselme Fayditt, many of whose compositions still remain, were also among the poets patronised and entertained in England by Richard. They are both cele-

part of the establishment of the household of our nobility before the year 1307. Thomas earl of Lancaster allows at Christmas, cloth, or *vestis liberata*, to his household minstrels at a great expence, in the year 1314. Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 134. edit. 1618. See *supr.* p. 95. Soon afterwards the minstrels claimed such privileges that it was thought necessary to reform them by an edict, in 1315. See Hearne's Append. Leland. Collectan. vi. 36. Yet, as I have formerly remarked in OBSERVATIONS ON SPENSER'S FAIRIE QUEENE, we find a person in the character of a minstrel entering Westminster-hall on horseback while Edward the Second was solemnizing the feast of *Pentecost* as above, and presenting a letter to the king. See Walsing. Hist. Angl. Franc. p. 109.

⁹ Powell's Wales, 237. edit. 1584.

Who adds, that the bards of "North-wales won the prize, and amongst the musicians Rees's owne household men were counted best." Rhees was one of the Welsh princes who, the preceding year, attended the parliament at Oxford, and were magnificently entertained in the castle of that city by Henry the Second. Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. edit. iii. p. 302. It may not be foreign to our present purpose to mention here, that Henry the Second, in the year 1179, was entertained by Welsh bards at Penbroke castle in Wales in his passage into Ireland. Powell, *ut supr.* p. 238. The subject of their songs was the history of king Arthur. See Selden on POLYOL. s. iii. p. 53.

^r Drayton's Heroic. Epist. MORR. ISABEL. v. 53. And Notes *ibid.* from Walsingham.

brated and sometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. Fayditt, a native of Avignon, united the professions of music and verse; and the Provençials used to call his poetry *de bon mots e de bon son*. Petrarch is supposed to have copied, in his TRIUMFO DI AMORE, many strokes of high imagination, from a poem written by Fayditt on a similar subject; particularly in his description of the Palace of Love. But Petrarch has not left Fayditt without his due panegyric: he says that Fayditt's tongue was shield, helmet, sword, and spear¹. He is likewise in Dante's Paradise. Fayditt was extremely profuse and voluptuous. On the death of king Richard, he travelled on foot for near twenty years, seeking his fortune; and during this long pilgrimage he married a nun of Aix in Provence, who was young and lively, and could accompany her husband's tales and sonnets with her voice. Fouquett de Marseilles had a beautiful person, a ready wit, and a talent for singing: these popular accomplishments recommended him to the courts of king Richard, Raymond count of Tholouse, and Beral de Baulx; where, as the French would say, *il fit les delices de cour*. He fell in love with Adelasia the wife of Beral, whom he celebrated in his songs. One of his poems is entitled, *Las complanchas de Beral*. On the death of all his lords, he received absolution for his sin of poetry, turned monk, and at length was made archbishop of Tholouse². But among the

¹ Triunf. Am. c. iv.

² See Beauchamps, Recherch. Theatr. Fr. Paris, 1735. p. 7. 9. It was Jeffrey, Richard's brother, who patronised Jeffrey Rudell, a famous troubadour of Provence, who is also celebrated by Petrarch. This poet had heard, from the adventurers in the Crusades, the beauty of a countess of Tripoly highly extolled. He became enamoured from imagination: embarked for Tripoly, fell sick in the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore at Tripoly half expiring. The countess, having received the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes; and at once overpowered by

his disease and her kindness, had just time to say inarticulately, that *having seen her he died satisfied*. The countess made him a most splendid funeral, and erected to his memory a tomb of porphyry, inscribed with an epitaph in Arabian verse. She commanded his sonnets to be richly copied and illuminated with letters of gold; was seized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun. I will endeavour to translate one of the sonnets which he made on his voyage. *Yrat et dolent m'en partray*, &c. It has some pathos and sentiment, "I should depart pensive, but for this love of mine so far away; for I know not what difficulties I have to encounter, my native land being so far away. Thou who hast

many French minstrels invited into England by Richard, it is natural to suppose, that some of them made their magnificent and heroic patron a principal subject of their compositions". And this subject, by means of the constant communication between both nations, probably became no less fashionable in France: especially if we take into the account the general popularity of Richard's character, his love of chivalry, his gallantry in the Crusades, and the favours which he so liberally conferred on the minstrels of that country. We have a romance now remaining in English rhyme, which celebrates the achievements of this illustrious monarch. It is entitled *RICHARD CŒUR DE LYON*, and was probably translated from the French about the period above mentioned. That it was, at least, translated from the French, appears from the Prologue.

In Fraunce these rymes were wroht,
Every Englyshe ne knew it not.

From which also we may gather the popularity of his story, in these lines.

King Richard is the beste^v
That is found in any geste^w.

made all things, and who formed this love of mine *so far away*, give me strength of body, and then I may hope to see this love of mine *so far away*. Surely my love must be founded on true merit, as I love one *so far away*! If I am easy for a moment, yet I feel a thousand pains for her who is *so far away*. No other love ever touched my heart than this for her *so far away*. A fairer than she never touched any heart, either near, or *far away*." Every fourth line ends with *du luench*. See Nostradamus, &c.

[The original poem, of which the above is only a fragment, will be found in the third volume of M. Raynouard's "*Choix des Poesies Originales des Troubadours*." The seeming inaccuracies of Warton's translation may have arisen from the varied readings of his original text. The fragment published by M. Sismondi, differs essentially from the larger poem given by M. Raynouard.—*EDIT.*]

^v Fayditt is said to have written a *Chant funebre* on his death. Beauchamps, *ib.* p. 10.

[For specimens of the poetry of Folquet de Marseille and Gaucelm Faidit, the reader is referred to the third volume of M. Raynouard's excellent work already noticed. The second volume contains a prose translation of Faidit's *Plenk* on the death of Richard I.—*ENR.*]

^w This agrees with what Hoveden says, *ubi supr.* "*Dicebatur ubique quod non erat talis in orbe.*"

^x Impr. for W. C. 4to. It contains Sign. A 1.—Q iii. There is another edition impr. W. de Worde, 4to. 1528. There is a manuscript copy of it in Caius College at Cambridge, A 9.

[Among Crynes's books in the Bodleian library is a copy of king Richard's romance, printed by W. de Worde in 1509. Ck. 734. 8vo. This edition was in the Harleian library.—*ADDITIONS.*]

That this romance, either in French or English, existed before the year 1300, is evident from its being cited by Robert of Gloucester, in his relation of Richard's reign.

In *Romance* of him imade me it may finde iwrite^x.

This tale is also mentioned as a romance of some antiquity among other famous romances, in the prologue of a voluminous metrical translation of Guido de Colonna, attributed to Lidgate^y. It is likewise frequently quoted by Robert de Brunne, who wrote much about the same time with Robert of Gloucester.

Whan Philip tille Acres cam litelle was his dede,
The ROMANCE sais gret sham who so that pas^z wil rede.

^x Chron. p. 487.

^y Many speken of men that romaunces rede, &c.

Of Berys, Gy, and Gawayne,
Of KYNG RYCHARD, and Owayne,
Of Tristram, and Percyvayle,
Of Rowland ris, and Aglawaule,
Of Archeroun, and of Octavian,
Of Charles, and of Cassibedlan,
Of K[H]eveloke, Horne, and of Wade,
In romances that of hem bi made
That gestours dos of him gestes
At mangeres and at great festes,
Here dedis ben in remembraunce,
In many fair romaunce.
But of the worthiest wyght in wede,
That ever bystrode any strede
Spekes no man, ne in romaunce redes,
Off his battayle ne of his dedes;
Off that battayle spekes no man,
There all prowes of knyghtes began,
Thet was forsothe of the batayle
Thet at TAUYR was saunfayle,
Of swythe a fyght as ther was one, &c.
Ffor ther were in thet on side,
Sixty kynges and dukes of pride.—
And there was the best bodi in dede
That ever yit wered wede,
Sithen the world was made so ferre,
That was ECTOR in eche werre, &c.

Laud. K 76. f. 1. fol. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. membr. Whether this poem was written by Lidgate, I shall not enquire at present. I shall only say here, that it is totally different from either of Lidgate's two poems on the THEBAN and TROJAN WARS; and that the manuscript,

which is beautifully written, appears to be of the age of Henry the Sixth.

[By the way, it appears from this quotation, that there was an old romance called WADE. Wade's *Bote* is mentioned in Chaucer's *MARCHAUNTS TALE*, v. 940. p. 68. Urr.

And eke these olde wivis, god it wote,
They connin so much craftre in *Wadisbote*.

Again, *TROIL. CRESS.* iii. 615.

He songe, she plaide, he tolde a tale
of *Wade*.

Where, says the glossarist, "A roman-tick story, famous at that time, of one WADE, who performed many strange exploits, and met with many wonderful adventures in his Boat *Guigelot*." Speght says, that Wade's history was *long* and *fabulous*.—*ADDITIONS.*]

[The story of Wade is also alluded to in the following passage taken from the Romance of Sir Bevis:

Swiche bataille ded neuer non
Cristene man of flesch and bon—
Of a dragoun thar beside,
That Beues slough ther in that tide,
Sauē Sire Launcelot de Lake,
He faught with a fur-drake,
And Wade dede also,
And neuer knightes bouthe thai to.

The connection between Wade, and a hero bearing a similar name in the Wilkina Saga will be noticed elsewhere.—*ENIT.*]

^z *PASSUS.* Compare Percy's *Ball.* ii. 66. 308. edit 1767.

The ROMANCER it sais Richard did make a pele^a.—
 The ROMANCE of Richard sais he wan the toun^b.—
 He tellis in the ROMANCE sen Acres wonnen was
 How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Caifas^c.—
 Sithen at Japhet was slayn fanuelle his stede
 The ROMANS tellis gret pas of his douhty dede^d.—
 Soudan so curteys never drank no wyne,
 The same the ROMANS sais that is of Richardyn^e.
 In prisoun was he bounden, as the ROMANCE sais,
 In cheynes and lede wonden that hevy was of peis^f.—

I am not indeed quite certain, whether or no in some of these instances, Robert de Brunne may not mean his French original Peter Langtoft. But in the following lines he manifestly refers to our romance of RICHARD, between which and Langtoft's chronicle he expressly makes a distinction. And in the conclusion of the reign,

I knowe no more to ryme of dedes of kyng Richard :
 Who so wille his dedes all the sothe se,
 The *romance* that men reden ther is propirte.
 This that I have said it is Pers sawe^g.
 Als he in romance^h lad ther after gan I draweⁱ.

It is not improbable that both these rhyming chroniclers cite from the English translation: if so, we may fairly suppose that this romance was translated in the reign of Edward the First, or his predecessor Henry the Third. Perhaps earlier. This circumstance throws the French original to a still higher period.

In the royal library at Paris, there is "*Histoire de Richard Roi d'Angleterre et de Maquemore d'Irlande en rime*."

^a Percy's Ball. ii. p. 157.

^b Ibid. ^c p. 175.

[Warton's conjecture is perfectly correct in most of these instances. They contain allusions to circumstances which are unnoticed by Langtoft.—Edrr.]

^d Percy's Ball. ii. p. 175.

^e Ibid. p. 188.

^f "The words of my original *Peter*

Langtoft."

^h In French.

ⁱ p. 205. Du Cange recites an old

French manuscript prose romance, entitled *Histoire de la Mort de Richard Roy d'Angleterre*. Gloss. Lat. IND. AUCT. i. p. cxc. There was one, perhaps the same, among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Martin of Palsgrave in Suffolk.

^k Num. 7532.

[An account of this romance will be found in Mr. Strutt's *Regal Antiquities*.

Richard is the last of our monarchs whose achievements were adorned with fiction and fable. If not a superstitious belief of the times, it was an hyperbolical invention started by the minstrels, which soon grew into a tradition, and is gravely recorded by the chroniclers, that Richard carried with him to the Crusades king Arthur's celebrated sword CALIBURN, and that he presented it as a gift, or relic, of inestimable value to Tancred king of Sicily, in the year 1191.¹ Robert of Brunne calls this sword a *jewel*^m.

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle,
The gude swerd CALIBURNE which Arthur luffed so well.ⁿ

Indeed the Arabian writer of the life of the sultan Saladin, mentions some exploits of Richard almost incredible. But, as Lord Lyttelton justly observes, this historian is highly valuable on account of the knowledge he had of the facts which he relates. It is from this writer we learn, in the most authentic manner, the actions and negotiations of Richard in the course of the enterprise for the recovery of the Holy Land, and all the particulars of that memorable war^o.

But before I produce a specimen of Richard's English romance, I stand still to give some more extracts from its Prologues, which contain matter much to our present purpose: as they have very fortunately preserved the subjects of many romances, perhaps metrical, then fashionable both in France and England. And on these therefore, and their origin, I shall take this opportunity of offering some remarks.

Fele romanses men make newe
Of good knyghtes strong and trewe:

It relates entirely to the Irish wars of Richard II. and the latter part of the reign of that unfortunate monarch. Mr. Ritson has confounded Maquemore, with Dermond Mac Morough, king of Leinster, in the reign of Henry II. though he adds with great candour, "but why king Richard [cœur de lion] is introduced does not appear."—EDIT.]

¹ In return for several vessels of gold

and silver, horses, bales of silk, four great ships, and fifteen gallies, given by Tancred. Benedict. Abb. p. 642. edit. Hearne.

^m *Jocale*. In the general and true sense of the word. Robert de Brunne, in another place, calls a rich pavilion a *jowelle*. p. 152.

ⁿ Chron. p. 153.

^o See Hist. of Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 361. App.

Of hey dedys men rede romance,
 Bothe in England and in Fraunce;
 Of *Rowelond* and of *Olyver*,
 And of everie *Doseper*^p,
 Of *Alysander* and *Charlemain*,
 Of kyng *Arthor* and of *Gawayn*;
 How they wer knyghtes good and curteys,
 Of *Turpyn* and of *Ocier* Daneyns.
 Of *Troye* men rede in ryme,
 What werre ther was in olde tyme;
 Of *Ector* and of *Achylles*,
 What folk they slewe in that pres, &c.^q

And again in a second Prologue, after a pause has been made by the minstrel in the course of singing the poem.

Now herkenes to my tale sothe
 Though I swere yow an othe
 I wole reden romaunces non
 Of *Paris*^r, ne of *Ypomydone*,
 Of *Alisaundre*, ne *Charlemagne*,
 Of *Arthour*, ne of sere *Gawain*,
 Nor of sere *Launcelot the Lake*,
 Of *Beffs*, ne *Guy* ne sere *Sydrake*,
 Ne of *Ury*, ne of *Octavian*,
 Ne of *Hector* the strong man,
 Ne of *Jason*, neither of *Hercules*,
 Ne of *Eneas*, neither *Achilles*^t.

^p Charlemagne's Twelve peers. *Douze Pairs*. Fr.

^q [The text has been corrected by Mr. Weber's edition of this romance, in his "Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries." 3 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1810.—Edit.]

^r [The old printed copy reads *Per-tonape*,] perhaps *Parthenope*, or *Parthenopeus*.

^t Line 6657. To some of these romances the author of the manuscript *Lives of the Saints*, written about the year 1200, and cited above at large, al-

ludes in a sort of prologue. See *Sacr.* i. p. 15. *supr.*

Wel auht we loug Cristendom that is so
 dere y bougt,
 With oure lorde's herte blode that the
 spere hath y sougt.

Men wilnethe more yhere of batayle of
 kyngis,
 And of knygtis hardy, that mochel is
 lesyngis.

Of *Rouland* and of *Olyvere*, and *Gy* of
Warwyk,
 Of *Wawayen* and *Tristram* that ne founde
 here y like.

Here, among others, some of the most capital and favourite stories of romance are mentioned, Arthur, Charlemagne, the Siege of Troy with its appendages, and Alexander the Great: and there are four authors of high esteem in the dark ages, Geoffry of Monmouth, Turpin, Guido of Colonna, and Calisthenes, whose books were the grand repositories of these subjects, and contained most of the traditionary fictions, whether of Arabian or classical origin, which constantly supplied materials to the writers of romance. I shall speak of these authors, with their subjects, distinctly.

But I do not mean to repeat here what has been already observed^u concerning the writings of Geoffry of Monmouth and Turpin. It will be sufficient to say at present, that these two fabulous historians recorded the achievements of Charlemagne and of Arthur: and that Turpin's history was artfully forged under the name of that archbishop about the year 1110, with a design of giving countenance to the Crusades from the example of so high an authority as Charlemagne, whose pretended visit to the holy sepulchre is described in the twentieth chapter.

Who so loveth to here tales of suche
thinge,
Here he may y here thyng that nys no
lesyng,
Of postoles and marters that hardi
knygtes were,
And stedfast were in bataile and fledde
nogt for no fere, &c.

The anonymous author of an antient manuscript poem, called "*The boke of Stories called Cursor Mundi*," translated from the French, seems to have been of the same opinion. His work consists of religious legends: but in the prologue he takes occasion to mention many tales of another kind, which were more agreeable to the generality of readers. MSS. Laud, K 53. f. 177. Bibl. Bodl.

Men lykyn Jestis for to here
And romans rede in divers manere
Of *Alexandre* the conquerour,
Of *Julius Cesar* the emperour,
Of *Greece* and *Troy* the strong stryf,
Ther many a man lost his lyf:
Of *Brut* that baron bold of hand
The first conquerour of England,

Of kyng *Artour* that was so ryche,
Was non in hys tyme so ilyche:
Of wonders that among his knyghts felle,
And auntyrs dedyn as men her telle,
As *Gaweyn* and othir full abyll
Which that kept the round tabyll,
How kyng *Charles* and *Rouland* sawght
With Sarazins, nold thei be cawght;
Of *Trystram* and *Ysoud* the swete,
How thei with love first gan mete.
Of kyng *John* and of *Isenbras*
Of *Ydoyne* and *Amadas*.
Stories of divers thynges
Of princes, prelates, and kynges,
Many songs of divers ryme
As English, French, and Latyne, &c.
This ylike boke is translate
Into English tong to rede
For the love of English lede
Ffor comyn folk of England, &c.
Syldyn yt ys for any chaunce
English tong preched is in Fraunce, &c.
See Montf. Par. MSS. 7540. and p. 123.
supr.

^u See Diss. i.

As to the Siege of Troy, it appears that both Homer's poems were unknown, at least not understood in Europe, from the abolition of literature by the Goths in the fourth century, to the fourteenth. Geoffry of Monmouth indeed, who wrote about the year 1160, a man of learning for that age, produces Homer in attestation of a fact asserted in his history: but in such a manner, as shews that he knew little more than Homer's name, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Homer's subject. Geoffry says, that Brutus having ravaged the province of Aquitain with fire and sword, came to a place where the city of Tours now stands, as *Homer testifies**. But the Trojan story was still kept alive in two Latin pieces, which passed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. Dares's history of the destruction of Troy, as it was called, pretended to have been translated from the Greek of Dares Phrygius into Latin prose by Cornelius Nepos, is a wretched performance, and forged under those specious names in the decline of Latin literature†. Dictys Cretensis is a prose Latin history of the Trojan war, in six books; paraphrased about the reign of Dioclesian or Constantine by one Septimius, from some Grecian history on the same subject, said to be discovered under a sepulchre by means of an earthquake in the city of Cnossus, about the time of Nero, and to have been composed by Dictys, a Cretan, and a soldier in the Trojan war. The fraud of discovering copies of books in this extraordinary manner, in order to infer from thence their high and indubitable antiquity, so frequently practised, betrays itself. But that the present Latin Dictys had a Greek original, now lost, appears

* L. i. ch. 14.

† In the Epistle prefixed, the pretended translator Nepos says, that he found this work at Athens, in the handwriting of Dares. He adds, speaking of the controverted authenticity of Homer, *De ea re Athenis iudicium fuit, cum pro insano Homerus haberetur quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit.* In which words he does not refer to any public decree of the Athenian judges,

but to Plato's opinion in his *REPUBLIC*. Dares, with Dictys Cretensis next mentioned in the text, was first printed at Milan in 1477. Mabillon says, that a manuscript of the Pseudo-Dares occurs in the Laurentian library at Florence, upwards of eight hundred years old. *Mus. Ital. i. p. 169.* This work was abridged by Vincentius Bellovacensis, a friar of Burgundy, about the year 1244. See his *Specul. Histor. lib. iii. 63.*

from the numerous grecisms with which it abounds: and from the literal correspondence of many passages with the Greek fragments of one Dictys cited by antient authors. The Greek original was very probably forged under the name of Dictys, a traditionary writer on the subject, in the reign of Nero, who is said to have been fond of the Trojan story^a. On the whole, the work appears to have been an arbitrary metaphrase of Homer, with many fabulous interpolations. At length Guido de Colonna, a native of Messina in Sicily, a learned civilian, and no contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dares and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taste of his age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothic fiction easily admitted; at the same time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus^b, compiled a grand prose romance in Latin, containing fifteen books, and entitled in most manuscripts *Historia de Bello Trojano*^b. It was written at the request of Mattheo de Porta, archbishop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis seem to have been in some measure superseded by this improved and comprehensive history of the Grecian heroes: and from this period Achilles, Jason, and Hercules, were adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver, and other Christian champions, whom they so nearly resembled

^a See Perizon. Dissertat. de Dict. Cretens. sect. xxix. Constantinus Lascaris, a learned monk of Constantinople, one of the restorers of Grecian literature in Europe near four hundred years ago, says that Dictys Cretensis in Greek was lost. This writer is not once mentioned by Eustathius, who lived about the year 1170, in his elaborate and extensive commentary on Homer.

^b The Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus are cited in Chaucer's *Hypsipyle and Medea*. "Let him read the boke Argonauticon." v. 90. But Guido is afterwards cited as a writer on that subject, *ibid.* 97. Valerius Flaccus is a common manuscript. See pag. 141. *infra*.

^b It was first printed Argentorat. 1486. and *ibid.* 1489. fol. The work was finished, as appears by a note at the end, in 1287. It was translated into Italian by Philip or Christopher Ceffio, a Florentine, and this translation was first printed at Venice in 1481. 4to. It has also been translated into German. See Lambec. ii. 948. The purity of our author's Italian style has been much commended. For his Italian poetry, see Mongitor, *ubi* *supr.* p. 167. Compare also, *Diar. Eruditor.* Ital. xiii. 258. Montfaucon mentions, in the royal library at Paris, *Le ROMAN de Thebes qui futracine de Troye la grande.* Catal. MSS. ii. p. 923—198.

in the extravagance of their adventures*. This work abounds with Oriental imagery, of which the subject was extremely susceptible. It has also some traites of Arabian literature. The

* Bale says, that Edward the First, having met with our author in Sicily, in returning from Asia, invited him into England, xiii. 96. This prince was interested in the Trojan story, as we shall see below. Our historians relate, that he wintered in Sicily in the year 1270. Chron. Rob. Brun. p. 227. A writer quoted by Hearne, supposed to be John Stowe the chronicler, says, that "Guido de Columpna arriving in England at the commaundement of king Edward the Firste, made scholies and annotations upon Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius. Besides these, he writ at large the Battayle of Troye." Heming. Cartul. ii. 649. Among his works is recited *Historia de Regibus Rebusque Anglie*. It is quoted by many writers under the title of *Chronicum Britannorum*. He is said also to have written *Chronicum Magnum libris xxxvi*. See Mongitor. Bibl. Sic. i. 265.

[Mr. Fichhorn has stated these "Scholies" of Guido to have been published in the year 1216; a manifest mistake,—since it leaves 71 years between this date, and the period at which he assigns the first appearance of the *Historia Trojana*. But whatever may have been Guido's merit in thus affording a common textbook for subsequent writers, his work could have contained little of novelty, either in matter or manner, for his contemporaries; and it may be reasonably doubted, whether his labours extended beyond the humble task of reducing into prose the metrical compilations of his predecessors. It is true, this circumstance will not admit of absolute proof, till the several poems upon the Trojan story extant in our own and various continental libraries shall be given to the world; but the following notices of some of these productions, though scanty and imperfect, will perhaps justify the opinion which has been expressed. The history of the Anglo-Saxon kings by Geoffri Gaimar, a poet antecedent to Wace (1155), is but a fragment of a larger work, which the author assures

us commenced with an account of Jason and the Argonautic expedition. This was doubtlessly continued through the whole cycle of Grecian fabulous history, till the siege of Troy connected Brutus, the founder of the British dynasty, with the heroes of the ancient world. The voluminous work of Benoit de Saint More (noticed by Warton below), is confessedly taken from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis; and is adorned with all those fictions of romance and chivalric costume, which these writers are supposed to have received from the interpolations of Guido. Among the romances enumerated by Melis Seoke, as the productions of earlier writers in Holland, and still (1900) held in general esteem, we find "The Conflict of Troy" (*De Stryd van Troyen*); and we know upon the authority of Jakob van Maerlant (1270), the translator of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, that this was a version of Benoit's poem. It is not so certain whence Conrad of Wurzburg, a contemporary of Guido, derived his German *Ilias*; but he professes to have taken it from a French original, and his poem, like Gaimar's, commences with Jason and the Argonautic expedition. Upon the same principle that Conrad conceived it necessary to preface his *Ilias* with the story of the Golden Fleece, his countryman Henry von Veldeck embraced the whole of the Trojan war, its origin and consequences, in his version of the *Æneis*. This, however, is usually believed to be a translation from the "Enide" of Chretien de Troyes; and, if the date (ante 1186) assumed for its appearance by Mr. von der Hagen be correct, would place the French original in an earlier period than is given it by the French antiquaries. In the year 1210, Albrecht von Halberstadt published a metrical version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See von der Hagen's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie*, Berlin 1812; and Henrik van Wyn's *Historische Avondsonden*, Amsterdam 1800.—EDR.]

Trojan horse is a horse of brass; and Hercules is taught astronomy, and the seven liberal sciences. But I forbear to enter at present into a more particular examination of this history, as it must often occasionally be cited hereafter. I shall here only further observe in general, that this work is the chief source from which Chaucer derived his ideas about the Trojan story; that it was professedly paraphrased by Lydgate, in the year 1420, into a prolix English poem, called the *Boke of Troye*^d, at the command of king Henry the Fifth; that it became the ground-work of a new compilation in French, on the same subject, written by Raoul le Feure chaplain to the duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464, and partly translated into English prose in the year 1471, by Caxton, under the title of the *Recuyel of the histories of Troy*, at the request of Margaret dutchess of Burgundy: and that from Caxton's book afterwards inodernised, Shakespeare borrowed his drama of *Troilus and Cressida*^e.

^d Who mentions it in a French as well as Latin romance: edit. 1555. Signat. B. i. pag. 2.

As in the latyn and the frenshe yt is.

It occurs in French, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. 16 F. ix. This manuscript was probably written not long after the year 1300.

[In Lincoln's-inn library there is a poem entitled *BELLUM TROIANUM*, Num. 150. Pr.

Sic[et]hen god hade this worlde wrought.
ADDITIONS.]

^e The western nations, in early times, have been fond of deducing their origin from Troy. This tradition seems to be couched under Odin's original emigration from that part of Asia which is connected with Phrygia. Asgard, or *Asia's fortress*, was the city from which Odin led his colony; and by some it is called Troy. To this place also they supposed Odin to return after his death, where he was to receive those who died in battle, in a hall roofed with glittering shields. See Bartholin. L. ii. cap. 8. p. 402, 403. seq. This hall, says the *Edda*, is in the city of Asgard, which is

called the *Field of Ida*. Bartholin. *ibid*. In the very sublime ode on the Dissolution of the World, cited by Bartholine, it is said, that after the twilight of the gods should be ended, and the new world appear, *the Aes shall meet in the field of Ida, and tell of the destroyed habitations*. Barthol. L. ii. cap. 14. p. 597. Compare Arngrim. Jon. *Crymog.* l. i. c. 4. p. 45, 46. See also *Edda*, fab. 5. In the poem to Resenius's *Edda*, it is said, "Odin appointed twelve judges or princes, at Sigtune in Scandinavia, as at Trov; and established there all the laws of Trov, and the customs of the TROJANS." See Hickes. *Thesaur.* l. Dissertat. Epist. p. 39. See also Mallett's *Hist. Dannem.* ii. p. 34. Bartholinus thinks that the compiler of the *Eddic* mythology, who lived A.D. 1070, finding that the Britons and Franks drew their descent from Troy, was ambitious of assigning the same boasted origin to Odin. But this tradition appears to have been older than the *Edda*. And it is more probable, that the Britons and Franks borrowed it from the Scandinavian Goths, and adapted it to themselves; unless we suppose that these nations, I mean the former, were

Proofs have been given, in the two prologues just cited, of the general popularity of Alexander's story, another branch of Grecian history famous in the dark ages. To these we may add the evidence of Chaucer.

Alisaundres storie is so commune,
That everie wight that hath discrecioun
Hath herde somewhat or al of his fortune^f.

And in the *House of Fame*, Alexander is placed with Hercules^g. I have already remarked that he was celebrated in a Latin poem by Gualtier de Chatillon, in the year 1212^h. Other proofs will occur in their proper placesⁱ. The truth is, Alex-

branches of the Gothic stem, which gave them a sort of inherent right to the claim. This reasoning may perhaps account for the early existence and extraordinary popularity of the Trojan story among nations ignorant and illiterate, who could only have received it by tradition. Geoffrey of Monmouth took this descent of the Britons from Troy, from the Welsh or Armoric bards, and they perhaps had it in common with the Scandinavian scalds. There is not a syllable of it in the authentic historians of England, who wrote before him; particularly those ancient ones, Bede, Gildas, and the uninterpolated Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon began his history from *Cæsar*; and it was only on further information that he added *Brute*. But this information was from a manuscript found by him in his way to Rome in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, probably Geoffrey's original. *H. Hunt. Epistol. ad Warin.* MSS. Cantabr. Bibl. publ. cod. 251: I have mentioned in another place, that Witlaf, a king of the West Saxons, grants in his charter, dated A. D. 833, among other things, to Croyland-abbey, his robe of tissue, on which was embroidered *The destruction of Troy*. Obs. on Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, i. sect. v. p. 176. This proves the story to have been in high veneration even long before that period: and it should at the same time be remembered, that the Saxons came from Scandinavia.

This fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans was solemnly al-

leged as an authentic and undeniable proof in a controversy of great national importance, by Edward the First and his nobility, without the least objection from the opposite party. It was in the famous dispute concerning the subjection of the crown of England to that of Scotland, about the year 1301. The allegations are in a letter to pope Boniface, signed and sealed by the king and his lords. *Ypodigm. Neustr. apud Camd. Angl. Norman.* p. 492. Here is a curious instance of the implicit faith with which this tradition continued to be believed, even in a more enlightened age; and an evidence that it was equally credited in Scotland.

^f V. 656. p. 165. Urr. ed. ^g V. 333.

^h See Second Dissertation.

ⁱ In the reign of Henry the First, the sheriff of Nottinghamshire is ordered to procure the queen's chamber at Nottingham to be painted with the History of ALEXANDER. *Madox, Hist. Exch.* p. 249—259. "Depingi facias HIERONIAM ALEXANDRI undiqueque." In the Romance of Richard, the minstrel says of an army assembled at a siege in the Holy Land, Sign. Q. iii.

Covered is both mount and playne,
Kyng ALEXANDER and Charlemayne
He never had halfe the route
As is the city now abouts.

By the way, this is much like a passage in Milton, *Par. Reg.* iii. 337.

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican, &c.

ander was the most eminent knight errant of Grecian antiquity. He could not therefore be long without his romance. Callisthenes, an Olynthian, educated under Aristotle with Alexander, wrote an authentic life of Alexander^k. This history, which is frequently referred to by antient writers, has been long since lost. But a Greek life of this hero, under the adopted name of Callisthenes, at present exists, and is no uncommon manuscript in good libraries^l. It is entitled, *Βίος Αλεξάνδρου του Μακεδονος και Πραξεις*. That is, *The Life and Actions of Alexander the Macedonian*^m. This piece was written in Greek, being a translation from the Persic, by Simeon Seth, styled *Magister*, and protovestiar or wardrobe keeper of the palace of Antiochus at Constantinopleⁿ, about the year 1070, under the emperor Michael Ducas^o. It was most probably very soon

^k See Recherch. sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Callisthene. Par M. l'Abbe Sevin. Mem. de Lit. viii. p. 126. 4to. But many very antient Greek writers had corrupted Alexander's history with fabulous narratives, such as Orthogoras, Onesicritus, &c.

[Julian Africanus, who lived in the third century, records the fable of Necanabus, king of Egypt, the presumptive father of Alexander, who figures so conspicuously in the later romances. It is also presumed, that similar fictions were introduced into the poems of Arrian, Hadrian, and Soterichus. See Görres Volksbücher, p. 58. a translation of whose observations upon this subject will be found in the Retrospective Review, No. vi. For an account of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian versions of this story, see Herbelot, i. 144. and Weber's Metrical Romances, vol. i. xx.—Edit.]

^l Particularly Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MSS. Barocc. Cod. xvii. And Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 2064. See Montfaucon. Catal. MSS. p. 733. See passages cited from this manuscript, in Steph. Byzant. Abr. Berckel. V. Βασίλειον. Caesar Bulinger de Circo, c. xiii. 30, &c. and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiv. 148, 149, 150. It is adduced by Du Cange, Glossar. Gr. ubi vid. Tom. ii. Catal. Scriptor. p. 24.

^m Undoubtedly many smaller histo-

ries now in our libraries were formed from this greater work.

ⁿ Πρωτοβησιμας, Protovestiarus. See Du Cange, Constantinop. Christ. lib. ii. § 16. n. 5. Et ad Zonar. p. 46.

^o Allat. de Simeonibus. p. 181. And Labb. Bibl. nov. MSS. p. 115. Simeon Seth translated many Persic and Arabic books into Greek. Allat. ubi supr. p. 182. seq. Among them he translated from Arabic into Greek, about the year 1100, for the use or at the request of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, the celebrated Indian Fables now commonly called the *Fables of Pilpay*. This work he entitled, *Στασιαστος και Ιχθυοστος*, and divided it into fifteen books. It was printed at Berlin, by Seb. Godfr. Starckius, A.D. 1697, 8vo. under the title, *Σηματα Μαγικη και φιλοσοφια του Σελ Κελου και Διου*. These are the names of two African or Asiatic animals, called in Latin *Thos*, a sort of fox, [jackall,] the principal interlocutors in the fables. Sect. i. ii. This curious monument of a species of instruction peculiar to the Orientals, is upwards of two thousand years old. It has passed under a great variety of names. Khosru a king of Persia, in whose reign Mahomet was born, sent his physician named Burwisch into India, on purpose to obtain this book, which was carefully preserved among the treasures of the kings of India: and

afterwards translated from the Greek into Latin, and at length from thence into French, Italian, and German^p. The Latin translation was printed Colon. Argentorat. A.D. 1489^q. Perhaps before. For among Hearne's books in the Bodleian library, there is an edition in quarto, without date, supposed to have

commanded it to be translated out of the Indian language into the antient Persic. Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. p. 456. It was soon afterwards turned into Syriac, under the title *Calaileg and Dam-nag*. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vi. p. 461. About the year of Christ 750, one of the caliphs ordered it to be translated from the antient Persic into Arabic, under the name *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. ubi supr. In the year 920, the Sultan Ahmed, of the dynasty of the Semanides, procured a translation into more modern Persic: which was soon afterwards put into verse by a celebrated Persian poet named Roudeki. Herbel. ibid. Fabric. ibid. p. 462. About the year 1130, the Sultan Bahram, not satisfied with this Persian version, ordered another to be executed by Nasrallah, the most eloquent man of his age, from the Arabic text of Mocanna: and this Persian version is what is now extant under the title *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. ibid. See also Herbel. p. 118. But as even this last-mentioned version had too many Arabic idioms and obsolete phrases, in the reign of Sultan Hosein Mirza, it was thrown into a more modern and intelligible style, under the name of *Anuar Soheli*. Fraser's Hist. Nad. Shaw. Catal. MSS. p. 19, 20. Nor must it be forgotten, that about the year 1100, the Emir Sohail, general of the armies of Hussain, Sultan of Khorassan of the posterity of Timer, caused a new translation to be made by the doctor Hussien Vasz, which exceeded all others in elegance and perspicuity. It was named *Anwar Sohaili*, SPLENDOR CANOPI, from the Emir who was called after the name of that star. Herbel. p. 118, 245. It would be tedious to mention every new title and improvement which it has passed through among the eastern people. It has been translated into the Turkish language both in prose and verse: particularly for the use of Bajazet the second and Solyman the second. Herbel. p. 118.

It has been also translated into Hebrew, by Rabbi Joel: and into Latin, under the title *Directorium Vitæ humanæ*, by Johannes of Capua. [fol. sine ann.] From thence it got into Spanish, or Castilian: and from the Spanish was made an Italian version, printed at Ferrara, A.D. 1583. oct. viz. *Lele Damno* [for *Calilah u Damnah*] *del Governo de regni, sotto morali, &c.* A second edition appeared at Ferrara in 1610. oct. viz. *Philosophia morale del domi, &c.* But I have a notion there was an Italian edition at Venice, under the last-mentioned title, with old rude cuts, 1552. 4to. From the Latin version it was translated into German, by the command of Eberhard first duke of Wirtemberg: and this translation was printed at Ulm, 1583. fol. At Strasburgh, 1525. fol. Without name of place, 1548. 4to. At Francfort on the Mayne, 1565. oct. A French translation by Gilb. Gaulmin from the Persic of Nasrallah above mentioned appeared at Paris, 1698. But this is rather a paraphrase, and was reprinted in Holland. See Starchius, ubi supr. pref. § 19. 20. 22. Fabric. ubi supr. p. 463. seq. Another translation was printed at Paris, viz. "Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et De Lokman traduits d'Ali Tcheichi-Bengalek auteur Turc, par M. Galland, 1714." ii vol. Again, Paris, 1724. ii vol. Fabricius says, that Mons. Galland had procured a Turkish copy of this book four times larger than the printed copies, being a version from the original Persic, and entitled *Humagoun Namch*, that is, *The royal or imperial book*, so called by the Orientals, who are of opinion that it contains the whole art of government. See Fabric. ubi supr. p. 465. Herbel. p. 456. A Translation into English from the French of the four first books was printed at London in 1747, under the title of PILPAT'S FABLES.—As to the name of the author of this book, Herbelot says that Bidpai was an Indian philosopher,

been printed at Oxford by Frederick Corsellis, about the year 1468. It is said to have been made by one Æsopus, or by Julius Valerius¹: supposititious names, which seem to have been forged by the artifice, or introduced through the ignorance, of scribes and librarians. This Latin translation, however, is of high antiquity in the middle age of learning: for it is quoted by Gyraldus Cambrensis, who flourished about the year 1190². About the year 1236, the substance of it was

and that his name signifies the *merciful physician*. See Herbelot. p. 306. 456. and Bibl. Lugdun. Catal. p. 301. [Sir Wm. Jones, who derives this name from a Sanscrit word, interprets it, the *beloved or favourite physician*.—EDRR.] Others relate, that it was composed by the Brahmans of India, under the title *Kurtuk Dunnik*. Fraser, ubi supr. p. 19. It is also said to have been written by Isame fifth king of the Indians, and translated into Arabic from the Indian tongue three hundred years before Alexander the Macedonian. Abraham Echelens. Not. ad Catal. Ebed Jesu, p. 87.—The Indians reckon this book among the three things in which they surpass all other nations. viz. "Liber CULILA et DRUMA, ludus Shatangi, et novem figuræ numerariæ." Saphad. Comment. ad Carm. Tograi. apud Hyde, prolegom. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. d. 3. Hyde intended an edition of the Arabic version. Præfat. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. vol. ii. 1767. edit. ad calc. I cannot forsake this subject without remarking, that the Persians have another book, which they esteem older than any writings of Zoroaster, entitled *Javidan Chrad*, that is, *eterna Sapientia*. Hyde Præfat. Reliq. Vet. Persarum. This has been also one of the titles of Pilpay's Fables.

[See Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. i. 468. ii. 931. iii. 350. iv. 934.—ADDITIONS.]

[The Indian origin of these fables is now placed beyond the possibility of dispute. Mr. Colebrooke has published a Sanscrit version of them, under the title of *Hitopades*, and they have been translated, from the same language, by Sir Wm. Jones and Dr. Wilkins.—EDRR.]

² Casaub. Epist. ad Jos. Scaliger. 402. 413. Scalig. Epist. ad Casaubon. 113. 115; who mentions also a trans-

lation of this work from the Latin into Hebrew, by one who adopted the name of Jos. Gorionides, called Pseudo-Gorionides. This Latin history was translated into German by John Hartlieb Moller, a German physician, at the command of Albert duke of Bavaria, and published August. Vindel. A.D. 1478. fol. [This edition was preceded by two others from the press of Bâmler, dated 1472 and 1473. These and the Strasburg edition of 1488 call the translator Dr. John Hartlieb of Munich.—EDRR.] See Lambec. lib. ii. de Bibl. Vindobon. p. 949. Labbe mentions a fabulous history of Alexander; written, as he says, in 1217, and transcribed in 1455. Undoubtedly this is the text. Londinensis quotes "pervetustum quendam librum manuscriptum de actibus Alexandri." Hearne's T. Caius ut infr. p. 82. See also p. 86. 258.

³ Lenglet mentions "Historia fabulosa incerti authoris de Alexandri Magni præliis" fol. 1494. He adds, that it is printed in the last edition of Cæsar's Commentaries by Grævius in octavo. Bibl. des Romans, ii. p. 228. 229. edit. Amst. Compare Vogt's *Catalogus librorum rarior.* pag. 24. edit. 1753. Montfaucon says this history of Callisthenes occurs often in the royal library at Paris, both in Greek and Latin: but that he never saw either of them printed. Cat. MSS. ii. pag. 793.—2543. I think a life of Alexander is subjoined to an edition of Quintus Curtius in 1584, by Joannes Monachus.

⁴ Du Cange Glossar. Gr. v. ΕΞΑΙΡΕΣ. Jurat. ad Symmach. iv. 33. Barth. Adversar. ii. 10. v. 14.

⁵ Hearne, T. Caii Vindic. Antiquit. Acad. Oxon. tom. ii. Nor. p. 802, who thinks it a work of the monks,

thrown into a long Latin poem, written in elegiac verse¹, by Aretinus Quilichinus². This fabulous narrative of Alexander's life and achievements, is full of prodigies and extravagancies³. But we should remember its origin. The Arabian books abound with the most incredible fictions and traditions concerning Alexander the Great, which they probably borrowed and improved from the Persians. They call him Escander. If I recollect right, one of the miracles of this romance is our hero's horn. It is said, that Alexander gave the signal to his whole army by a wonderful horn of immense magnitude, which might be heard at the distance of sixty miles, and that it was blown or sounded by sixty men at once⁴. This is the horn which Orlando won from the giant Jatmund, and which, as Turpin and the Islandic bards report, was endued with magical power, and might be heard at the distance of twenty miles. Cervantes says, that it was bigger than 'a massy beam'⁵. Boyardo, Berni, and Ariosto have all such a horn: and the fiction

"Nec dubium quin monachus quispiam Latine, ut potuit, scripserit. Eo modo, quo et alios id genus factus parturiebant scriptores aliquot monastici, e fabulis quas vulgo admodum placere sciebant." *ibid.*

¹ A Greek poem on this subject will be mentioned below, written in politic verses, entitled *Αλεξανδρινή ἱστορία*.

² Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS. p. 68. Ol. Borrich. Dissertat. de Poet. p. 89.

³ The writer relates, that Alexander, inclosed in a vessel of glass, dived to the bottom of the ocean for the sake of getting a knowledge of fishes and sea monsters. He is also represented as soaring in the air by the help of gryphons. At the end, the opinions of different philosophers are recited concerning the sepulchre of Alexander. Nectabanos, a magician and astrologer, king of Egypt, is a very significant character in this romance. He transforms himself into a dragon, &c. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 319. b. seq. In some of the manuscripts of this piece which I have seen, there is an account of Alexander's visit to the trees of the sun and moon: but I do not recollect this in the printed copies. Undoubtedly the ori-

ginal has had both interpolations and omissions. Pseudo-Georgonides above mentioned seems to hint at the groundwork of this history of Alexander in the following passage. "Ceteras autem res ab Alexandro gestas, et egregia ejus facinora ac quaecunque demum perpetravit, ea in libris Medorum et Persarum, atque apud Nicolaum, Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris nativitatibus Alexandri, rerumque ab ipso gestarum, quos Magi ac Egyptii eo anno quo Alexander decessit, composuerunt, scripta reperies." Lib. ii. c. 12.—22. [Lat. Vera.] p. 152. edit. Jo. Frid. Briethaupt.

⁴ It is also in a manuscript entitled *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*, Lib. 5. MSS. Bodl. D. 1. 5. This treatise, ascribed to Aristotle, was antiently in high repute. It is pretended to have been translated out of Greek into Arabic or Chaldee by one John a Spaniard; from thence into Latin by Philip a Frenchman; at length into English verse by Lidgate; under whom more will be said of it. I think the Latin is dedicated to Theophina, a queen of Spain.

⁵ See Observat. Fair. Qu. i. § v. p. 202.

is here traced to its original source. But in speaking of the books which furnished the story of Alexander, I must not forget that Quintus Curtius was an admired historian of the romantic ages. He is quoted in the *POLICRATICON* of John of Salisbury, who died in the year 1181². Eneas Sylvius relates, that Alphonsus the Ninth, king of Spain, in the thirteenth century, a great astronomer, endeavoured to relieve himself from a tedious malady by reading the Bible over fourteen times, with all the glosses; but not meeting with the expected success, he was cured by the consolation he received from once reading Quintus Curtius³. Peter Blesensis, archdeacon of London, a student at Paris about the year 1150, mentioning the books most common in the schools, declares that he *profited much by frequently looking into this author*^b. Vincentius Bellovacensis, cited above, a writer of the thirteenth century, often quotes Curtius in his *Speculum Historiale*^c. He was also early translated into French. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a fine copy of a French translation of this classic, adorned with elegant old paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Quinte Curse Ruf, des faiz d'Alexandre, ix liv. translate par Vasque de Lucene Portugalois. Escript par la main de Jehan du Chesne, a Lille*^d. It was made in 1468. But I believe the Latin translations of Simeon Seth's romance on this subject, were best known and most esteemed for some centuries.

The French, to resume the main tenour of our argument, had written metrical romances on most of these subjects, before or about the year 1200. Some of these seem to have been formed from prose histories, enlarged and improved with new adventures and embellishments from earlier and more simple tales in verse on the same subject. Chrestien of Troys wrote *Le Romans du Graal*, or the adventures of the Sangrale, which included the deeds of king Arthur, Sir Tristram, Lancelot du

² viii. 18.

³ Op. p. 476.

^b Epist. 101. *Frequentius inspicere historias Q. Curtii, &c.*

^c iv. 61, &c. Montfaucon, I think, mentions a manuscript of Q. Curtius in the Colbertine library at Paris eight

hundred years old. See Barth. ad Claudian. p. 1165. Alexander Benedictus, in his history of Venice, transcribes whole pages from this historian. I could give other proofs.

^d 17 F. i. Brit. Mus. And again, 20 C. iii. and 15 D. iv.

Lake, and the rest of the knights of the round table, before 1191. There is a passage in a coeval romance, relating to Chrestien, which proves what I have just advanced, that some of these histories previously existed in prose.

Christians qui entent et paine
A rimoyer le meillor conte,
Par le commandement le Conte,
Qu'il soit contez in cort royal
Ce est li contes del Graal
Dont li quens li bailla le livre.*

Chrestien also wrote the romance of *Sir Percival*, which belongs to the same history†. Godfrey de Leigni, a cotempo-

* Apud Fauchet, Rec. p. 99. who adds, "Je croy bien que Romans que nous avons aujourd'hui imprimez, tels que Lancelot du Lac, Tristan, et autres, sont refondus sus les vieilles proses et rymes et puis rafraichis de langage." Rec. liv. ii. x.

[The "Roman du Saint Graal" is ascribed to an anonymous "Trouver" by M. Roquefort, who denies that it was written by Chretien de Troyes. On the authority of the Cat. de la Valliere, he also attributes the first part, of the prose version of this romance, to Lucès du Gast, and the continuation only to Robert Borron. Of Borron's work entitled "Ensièrement de Merlin ou Roman de St. Graal," there is a metrical version MS. no. 1987 fonds de l'abbaye St. Germain. See Poésie Française dans les xii. et xiii. Siècles.—EDR.]

The oldest manuscripts of romances on these subjects which I have seen are the following. They are in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum. *Le Romans de Tristan*, 20 D. ii. This was probably transcribed not long after the year 1200.—*Histoire du Lancelot ou S. Graal*, ibid. iii. Perhaps older than the year 1200.—Again, *Histoire du S. Graal, ou Lancelot*, 20 C. vi. 1. Transcribed soon after 1200. This is imperfect at the beginning. The subject of Joseph of Arimathea bringing a vessel of the Sanguis realis, or Sangreal, that is, our Saviour's blood, into England, is of high

antiquity. It is thus mentioned in *Morte Arthur*. "And then the old man had an harpe, and he sung an olde songe how Joseph of Arimathy came into this lande." B. iii. c. 5.

† Fauchet, p. 103. This story was also written in very old rhyme by one Menessier, not mentioned in Fauchet, from whence it was reduced into prose 1530. fol. Paris. PERCAVAL LE GALOIS, le quel acheva les aventures du Saint Graal, avec aucun faits du chevalier Gvain, translatée du rime de l'ancien auteur MESENIER, &c.

[This is not a distinct work from the romance upon the same subject by Chretien de Troyes. This writer at his death left the story unfinished. It was resumed by Gautier de Denet, and concluded by Messenier. See Roquefort ut sup. p. 194.—EDR.]

In the royal library at Paris is *Le Roman de Perceval le Galois, par Chrestien de Troyes*. In verse. fol. Mons. Galland thinks there is another romance under this title, Mem. de Lit. iii. p. 427. seq. 433. 8vo. The author of which he supposes may be Rauol de Bievain, mentioned by Fauchet, p. 142. Compare Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. p. 250. The author of this last-mentioned Percevall, in the exordium, says that he wrote, among others, the romances of Eneas, Roy Marc, and Uselt le Blonde: and that he translated into French, Ovid's Art of Love.

rary, finished a romance begun by Chrestien, entitled *La Charette*, containing the adventures of Launcelot. Fauchet affirms, that Chrestien abounds with beautiful inventions^g. But no story is so common among the earliest French poets as Charlemagne and his Twelve peers. In the British Museum we have an old French manuscript containing the history of Charlemagne, translated into prose from Turpin's Latin. The writer declares, that he preferred a sober prose translation of this authentic historian, as histories in rhyme, undoubtedly very numerous on this subject, looked so much like lies^h. His title is extremely curious. "Ci comence l'Estoire que Turpin le Ercevesque de Reins fit del bon roy Charlemayne, coment il conquist Espaigne, e delivera des Paens. Et pur ceo qe *Estoire rimee semble mensunge*, est ceste mis in prose, solun le Latin qe Turpin mesmes fist, tut ensi cume il le vist et vist."ⁱ

Oddegir the Dane makes a part of Charlemagne's history; and, I believe, is mentioned by archbishop Turpin. But his exploits have been recorded in verse by Adenez, an old French poet, not mentioned by Fauchet, author of the two metrical romances of *Berlin* [Berthe] and *Cleomades*, under the name of *Ogier le Danois*, in the year 1270. This author was master of the musicians, or, as others say, herald at arms, to the duke of Brabant. Among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, we have a poem, *Le Livre de Ogeir de Dannemarche*^k. The

^g P. 105. *ibid*.

^h There is a curious passage to this purpose in an old French prose romance of Charlemagne, written before the year 1200. "Baudouin Comte de Hainau trouva a Sens en Bourgogne le viz de Charlemagne: et mourant la donna a sa sour Yolond Comtesse de S. Paul qui m'a prie que je la mette en *Roman sans ryme*. Parce que tel se delitera el Roman qui del Latin n'ent cure; et par le Roman sera miex garde. Muintes gens en ont ouy conter et chanter, mais n'est ce *mensonge* non ce qu'ils en disient et chantent cil conteour ne cil juleor. NUS CONTES RYMES N'EN EST VRAIS: TOT MENSONGE CE QU'ILS DIENT." Liv. quatr.

ⁱ MSS. Harl. 273. 23. Cod. membr.

f. 86. There is a very old metrical romance on this subject, *ibid*. MSS. Harl. 527. 1. f. 1. Cod. membr. 4to.

^k 15 E. vi. 4.

[The title of Adenez' poem is *Les Enfances d'Ogier-le-Danois*, a copy of which is preserved among the Harl. MSS. No. 4404. His other poem noticed in the text, is called *Le Roman de Pepin et de Berthe*. See Cat. Valliere, No. 2734. The life of Ogier contained in the royal manuscript, embraces the whole career of this illustrious hero; and is evidently a distinct work from that of Adenez. Whether it be the same version alluded to in the French romance of Alexander, where the author is distinguished from the "conteurs batards" of his day, is left to more competent judges.—EDR.]

French have likewise illustrated this champion in Leonine rhyme. And I cannot help mentioning that they have in verse *Visions of Oddegir the Dane in the kingdom of Fairy*, "*Visions d'Ogeir le Danois au Royaume de Faerie en vers Francois*," printed at Paris in 1548¹.

On the Trojan story, the French have an antient poem, at least not posterior to the thirteenth century, entitled *Roman de Troye*, written by Benoit de Saint More. As this author appears not to have been known to the accurate Fauchet, nor la Croix du Maine; I will cite the exordium, especially as it records his name; and implies that the piece [was] translated from the Latin, and that the subject was not then common in French.

Cette estoire n'est pas usée,
N'en gaires livres n'est trouvée:
La retraite ne fut encore
Mais Beneoit de sainte More,
L'a translaté, et fait et dit,
Et a sa main les mots escrit.

He mentions his own name again in the body of the work, and at the end.

Je n'en fait plus ne plus en dit;
Beneoit qui c'est Roman fit.^m

Du Cange enumerates a metrical manuscript romance on this subject by Jaques Millet, entitled *De la Destruction de Troie*ⁿ. Montfaucon, whose extensive inquiries nothing could escape, mentions Dares Phrygius translated into French verse, at Milan, about the twelfth century^o. We find also, among the royal manuscripts at Paris, Dictys Cretensis translated into French verse^p. To this subject, although almost equally belonging to that of Charlemagne, we may also refer a French romance in verse, written by Philippes Mousques, canon and

¹ 8vo. There is also *L'Histoire du preux Meuroin fils d'Ogeir le Danois*. Paris. 1359. 4to. and 1540. 8vo.

^m See M. Galland ut supr. p. 425.

[For an account of Benoit de Saint

More's poem, the reader is referred to the 12th vol. of the *Archæologia*.—Econ.]

ⁿ *Gloss. Lat. Iva. Avo. p. cxcii.*

^o *Monum. Fr. i. 374.*

^p See Montf. *Catal. MSS. ii. p. 1663.*

chancellor of the church of Tournay. It is, in fact, a chronicle of France: but the author, who does not chuse to begin quite so high as Adam and Eve, nor yet later than the Trojan war, opens his history with the rape of Helen, passes on to an ample description of the siege of Troy; and, through an exact detail of all the great events which succeeded, conducts his reader to the year 1240. This work comprehends all the fictions of Turpin's Charlemagne, with a variety of other extravagant stories dispersed in many professed romances. But it preserves numberless curious particulars, which throw considerable light on historical facts. Du Cange has collected from it all that concerns the French emperors of Constantinople, which he has printed at the end of his entertaining history of that city.

It was indeed the fashion for the historians of these times, to form such a general plan as would admit all the absurdities of popular tradition. Connection of parts, and uniformity of subject, were as little studied as truth. Ages of ignorance and superstition are more affected by the marvellous than by plain facts; and believe what they find written, without discernment or examination. No man before the sixteenth century presumed to doubt that the Franks derived their origin from Francus, a son of Hector; that the Spaniards were descended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scotch from Fergus. Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis the Ninth of France, and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's sons, very gravely classes archbishop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real histories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cesar. He was himself an historian, and has left a large history of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the middle ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his cotemporaries, at present it serves only to record their prejudices, and to characterise their credulity^a.

Hercules and Jason, as I have before hinted, were involved in the Trojan story by Guido de Colonna, and hence became

^a He flourished about 1260.

familiar to the romance writers'. The Hercules, the Theseus, and the Amazons of Boccaccio, hereafter more particularly mentioned, came from this source. I do not at present recollect any old French metrical romances on these subjects, but presume that there are many. Jason seems to have vied with Arthur and Charlemagne; and so popular was his expedition to Colchos, or rather so firmly believed, that in honour of so respectable an adventure, a duke of Burgundy instituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, in the year 1468. At the same time his chaplain Raoul le Feure illustrated the story which gave rise to this magnificent institution, in a prolix and elaborate history, afterwards translated by Caxton'. But I must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, the French romance of *Hercules* occurs in two books, enriched with numerous antient paintings'. *Pertonape* and *Ypomèdon*, in our Prologue, seem to be Parthenopeus and Hippomèdon, belonging to the Theban story, and mentioned, I think, in Statius. An English romance in verse, called *Childe Ippomèdone*, will be cited hereafter, most probably translated from the French.

The conquests of Alexander the Great were celebrated by one Simon, in old Pictavian or Limosin, about the twelfth century. This piece thus begins:

Chanson voil dis per ryme et per Leoin
 Del fil Filipe lo roy de Macedoin".

' The *TROJOMANNA SAGA*, a Scandic manuscript at Stockholm, seems to be posterior to Guido's publication. It begins with Jason and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos: proceeds to the rape of Helen, and ends with the siege and destruction of Troy. It celebrates all the Grecian and Asiatic heroes concerned in that war. Wanl. Antiquit. Septentr. p. 315. col. 1.

" See Observat. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. § v. p. 176. seq. Montfaucon mentions *Medea et Jasonis Historia a Guidone de Columna*. Catal. MSS. Bibl. Coislin. ii. p. 1109.—818.

' 17 E. ii. [This romance of Hercules commences with an account of Uranus or Cælus, and terminates with

the death of Ulysses by his son Telegonus. The mythological fables with which the first part abounds, are taken from Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*; and the third part, embracing the destruction of Troy by the Greeks under Agamemnon, professes to be a translation from "Dictys of Greece and Dares of Troy." The *Pertonape* of the text is evidently *Partonopex de Blois*, (see *Le Grand Fabliaux*, tom. iv. p. 261. and *Notices des Manuscrits*, tom. ix.) and *Ypomèdon* the hero whom Warton dignifies with the epithet of *Childe Ippomèdone*.—EDR.]

" Fauch. p. 77.

[This specimen is clearly against Fauchet's opinion. The Pictavian or

An Italian poem on Alexander, called *Trionfo Magno*, was presented to Leo the Tenth, by Dominicho Falugi Anciseno, in the year 1521. Crescimbeni says it was copied from a Provençal romance^w. But one of the most valuable pieces of the old French poetry is on the subject of this victorious monarch, entitled, *Roman d'Alexandre*. It has been called the second poem now remaining in the French language, and was written about the year 1200. It was confessedly translated from the Latin; but it bears a nearer resemblance to Simeon Seth's romance, than to Quintus Curtius. It was the confederated performance of four writers, who, as Fauchet expresses himself, were *associez en leur JONGLERIE*^x. Lambert li Cors, a learned civilian, began the poem; and it was continued and completed by Alexander de Paris, John le Nivelois [Venelais], and Peter [Perot] de Saint Clost [Cloot]^y. The poem is closed with Alexander's will. This is no imagination of any of our three poets, although one of them was a civil lawyer. Alexander's will, in which he nominates successors to his pro-

Limosin was a dialect of Provençal, and the couplet in the text is old French or Romance.—EDRR.]

^w Istor. Volg. Poes. i. iv. p. 332. In the royal manuscripts there is a French poem entitled *La Vengeance du graunt Alexandre* 19 D. i. 2. Brit. Mus. I am not sure whether or no it is not a portion of the French *Alexandre*, mentioned below, written by Jehan li Nivelois [Venelais].

^x Fauchet, Rec. p. 83.

[The order in which Fauchet has classed Lambert li Cors and Alexander of Paris, and which has also been adopted by M. le Grand, is founded on the following passage of the original poem :

La verité d l'histoire si com li roys la fist
De clers de Chastiaudun Lambers li
Cors li mist
Qui du Latin la trait et en roman la
fist.....
Alexandre nous dit qui de Bernay fu
nez
Et de Paris refu se surnoms appelle
Qui or a les siens vers o les Lambert
mellea.

MM. de la Ravalliere and Roquefort

have considered Alexander as the elder writer; apparently referring (*Alexandre nous dit*) to Lambert li Cors. But the last line in this extract clearly confirms M. le Grand's arrangement. The date assigned by M. Roquefort for its publication is 1184. Jehan li Venelais wrote *Le Testament d'Alexandre*; and Perot de Saint Cloot, *La Vengeance d'Alexandre*. Mr. Douce has enumerated eleven French poets, who have written on the subject of Alexander or his family: and Mr. Weber observes, that several others might be added to the list. See Weber's *Metrical Romances* (who notices various European versions), *Notices des Manuscrits du Roi t. v. Catalogue de la Valliere t. ii.*—EDRR.]

^y Fauchet, *ibid.* Mons. Galland mentions a French romance in verse, unknown to Fauchet, and entitled *Roman d'Athys et de Prophtias*, written by one Alexander, whom he supposes to be this Alexander of Paris. Mem. Lit. iii. p. 429. edit. Amst. [This conjecture is confirmed by M. Roquefort ubi sup. p. 118.—EDRR.] It is often cited by Carpentier, Suppl. Cang.

vinces and kingdom, was a tradition commonly received, and is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus^a. I know not whether this work was ever printed. It is voluminous; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a vast folio manuscript of it on vellum, which is of great antiquity, richly decorated, and in high preservation^a. The margins and initials exhibit not only fantastic ornaments and illuminations exquisitely finished, but also pictures executed with singular elegance, expressing the incidents of the story, and displaying the fashion of buildings, armour, dress, musical instruments^b, and other particulars appropriated to the times. At the end we read this hexameter, which points out the name of the scribe.

Nomen scriptoris est THOMAS PLENUS AMORIS.

Then follows the date of the year in which the transcript was completed, viz. 1338. Afterwards there is the name and date of the illuminator, in the following colophon, written in golden letters. "Che livre fu perfaiz de la enluminiere an xviii^o. jour davryl par Jehan de grise l'an de grace m.ccc.xliiii."^c Hence it may be concluded, that the illuminations and paintings of this superb manuscript, which were most probably begun as soon as the scribe had finished his part, took up six years: no long time, if we consider the attention of an artist to ornaments so numerous, so various, so minute, and so laboriously touched. It has been supposed that before the appearance of this poem, the *Romans*, or those pieces which celebrated *Gests*, were constantly composed in short verses of six or eight syllables: and that in this *Roman d'Alexandre* verses of twelve syllables were first used. It has therefore been imagined, that the verses called ALEXANDRINES, the present French heroic measure, took their rise from this poem; Alexander being the hero, and Alexander the chief of the four poets concerned in the work.

^a See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. c. iii. l. viii. p. 205.

^b MSS. Bodl. B 264. fol.

^c The most frequent of these are organs, bagpipes, lutes, and trumpets.

^d The bishop of Gloucester has a most beautiful French manuscript on vellum of *Mort d'Arthur*, ornamented in the same manner. It was a present from Vertue the engraver.

That the name, some centuries afterwards, might take place in honour of this celebrated and early effort of French poetry, I think is very probable; but that verses of twelve syllables made their first appearance in this poem, is a doctrine which, to say no more, from examples already produced and examined, is at least ambiguous^d. In this poem Gadifer, hereafter mentioned, of Arabian lineage, is a very conspicuous champion.

Gadifer fu moult preus, d'un Arrabi lignage.

A rubric or title of one of the chapters is, "Comment Alexander fuit mys en un vesal de vooire pour veoir le merveiles," &c. This is a passage already quoted from Simeon Seth's romance, relating Alexander's expedition to the bottom of the ocean, in a vessel of glass, for the purpose of inspecting fishes and sea monsters. In another place, from the same romance, he turns astronemer, and soars to the moon by the help of four gryphons. The caliph is frequently mentioned in this piece; and Alexander, like Charlemagne, has his twelve peers.

These were the four reigning stories of romance. On which perhaps English pieces, translated from the French, existed before or about the year 1300. But there are some other English romances mentioned in the prologue of RICHARD CŒUR DE LYON, which we likewise probably received from the French in that period, and on which I shall here also enlarge.

BEUVES *de Hanton*, or *Sir Beavis of Southampton*, is a French romance of considerable antiquity, although the hero is not older than the Norman conquest. It is alluded to in our English romance on this story, which will again be cited, and at large.

Forth thei yode so saith the boke^e.

And again more expressly,

Under the bridge wer sixty belles,
Right as the *Romans* telles^f.

^d See Pref. *Le Roman de la Rose*, par
Mons. L'Abbè Lenglet, i. p. xxxvi.

^e Signat. P. ii.

^f Signat. E. iv.

The *Romans* is the French original. It is called the Romance of *Beuves de Hanton*, by Pere Labbe^a. The very ingenious Monsieur de la Curne de sainte Palaye mentions an ancient French romance in prose, entitled *Beufres de Hanton*^b. Chaucer mentions Bevis, with other famous romances, but whether in French or English is uncertain^c. *Beuves of Hantonne* was printed at Paris in 1502^d. Ascapart was one of his giants, a character^e in very old French romances. Bevis was a Saxon chieftain, who seems to have extended his dominion along the southern coasts of England, which he is said to have defended against the Norman invaders. He lived at Downton in Wiltshire. Near Southampton is an artificial hill called *Bevis Mount*, on which was probably a fortress^f. It is pretended that he was earl of Southampton. His sword is shewn in Arundel castle. This piece was evidently written after the Crusades; as Bevis is knighted by the king of Armenia, and is one of the generals at the siege of Damascus.

GUY EARL OF WARWICK is recited as a French romance by Labbe^a. In the British Museum a metrical history in very old French appears, in which Felicia, or Felice, is called the daughter of an earl of Warwick, and Guido, or Guy of Warwick, is the son of Seguart the earl's steward. The manuscript is at present imperfect^g. Montfaucon mentions among the royal manuscripts at Paris, *Roman de Guy et Beuves de Hanton*. The latter is the romance last mentioned. Again, *Le Livre de Guy de Warwick et de Harold d'Ardenne*^h. This Harold d'Arden is a distinguished warrior of Guy's history, and therefore his achievements sometimes form a separate ro-

^a Nov. Bibl. p. 334. edit. 1652.

^b Mem. Lit. xv. 582. 4to.

^c Rim. Thop.

^d 4to. Percy's Ball. iii. 217.

^e Selden's Drayton. Polyolb. s. iii.

^f p. 37.

^g It is now inclosed in the beautiful gardens of General Sir John Mordaunt, and gives name to his seat.

^h Ubi sup.

ⁱ MSS. Harl. 3775. 2.

^j Catal. MSS. p. 792.

[Among the Bennet manuscripts there is *ROMANS DE GUY DE WARWYK*. Num. L. It begins,

Puis cel tens ke dans fu nez.

This book belonged to Saint Augustin's abbey at Canterbury. With regard to the preceding romance of Bevis, the Italians had *Buovo d'Antona*, undoubtedly from the French, before 1348. And Lohyd recites in Welsh, *Ystori Bevis o Hamtun*. ARCHÆOL. p. 264.—Adden.]

mance: as in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, where we find *Le Romant de Herolt Dardenne*⁹. In the English romance of Guy, mentioned at large in its proper place, this champion is called *Syr Heraude of Arderne*¹. At length this favourite subject formed a large prose romance, entitled *Guy de Warwick Chevalier d'Angleterre et de la belle fille Felix samie*, and printed at Paris in 1525². Chaucer mentions Guy's story among the *Romaunces of Pris*³: and it is alluded to in the Spanish romance of *Tirante il Blanco*, or *Tirante the White*, supposed to have been written not long after the year 1430⁴. This romance was composed, or perhaps enlarged, after the Crusades; as we find that Guy's redoubted encounters with Colbrond the Danish giant, with the monster of Dunsmore-heath, and the dragon of Northumberland, are by no means equal to some of his achievements in the Holy Land, and the trophies which he won from the Soldan under the command of the emperor Frederick.

The romance of SIDRAC, often entitled *Le Livre Sydrac le philosophe le quel hom appelle le livre de le fuintane de totes Sciences*, appears to have been very popular, from the present frequency of its manuscripts. But it is rather a romance of Arabian philosophy than of chivalry. It is a system of natural knowledge, and particularly treats of the virtues of plants. Sidrac, the philosopher of this system, was astronomer to an eastern king. He lived eight hundred and forty-seven years after Noah, of whose book of astronomy he was possessed. He converts Bocchus, an idolatrous king of India, to the Christian faith, by whom he is invited to build a mighty tower against the invasions of a rival king of India. But the history, no less than the subject of this piece, displays the state, nature, and migrations of literature in the dark ages. After the death

⁹ 15 E. vi. 8. fol.

[This romance might be called with more propriety an episode in the life of Raynbrun, Guy's son. It recounts the manner in which he released Herolt d'Ardenne from prison; and the return of both to their native country. It has

the merit of being exceedingly short; and states, among other matter, that Herolt was born at Walmfirth in England. —Edm.] Sign. L. ii. vers.

¹ Fol. And again, ib. 1526. 4to.

² Rim. Thop.

³ Percy's Ball. iii. 100.

of Bocchus, Sidrac's book fell into the hands of a Chaldean renowned for piety. It then successively becomes the property of king Madian, Namaan the Assyrian, and Grypho archbishop of Samaria. The latter had a priest named Demetrius, who brought it into Spain, and here it was translated from the Greek into Latin. This translation is said to be made at Toledo, by Roger de Palermo, a minorite friar, in the thirteenth century. A king of Spain then commanded it to be translated from Latin into Arabic, and sent it as a most valuable present to Emir Elmomenim, lord of Tunis. It was next given to Frederick the Second, emperor of Germany, famous in the Crusades. This work, which is of considerable length, was translated into English verse, and will be mentioned on that account again. Sidrac is recited as an eminent philosopher, with Seneca and king Solomon, in the *Marchaunt's Second tale*, ascribed to Chaucer^v.

It is natural to conclude, that most of these French romances were current in England, either in the French originals, which were well understood at least by the more polite readers, or else by translation or imitation, as I have before hinted, when the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, in whose prologue they are recited, was translated into English. That the latter was the case as to some of them, at least, we shall soon produce actual proofs. A writer, who has considered these matters with much penetration and judgment, observes, that probably from the reign of our Richard the First, we are to date that remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compositions which we discover to have taken place at some early period between the French and English minstrels; the same set of phrases, the same species of characters, incidents, and adventures, and often the identical stories, being found in the metrical romances of both nations^x. From close connection and constant intercourse, the traditions and the champions of one kingdom were equally known in the other: and although

^v Urr. p. 616. v. 1932. There is an old translation of SIDRAC into Dutch, p. 12. MSS. Marshall, Bibl. Bodl. 31. fol.

^x Percy's Ess. on Anc. Eng. Minstr.

Bevis and Guy were English heroes, yet on these principles this circumstance by no means destroys the supposition, that their achievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude English songs, might be first wrought into romance by the French⁷. And it seems probable, that we continued for some time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours. Even the titles of our oldest romances, such as *Sir Blandamour*, *Sir Triamour*, *Sir Eglamour of Artoys*², *La Mort d'Arthur*, with many more, betray their French extraction. It is likewise a presumptive argument in favour of this assertion, that we find no prose romances in our language, before Caxton translated from the French the History of Troy, the Life of Charlemagne, the Histories of Jason, Paris and Vienne³, the Death of King Arthur, and other prose pieces of chivalry;

⁷ Dugdale relates, that in the reign of Henry the Fourth, about the year 1410, a lord Beauchamp, travelling into the East, was hospitably received at Jerusalem by the Soldan's lieutenant: "Who hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whose story they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace; and royally feasting him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers cloaths of silk and gold given to his servants." Baron. i. p. 243. col. 1. This story is delivered on the credit of John Rouse, the traveller's cotemporary. Yet it is not so very improbable that Guy's history should be a book among the Saracens, if we consider, that Constantinople was not only a central and connecting point between the eastern and western world, but that the French in the thirteenth century had acquired an establishment there under Baldwin earl of Flanders: that the French language much have been known in Sicily, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Antioch, in consequence of the conquests of Robert Guiscard, Hugo le Grand, and Godfrey of Bulloigne: and that pilgrimages into the Holy Land were excessively frequent. It is hence easy to suppose, that the French imported many of their stories or books of this sort into the East; which being thus understood there, and suiting the genius of the Orientals, were at length

translated into their language. It is remarkable, that the Greeks at Constantinople, in the twelfth century, and since, called all the Europeans by the name of Franks; as the Turks do to this day. See Seld. Polyolb. § viii. p. 130.

² In our English *SYR EGLAMOUR OF ARTOYS*, there is this reference to the French from which it was translated, Sign. E. i.

His own mother there he wedde,
In ROMAUNCE as we rede.

Again, fol. ult.

In ROMAUNCE this cronycle ys.

The authors of these pieces often refer to their original. Just as Ariosto mentions Turpin for his voucher.

³ But I must not omit here that Du Cange recites a metrical French romance in manuscript, *Le Roman de Girard de Vienne*, written by Bertrand le Clerc. Gloss. Lat. i. IND. AUCT. p. xciii. Madox has printed the names of several French romances found in the reign of Edward the Third, among which one on this subject occurs. Formul. Anglic. p. 12. Compare *Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. § viii. p. 43. Among the royal manuscripts, in the British Museum, there is in verse *Histoire de Gyart de Vienne et de ses freres*. 20 D. xi. 2. This manuscript was perhaps written before the year 1300.

by which, as the profession of minstrelsy decayed and gradually gave way to a change of manners and customs, romances in metre were at length imperceptibly superseded, or at least grew less in use as a mode of entertainment at public festivities.

Various causes concurred, in the mean time, to multiply books of chivalry among the French, and to give them a superiority over the English, not only in the number but in the excellence of those compositions. Their barons lived in greater magnificence. Their feudal system flourished on a more sumptuous, extensive, and lasting establishment. Schools were instituted in their castles for initiating the young nobility in the rules and practice of chivalry. Their tilts and tournaments were celebrated with a higher degree of pomp; and their ideas of honour and gallantry were more exaggerated and refined.

We may add, what indeed has been before incidentally remarked, that their troubadours were the first writers of metrical romances. But by what has been here advanced, I do not mean to insinuate without any restrictions, that the French entirely led the way in these compositions. Undoubtedly the Provencial bards contributed much to the progress of Italian literature. Raimond the fourth of Arragon, count of Provence, about the year 1220, a lover and a judge of letters, invited to his court the most celebrated of the songsters who professed to polish and adorn the Provencial language by various sorts of poetry^b. Charles the First, his son-in-law, and the inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taste for the Provencial literature. At Florence especially this taste prevailed, where he reigned many years with great splendour, and where his successors resided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence^c. Hitherto the Latin language had only

^b Giovan. Villani, *Istor.* l. vi. c. 92.

^c Villani acquaints us, that Brunetti Latini, Dante's master, was the first who attempted to polish the Florentines by improving their taste and style; which he did by writing his grand work the

Treaso in Provencial. He died in 1294. See Villan. *ibid.* l. ix. c. 135.

[That Brunetti did not write his *Treaso* in Provencal we have his own authority, and the evidence of the work itself:—*Et se aucuns demandels pour-*

been in use. The Provençal writers established a common dialect: and their examples convinced other nations, that the modern languages were no less adapted to composition than those of antiquity^d. They introduced a love of reading, and diffused a general and popular taste for poetry, by writing in a language intelligible to the ladies and the people. Their verses being conveyed in a familiar tongue, became the chief amusement of princes and feudal lords, whose courts had now begun to assume an air of greater brilliancy: a circumstance which necessarily gave great encouragement to their profession, and by rendering these arts of ingenious entertainment universally fashionable, imperceptibly laid the foundation of polite literature. From these beginnings it were easy to trace the progress of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

This praise must undoubtedly be granted to the Provençal poets. But in the mean time, to recur to our original argument, we should be cautious of asserting in general and indiscriminating terms, that the Provençal poets were the first writers of metrical romance: at least we should ascertain, with rather more precision than has been commonly used on this subject, how far they may claim this merit. I am of opinion that there were two sorts of French troubadours, who have not hitherto been sufficiently distinguished. If we diligently examine their history, we shall find that the poetry of the first troubadours consisted in satires, moral fables, allegories, and sentimental sonnets. So early as the year 1180, a tribunal called the *Court of Love*, was instituted both in Provence and Picardy, at which questions in gallantry were decided. This

quoi chis livre est escrit en roumans selon la raison de France, pour chou que nous sommes Ytalien je diroie que ch'est pour chou que nous sommes en France; l'autre pour chou que la parole en est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens. *Notices des Manuscrits*, t. v. p. 270.—*Err.*]

^d Dante designed at first that his *ferme* should appear in Latin. But find-

ing that he could not so effectually in that language impress his satirical strokes and political maxims on the laity, or illiterate, he altered his mind, and published that piece in Italian. Had Petrarch written his *Africa*, his *Eclogues*, and his prose compositions in Italian, the literature of his country would much sooner have arrived at perfection.

institution furnished eternal matter for the poets, who threw the claims and arguments of the different parties into verse, in a style that afterwards led the way to the spiritual conversations of Cyrus and Clelia^c. Fontenelle does not scruple to acknowledge, that gallantry was the parent of French poetry^f. But to sing romantic and chivalrous adventures was a very different task, and required very different talents. The troubadours therefore who composed metrical romances form a different species, and ought always to be considered separately. And this latter class seems to have commenced at a later period, not till after the Crusades had effected a great change in the manners and ideas of the western world. In the mean time, I hazard a conjecture. Cinthio Giraldi supposes, that the art of the troubadours, commonly called the *Gay Science*, was first communicated from France to the Italians, and afterwards to the Spaniards^g. This perhaps may be true: but at the same time it is highly probable, as the Spaniards had their JUGLARES or convivial bards very early, as from long connection they were immediately and intimately acquainted with the fictions of the Arabians, and as they were naturally fond of chivalry, that the troubadours of Provence in great measure caught this turn of fabling from Spain. The communication, to mention no other obvious means of intercourse in an affair of this nature, was easy through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, by which the two nations carried on from early times a constant commerce. Even the French critics themselves universally allow, that the Spaniards, having learned rhyme from the Arabians, through this very channel conveyed it to Provence. Tasso preferred *Amadis de Gaul*, a romance originally written in Spain [Portugal], by Vasco Lobeyra, before the year 1300^h, to the most celebrated pieces of the Provencial poetsⁱ. But this is a subject which will perhaps receive illustration from a writer of great taste, talents, and industry, Monsieur de la Curne de

^c This part of their character will be insisted upon more at large when we come to speak of Chaucer.

^f Theatr. Fr. p. 13.

^g Apud Huet, Orig. Rom. p. 108.

^h Nic. Antonius, Bibl. Hispan. Vet. tom. ii. l. viii. c. 7. num. 291.

ⁱ Disc. del Poem. Eroic. l. ii. p. 45, 46.

Sainte Palaye, who will soon oblige the world with an ample history of Provençal poetry; and whose researches into a kindred subject, already published, have opened a new and extensive field of information concerning the manners, institutions and literature of the feudal ages^k.

NOTE A. (*from the Emendations and Additions.**)

In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an English poem on the SANGREAL, and its appendages, containing forty thousand verses. MSS. LXXX. chart. The manuscript is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end. The title at the head of the first page is ACTA ARTHURI REGIS, written probably by Joceline, chaplain and secretary to archbishop Parker. The narrative, which appears to be on one continued subject, is divided into books, or sections, of unequal length. It is a translation made from Robert Borron's French romance called LANCELOT, above mentioned, which includes the adventure of the SANGREAL, by Henry Lonelich Skynner, a name which I never remember to have seen among those of the English poets. The diction is of the age of king Henry the Sixth. Borel, in his *TRESOR de Recherches et Antiquitez Gauloises et Francoises*, says, "Il y'a un Roman ancien intitule LE CONQUESTE DE SANGREAL, &c." Edit. 1655. 4to. V. GRAAL. It is difficult to determine with any precision which is Robert Borron's French Romance now under consideration, as so many have been written on the subject. [See p. 137.] The diligence and accuracy of Mr. Nasmith have furnished me

^k See *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, &c.* Paris, 1759. tom. ii. 12mo.

* This Note is referred to in p. 118, and is placed at the end of this Section on account of its length.

[It was found impracticable to condense within the limits of a note, the matter necessary for the refutation of the singular doctrines hazarded in the text. Few of them are Warton's own; but the reader who is desirous of forming more correct opinions upon the subject,

is referred to M. Raynouard's *Poésies des Troubadours*, a work which has done more towards forming a just understanding of the merits of Provençal poetry, and the extent and value of Provençal literature, than any publication which has hitherto appeared. The mass of evidence there adduced in favour of the early efforts of the Provençal muse, must effectually silence every theory attempting to confine song and romantic fiction to any particular age or country.—*ERR.*]

with the following transcript from Lonelich Skynner's translation in Bennet College library.

Thanne passeth forth this storye with al
That is cleped of som men SEYNT GRAAL
Also the SANK RYAL iclepid it is
Of mochel peple with owten mys

* * * * *

Now of al this storie have I mad an ende
That is schwede of Celidoygne and now forthere to wend
And of anothir brawnche most we be gynne
Of the storye that we clepen prophet Merlynne
Wiche that Maister ROBERT OF BORROWN
Owt of Latyn it transletted hol and som
Onlich into the langage of Frawnce
This storie he drowgh be adventure and chaunce
And doth Merlynne insten with SANK RYAL
For the ton storie the tothir medlyth withal
After the satting of the forseid ROBERT
That somtym it transletted in Middilerd
And I as an unkonneng man trewely
Into Englisch have drawn this storye
And though that to zow not plesyng it be
Zit that ful excused ze wolde haven me
Of my neclegence and unkonnenge
On me to taken swich a thinge
Into owre modris tonge for to endite
The swettere to sowne to more and lyte
And more cler to zoure undirstondyng
Thanne owthir Frensh other Latyn to my supposing
And therfore atte the ende of this storye
A pater noster ze wolden for me preye
For me that HERRY LONELICH hyhte
And greteth owre lady ful of myhte
Hartelich with an ave that ze hir bede
This processe the bettere I myhte procede

And bringen this book to a good ende
 Now thereto Jesu Crist grace me sende
 And than an ende there offen myhte be
 Now good Lord graunt me for charite

* * * * *

Thanne Merlyn to Blasye cam anon
 And there to hym he seide thus son
 Blasye thou schalt suffren gret peyne
 This storye to an ende to bringen certheyne
 And zit schall I suffren mochel more
 How so Merlyn quod Blasye there
 I schall be sowht quod Merlyne tho
 Owt from the west with messengeris mo
 And they that scholen comen to seken me
 They have maad sewrawnce I telle the
 Me forto slen for any thing
 This sewrawnce hav they mad to her kyng
 But whanne they me sen and with me speke
 No power they schol hav on me to ben a wreke
 For with hem hens moste I gon
 And thou into othir partyes schalt wel son
 To hem that hav the holy vessel
 Which that is icleped the SEYNT GRAAL
 And wete thou wel and ek forsothe
 That thou and ek this storye bothe
 Ful wel beherd now schall it be
 And also beloved in many contre
 And has that will knowen in sertaygne
 What kynges that weren in grete Bretaygne
 Sithan that Cristendom thedyn was browht
 They scholen hem fynde has so that it sawht
 In the storye of BRWTES book
 There scholen ze it fynde and ze weten look
 Which that MARTYN DE BEWBE translated here
 From Latyn into Romaunce in his manere

But leve me now of BRWTTES book
And aftry this storye now lete us look.

After this latter extract, which is to be found nearly in the middle of the manuscript, the scene and personages of the poem are changed; and king Enalach, king Mordrens, Sir Nesciens, Joseph of Arimathea, and the other heroes of the former part, give place to king Arthur, king Brangors, king Loth, and the monarchs and champions of the British line. In a paragraph, very similar to the second of these extracts, the following note is written in the hand of the text, *Henry Lonelich Skynner, that translated this boke out of Frenshe into Englyshe, at the instance of Harry Barton.*

The QUEST OF THE SANGREAL, as it is called, in which devotion and necromancy are equally concerned, makes a considerable part of king Arthur's romantic history, and was one grand object of the knights of the Round Table. He who achieved this hazardous adventure was to be placed there in the *siege perillous*, or *seat of danger*. "When Merlyn had ordayne the rounde table, he said, by them that be fellowes of the rounde table the truthe of the SANGREAL shall be well knowne, &c. —They which heard Merlyn say soe, said thus to Merlyn, Sithence there shall be such a knight, thou shouldest ordayne by thy craft a siege that no man should sitte therein, but he onlie which shall passe all other knights.—Then Merlyn made the siege perillous," &c. Caxton's MORT D'ARTHUR, B. xiv. cap. ii. Sir Lancelot, *who is come but of the eighth degree from our lord Jesus Christ*, is represented as the chief adventurer in this honourable expedition. Ibid. B. iii. c. 35. At a celebration of the feast of Pentecost at Camelot by king Arthur, the Sangreal suddenly enters the hall, "but there was no man might see it nor who bare it," and the knights, as by some invisible power, are instantly supplied with a feast of the choicest dishes. Ibid. c. 35. Originally LE BRUT, LANCELOT, TRISTAN, and the SAINT GREAL were separate histories; but they were

so connected and confounded before the year 1200, that the same title became applicable to all. The book of the SANGREAL, a separate work, is referred to in MORTE ARTHUR. "Now after that the quest of the SANGREAL was fulfilled, and that all the knyghtes that were lefte alive were come agayne to the Rounde Table, as the BOOKE OF THE SANGREAL makethe mencion, than was there grete joye in the courte. And especiallie king Arthur and quene Guenever made grete joye of the remnaunt that were come home. And passynge glad was the kinge and quene of syr Launcelot and syr Bors, for they had been passynge longe awaye in the quest of the SANGREAL. Then, as the Frenshe booke sayeth, syr Lancelot," &c. B. xviii. cap. 1. And again, in the same romance: "Whan syr Bors had tolde him [Arthur] of the adventures of the SANGREAL, such as had befallen hym and his felawes,—all this was made in grete bookes, and put in almeryes at Salisbury." B. xvii. cap. xxiii.* The former part of this passage is almost literally translated from one in the French romance of TRISTAN, Bibl. Reg. MSS. 20 D. ii. fol. antep. "Quant Boort ot conte laventure del Saint Graal teles com eles estoient avenues, eles furent mises en escrit, gardees en lamere de Salibieres, dont Mestre GALTIER MAP l'estrest a faist son liore du Saint Graal por lamor du roy Herri son sengor, qui fist lestoire tralater del Latin en romanz." Whether Salisbury, or Salibieres is, in the two passages, the right reading, I cannot ascertain. [But see supra. Note °. p. 118.] But in the royal library at Paris there is "Le Roman de TRISTAN ET ISEULT, traduit de Latin en François, par Lucas chevalier du Gast pres de Sarisberi, Anglois, avec figures." Montfauc. CATAL. MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris. Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again Cod. 6956. fol. max. "Liveres de TRISTAN mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat." [See supr. p. 118.

* The romance says, that king Arthur "made grete clerkes com before him that they should cronicle the adventures of these goods knyghtes." [See infra Section xi.]

° See infra Sect. xxviii. not. °.

There is printed, "Le Roman du noble et vaillant Chevalier Tristan fils du noble roy Meliadus de Leonny, par Luce, chevalier, seigneur du chateau de Gast. Rouen, 1489. fol."

Notes.] *Almeryes* in the English, and *l'Amere*, properly *annuaire* in the French, mean, I believe, *Presses*, *Chests*, or *Archives*. *Ambry*, in this sense, is not an uncommon old English word. From the second part of the first French quotation which I have distinguished by Italics, it appears, that Walter Mapes*, a learned archdeacon in England, under the reign of king Henry the Second, wrote a French *SANGREAL*, which he translated from Latin, by the command of that monarch. Under the idea, that Walter Mapes was a writer on this subject, and in the fabulous way, some critics may be induced to think, that the *WALTER*, archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth professes to have received the materials of his history, was this Walter Mapes, and not Walter Calenius, who was also an eminent scholar, and an archdeacon of Oxford. [See *supr.* p. 69.] Geoffrey says in his Dedication to Robert earl of Gloucester, "Finding nothing said in Bede or Gildas of king Arthur and his successors, although their actions highly deserved to be recorded in writing, and are orally celebrated by the British bards, I was much surprised at so strange an omission. At length Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence, and learned in foreign histories, offered me an ancient book in the British or Armorican tongue; which, in one unbroken story, and an elegant diction, related the deeds of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. At his request, although unused to rhetorical flourishes, and contented with the simplicity of my own plain language, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin." B. i. ch. i. See also B. xii. ch. xx. Some writers suppose, that Geoffrey pretended to have received his materials from archdeacon Walter, by way of authenticating his romantic history. These notices seem to disprove that suspicion. In the year 1488, a French romance was published, in two magnificent folio volumes, entitled, His-

* [From a passage in the French romance of *Lancelot du Lac*, M. Roquefort is of opinion that there were two persons of this name. In that he is styled "*messire Gautier Map qui fut*

chevalier le roi." But so much confusion prevails upon this subject, that it is almost impossible to name the author of any prose romance.—*ENR.*]

TOIRE de ROY ARTUS et des CHEVALIERS de la TABLE RONDE. The first volume was printed at *Rouen*, the second at *Paris*. It contains in four detached parts, the Birth and Achievements of King Arthur, the Life of Sir Lancelot, the Adventure of the Sangreal, and the Death of Arthur, and his Knights. In the body of the work, this romance more than once is said to be written by Walter Map or Mapes, and by the command of his master king Henry. For instance, tom. ii. at the end of **PARTIE DU SAINT GRAAL**, Signat. d d i. "Cy fine Maistre GUALTIER MAP son traittie du Saint Graal." Again, tom. ii. **LA DERNIERE PARTIE**, ch. i. Signat. d d ii. "Après ce que Maistre GUALTIER MAP eut tractie des aventures du Saint Graal, assez soufifamment, sicomme il luy sembloit, il fut ad adviz au ROY HENRY SON SEIGNEUR, que ce quil avoit fait ne debuit souffrire sil ne racontoys la fin de ceulx dont il fait mention.—Et commence Maistre Gualtier en telle manier ceste derniere partie." This *derniere partie* treats of the death of king Arthur and his knights. At the end of the second tome there is this colophon: "Cy fine le dernier volume de La Table Ronde, faisant mention des fais et proesses de monseigneur Launcelet du Lac et dautres plusieurs nobles et vaillans hommes ses compagnons. Compile et extraict precisement et au jaste des vrayes histoires faisantes de ce mencion par tresnotable et tresexpert historien Maistre GUALTIER MAP, et imprime a Paris par Jehan du Pre. Et lan du grace, mil. cccc. iiiixx. et viii. le xvi jour du Septembre." The passage quoted above from the royal manuscript in the British Museum, where king Arthur orders the adventures of the Sangreal to be chronicled, is thus represented in this romance. "Et quant Boort eut compte depuis le commencement jusques a la fin les aventures du Saint Graal telles comme ils les avoit veues, &c. Si fist le roy Artus rediger et mettre par escript aus dictz elers tout ci que Boort avoit compte," &c. Ibid. tom. ii. **La Partie du SAINT GRAAL**, ch. ult. At the end of the royal manuscript at Paris, [Cod.

* Just before it is said, "Le roy tures aux chevalliers mettoient en Artus fist venir les clerks qui les aven- escript." As in *MORT D'ARTHUR*.

6783.] entitled *LANCELOT DU LAC mis en François par Robert de Borron par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre*, it is said, that Messire Robert de Borron translated into French, not only *LANCELOT*, but also the story of the *SAINT GRAAL li tout du Latin du GAUTIER MAPPE*. But the French antiquaries in this sort of literature are of opinion, that the word *Latin*, here signifies *Italian*; and that by this *LATIN* of Gualtier Mapes, we are to understand *English* versions of those romances made from the *Italian* language. The French History of the *SANGREAL*, printed at Paris in folio by Gallyot du Prè in 1516, is said, in the title, to be translated from Latin into French rhymes, and from thence into French prose by Robert Borron. This romance was reprinted in 1523.

Caxton's *MORTE ARTHUR*, finished in the year 1469, professes to treat of various separate histories. But the matter of the whole is so much of the same sort, and the heroes and adventures of one story are so mutually and perpetually blended with those of another, that no real unity or distinction is preserved. It consists of twenty-one books. The first seven books treat of king Arthur. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, of sir Trystram. The eleventh and twelfth, of sir Lancelot^x. The thirteenth of the *SAINGRAL*, which is also called sir Lancelot's Book. The fourteenth of sir Percival. The fifteenth, again, of sir Launcelot. The sixteenth of sir Gawaine. The seventeenth, of sir Galahad. [But all the four last-mentioned books are also called the *historye of the holy Sanggreall*.] The eighteenth and nineteenth, of miscellaneous adventures. The two last, of king Arthur and all the knights. Lwhyd mentions a Welsh *SANGREAL*, which, he says, contains various fables of king Arthur and his knights, &c. *ARCHÆOLOG. BRIT. Tit. vii. p. 265. col. 2.* *MORTE ARTHUR* is often literally translated from various and very antient detached histories of the heroes of the round table, which I have examined; and on the

^x But at the end, this twelfth book is hersall of the thyrd booke [of Sir TRYSTRAM.]
called the second booke of SYR TRYSTRAM. TRAM."]
And it is added, "But here is no re-

whole, it nearly resembles Walter Map's romance above mentioned, printed at Rouen and Paris, both in matter and disposition.

I take this opportunity of observing, that a very valuable vellum fragment of *LE BRUT*, of which the writing is uncommonly beautiful and of high antiquity, containing part of the story of Merlin and king Vortigern, covers a manuscript of Chaucer's *ASTROLABE*, lately presented, together with several Oriental manuscripts, to the Bodleian library, by Thomas Hedges, esquire, of Alderton in Wiltshire; a gentleman possessed of many curious manuscripts, and Greek and Roman coins, and most liberal in his communications.

SECTION IV.

VARIOUS matters suggested by the Prologue of **RICHARD CŒUR DE LYON**, cited in the last section, have betrayed us into a long digression, and interrupted the regularity of our annals. But I could not neglect so fair an opportunity of preparing the reader for those metrical tales, which, having acquired a new cast of fiction from the Crusades and a magnificence of manners from the increase of chivalry, now began to be greatly multiplied, and as it were professedly to form a separate species of poetry. I now therefore resume the series, and proceed to give some specimens of the English metrical romances which appeared before or about the reign of Edward the Second: and although most of these pieces continued to be sung by the minstrels in the halls of our magnificent ancestors for some centuries afterwards, yet as their first appearance may most probably be dated at this period, they properly coincide in this place with the tenour of our history. In the mean time, it is natural to suppose, that by frequent repetition and successive changes of language during many generations, their original simplicity must have been in some degree corrupted. Yet some of the specimens are extracted from manuscripts written in the reign of Edward the Third. Others indeed from printed copies, where the editors took great liberties in accommodating the language to the times. However, in such as may be supposed to have suffered most from depravations of this sort, the substance of the ancient style still remains, and at least the structure of the story. On the whole, we mean to give the reader an idea of those popular heroic tales in verse, professedly written for the harp, which began to be multiplied among us about the beginning of the fourteenth century. We will begin with the romance of **RICHARD CŒUR DE LYON**, already mentioned.

The poem opens with the marriage of Richard's father, Henry the Second, with the daughter of Carbarryne, a king of Antioch. But this is only a lady of romance. Henry married Eleanor the divorced queen of Louis of France. The minstrels could not conceive any thing less than an Eastern princess to be the mother of this magnanimous hero.

——— His barons hym sedde¹
 That he graunted a wyff to wedde.
 Hastely he sente hys sondes
 Into many dyuerse londes,
 The feyreste wyman that wore on liff
 Men wolde* bringe hym to wyff.*

The messengers or ambassadors, in their voyage, meet a ship adorned like Cleopatra's galley.

Swylk on ne seygh they never non ;
 All it was whyt of huel-bon,
 And every nayl with gold begrave :
 Off pure gold was the stave² ;
 Her mast was [of] yvory ;
 Off samyte the sayl wytterly.
 Her ropes wer off tuely sylk,
 Al so whyt as ony mylk.

* [The present text has been taken from the edition of this romance by Mr. Weber, who followed a manuscript of no very early date in Caius College library, Cambridge. The variations between this and the early printed editions, consist principally in the use of a more antiquated phraseology, with some trifling changes of the sense. The most important of these are given in the notes below. Mr. Ellis, who has analysed this romance (vol. ii. p. 186), conceives the fable in its present form to have originated with the reign of Edward I. ; and that the extravagant fictions it contains were grafted by some Norman minstrel upon an earlier narrative, more in uni-

son with Richard's real history. Of the story in its uncorrupted state, he considers a fragment occurring in the Auchinlech M.S. to be an English translation ; and as this document was "transcribed in the minority of Edward III." the following declaration of Mr. Weber may not exceed the truth :—"There is no doubt that our romance existed before the year 1300, as it is referred to in the Chronicles of Richard [Robert] of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne ; and as these rhymesters wrote for mere English readers, it is not to be supposed that they would refer them to a French original."—EDIT.]

¹ [redde, advised.]

² [sholde.]

³ [sklave, rudder : clavus.]

That nohle schyp was al withoute,
 With clothys of golde sprede aboute;
 And her loof⁴ and her wyndes⁵,
 Off saure forsothe it was.

In that schyp ther wes i-dyght,
 Knyghts and ladyys of mekyl myght;
 And a lady therinne was,
 Bryght as the sunne thorough the glas.
 Her men aborde gunne to stonde,
 And sesyd that other with her honde,
 And prayde hem for to dwelle
 And her counsayl for to telle:
 And they graunted with all skylle
 For to telle al at her wylle:
 "Swo wyde landes we have went⁶
 For kyng Heary us has sent,
 For to seke hym a quene
 The fayreste that myghte fonde bene."
 Upros a kyng off a chayer
 With that word they spoke ther.
 The chayer was [of] charboncle ston,
 Swylk on ne sawgh they never non:
 And tuo dukes hym besyde,
 Noble men and mekyl off pryde,
 And welcomed the messangers ylkone.
 Into that schyp they gunne gone....
 They sette tresteles and layde a borde;
 Cloth of sylk theron was sprad,
 And the kyng hymselfe bad,
 That his daughter were forth sette,
 And in a chayer before hym sette.
 Trumpes begonne for to blowe;
 Sche was sette forth in a throwe⁶

⁶ immediately.

⁴ [loft, deck.]

⁵ [wyndlace.]

⁶ ["To dyverse londes do we wende."]

With twenty knyghtes her aboute
 And moo off ladyes that wer stoute....
 Whenne they had nygh i-eete,
 Adventures to speke they nought forgeeta.
 The kyng ham tolde, in hys resoun
 It com hym thorough a vysyoun,
 In his land that he cam froo,
 Into Yngelond for to goo;
 And his doughtyr that was so dere
 For to wende bothe in fere^c,
 "In this manere we have us dyght
 Into that lande to wende ryght."
 Thenne aunsweryd a messanger,
 Hys name was callyd Bernager,
 "Forther wole we seke nought
 To my lord she schal be brought."

They soon arrive in England, and the lady is lodged in the Tower of London, one of the royal castles.

The messangers the kyng have tolde
 Of that ladye fayr and bold,
 Ther he lay in the Tour
 Off that lady whyt so flour.
 Kyng Henry gan hym son dyght,
 With erls, barons, and manye a knyght,
 Agayn the lady for to wende:
 For he was curteys and hende.
 The damysele on lond was led,
 And clothes of gold before her spred,
 And her fadyr her beforu
 With a coron off gold icorn;
 The messangers be ylk a syde
 And menstralles with mekyl pryde
 Kyng Henry lyght in hyng
 And grette fayr that uncouth kyng....
 To Westemenstre they wente in fere
 Lordyngs and ladys that ther were.

^c company.

Trumpes begonne for to blowe,
To mete^d they wente in a throwe, &c.^e

The first of our hero's achievements in chivalry is at a splendid tournament held at Salisbury. Clarendon near Salisbury was one of the king's palaces^f.

Kyng Rychard gan hym dysguyse,
In a ful strange queyntyse^g.
He cam out of a valaye
For to se of theyr playe,
As a knyght aventurous.
Hys atyre was orgolous^h:
Al togyder cole black
Was hys horse withoute lacke;
Upon hys crest a raven stode,
That yanedⁱ as he wer wode.—
He bare a schafte that was grete and strong,
It was fourtene foot long;
And it was grete and stout,
One and twenty ynches about.*

^d to dinner.

^e line 135.

^f In the pipe-rolls of this king's reign, I find the following articles relating to this ancient palace, which has been already mentioned incidentally. Rot. Pip. 1 Ric. I. "WILLES: Et in cariagio vini Regis a Clarendon usque Woodestoke, 34s. 4d. per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 200 m. [marcis] a Saresburia usque Brixtow, 7s. 4d. per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 2500 libris a Saresburia usque Glocestriam, 36s. 10d. per Br. Reg. Et pro tonellis et clavis ad eodem denarios. Et in cariagio de 4000 marcis a Sarum usque Suthanton, et pro tonellis et aliis necessariis, 8s. et 1d. per Br. Reg." And again in the reign of Henry the Third. Rot. Pip. 30 Hen. III. "WILLES: Et in una marcesia ad opus regis et regine apud Clarendon cum duobus interclusoribus, et duabus cameris privatis, hostio veteris aule amovendo in porticu, et de eadem aula camera facienda cum camino et fenestris, et camera privata, et quadam magna coquina quadrata, et aliis operationibus, contentis in Brevi,

inceptis per eundem Nicolann et non perfectis, 536l. 16s. 5d. ob. per Br. Reg." Again, Rot. Pip. 39 Hen. III. "SOPHAMPT. Comp. Nova foresta. Et in triginta miliaribus scindularum [shingles] faciend. in eadem foresta et cariand. eodem usque Clarendon ad domum regis ibidem cooperiendam, 6l. et 1 marc. per Br. Reg. Et in 30 mill. scindularum faciend. in eadem, et cariand. usque Clarendon, 11l. 10s." And again, in the same reign the canons of Ivy-church receive pensions for celebrating in the royal chapel there. Rot. Pip. 7 Hen. III. "WILLES. Et canonicis de monasterio ederoso ministrantibus in Capella de Clarendon. 35l. 7d. ob." Stukeley is mistaken in saying this palace was built by king John.

^g See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. CONTRAS.
^h proud, pompous.

ⁱ yawned.
* [It is "One and twenty inches abouts." So doctor Farmer's manuscript, purchased from Mr. Martin's library. See *supr.* p. 124. Note ¹. This is in English.—ADDITIO.]

The fyrst knyght that he there mette,
Ful egyrly he hym grette,
With a dente amynd the schelde;
His hors he bar down in the felde, &c.^k

A battle-ax which Richard carried with him from England into the Holy Land is thus described.

King Richard, I understand,
Or he went out of England,
Let him make an axe^l for the nones,
To breke therwith the Sarasyns^m bones.
The head was wrought right wele;
Therin was twenty pounde of stele;
And when he came into Cyprus lond,
The ax he tok in his hond.
All that he hit he all to-frapped;
The griffonsⁿ away fast rapped;
Natheles many he cleaved,
And their unthinks ther by lived;
And the prisoun when he cam to,
With his ax he smot right tho,
Dores, barres, and iron chains, &c.^o

This formidable axe is again mentioned at the siege of Acon or Acre, the antient Ptolemais.

Kyng Rychard aftyr, anon ryght,
Toward Acres gan hym dyght;

^k line 267. ^l Richard's battle-ax is also mentioned by Brunne, and on this occasion, Chron. p. 159.

^m The Crusades imported the phrase *Jeu Sarrazinois*, for any sharp engagement, into the old French romances.—Thus in the ROMAN OF ALEXANDER, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. P. i.

Tholomer le regrette et le plaint en Grijois,
Et dist que s'il eussent o culs tels vingt
et trois,

Il nous eussent fet un jeu SARRAZINOIS.

ⁿ The Byzantine Greeks are often called Griffones by the historians of the middle ages. See Du Cange Gloss. Ville-Hard. p. 363. See also Rob. Brun. Chron. p. 151. 157. 159. 160. 165. 171. 173. Wanley supposes that the *Griffin* in heraldry was intended to signify a Greek, or Saracen, whom they thus represented under the figure of an imaginary eastern monster, which never existed but as an armorial badge.

^o line 2196.

And as he saylyd toward Surrye^p,
 He was warnyd, off a spye,
 How the folk off the hethene lawe,
 A gret cheyne hadden i-drawe,
 Over the havene of Acres fers,
 And was festnyd to two pelers,
 That noo schyp ne scholde in-wynne^q,
 Ne they nought out that wer withynne.
 Therefore sevene yer and more,
 Alle Crystene kynges leyen there,
 And with gret hongyr suffryd payne,
 For lettyng off that ilke chayne.
 Kyng Richard herd that tydyng;
 For joye hys harte beganne to sprynge,
 And swor and sayde, in his thought,
 That ylke chayne schoide helpe hem nought
 A swythe strong galeye he took,
 And 'Trenchemer', so says the book,
 Steryd the galey ryght ful evene,
 Ryght in the myddes off the havene.
 Wer the maryners saughte or wrothe,
 He made hem sayle and rowe bothe;
 And kyng Rychard, that was so good,
 With hys axe in foreschyp stood.
 And whenne he com the cheyne too,
 With hys ax he smot it in two^r,
 That all the barouns, verrayment,
 Sayde it was a noble dent;

^p Syria.

^q So Fabyan of Rosamond's bower,
 "that no creature, man or woman, myght
 wyne to her." i. e. go in, by contraction,
Win. Chron. vol. i. p. 320. col. i. edit.
 1533. [pinnan A. & to labour, strive at,
 and hence attain to by labour.—*Emm.*]

^r *Rob. Brun. Chron.* p. 170.

The kyng's owne galeie he calld it
Trenchemere.

^s Thus H. de Branne says, "he found
 dred the Saracens oturynne," p. 574. He
 forced the Saracens into two parties.—
 [Vid. *supra*, p. 76. Note ^q.]

^t ["*Trenchemere*, so saith the booke.—
 The galey yede as swift
 As ony fowle by the lyfte."]

And for joye off this dede;
 The cuppes fast abouten yede¹,
 With good wyn, pyement and clarré;
 And saylyd toward Acres cyté.
 Kyng Richard, oute of hys galye,
 Caste wylde-fyr into the skeye,
 And fyr Gregeys into the see,
 And al on fyr wer thè.
 Trumpes yede in hys galye,
 Men myghte it here into the skye,
 Taboures and hornes Sarezyneys²,
 The see brent all off fyr Gregeys³.

This *fyr Gregeys*, or Grecian fire, seems to be a composition belonging to the Arabian chemistry. It is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine historians, and was very much used in the wars of the middle ages, both by sea and land. It was a sort of wild-fire, said to be inextinguishable by water, and chiefly used for burning ships, against which it was thrown in pots or phials by the hand. In land engagements it seems to have been discharged by machines constructed on purpose. The oriental Greeks pretended that this artificial fire was invented by Callicus, an architect of Heliopolis, under Constantine; and that Constantine prohibited them from communicating the manner of making it to any foreign people. It was however in common use among the nations confederated with the Byzantines: and Anna Commena has given an account of its ingredients⁴, which were bitumen, sulphur, and naphtha. It is called *feu gregois* in the French chronicles and romances. Our minstrel, I believe, is singular in saying that Richard scattered this fire on Saladin's ships: many monkish historians of the holy war, in describing the siege of Acon, relate that it was employed on that occasion, and many others, by the Saracens against the

¹ went.

² line 2598.

³ See Du Cange, Not. ad Joinvil.
p. 71. And GL. Lat. V. IONIS GRÆCUM.

⁴ [shalmys, shawms.]

Christians². Procopius, in his history of the Goths, calls it MEDEA'S OIL, as if it had been a preparation used in the sorceries of that enchantress³.

The quantity of huge battering rams and other military engines, now unknown, which Richard is said to have transported into the Holy Land, was prodigious. The names of some of them are given in another part of this romance⁴. It is an historical fact, that Richard was killed by the French from the shot of an arcubalist, a machine which he often worked skillfully with his own hands: and Guillaume le Briton, a Frenchman, in his Latin poem called *Philippeis*, introduces Atropos making a decree, that Richard should die by no other means than by a wound from this destructive instrument; the use of which, after it had been interdicted by the Pope in the year 1139, he revived, and is supposed to have shewn the French in the Crusades⁵.

Sunnes^a he hadde; on wondyr wyse;
Mangle^b off gret queintyse^c;

² See more particularly Chron. Rob. Brun. p. 170. And Benedict. Abb. p. 652. And Joinv. Hist. L. p. 39. 46. 52. 53. 62. 70.
³ iv. 11.

⁴ Twenty grete gynnes for the nones
Kynge Richard sent for to cast
stones, &c.

Among these were the *Mategryffon* and the *Robynet*. Sign. N. iii. The former of these is thus described. Sign. E. iiii.

I have a castell I understonde
Is made of tembre of Englonde
With syxe stages full of tourelles
Well flouryshed with cornelles, &c.

See Du Cange Not. Joinv. p. 68. *MATAGRYFFON* is the *Terror* or *plague* of the *Greeks*. Du Cange, in his Gallo-Byzantine history, mentions a castle of this name in Peloponnesus. Benedict says, that Richard erected a strong castle, which he called *Mate-gryffon*, on the brow of a steep mountain without the walls of the city of Messina in Sicily. Benedict.

Abb. p. 621. ed. Hearn. sub ann. 1190. Robert de Bruinne mentions this engine from our romance. Chron. p. 157.

The romancer it sais Richarde did make
a pele,

On' kastle, wise allwais wrought of tre
ful wele.—

In schip he ded it lede, &c. ———
His pele from that dai forward he cald it
Mate-gryffon.

Pele is a house [a castle, fortification]. Archbishop Turpin mentions Charlemagne's wooden castles at the siege of a city in France. cap. ix.

⁵ See Carpentier's Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gl. tom. i. p. 494. And Du Cange ad Ann. Alex. p. 357.

^b See supr. p. 71. Note^a. It is observable, that *MANGANUM*, *Mangonell*, was not known among the Roman military machines, but existed first in Byzantine Greek *Μαγγανον*, a circumstance which seems to point out its inventors, at least to shew that it belonged to the Oriental

^a [gynnes, engines.]

Arwblast bowe, and⁹ with gynne
 The Holy Lond for to wyne.
 Ovyr al othyr wyttyrly,
 A melle^d he hadde off gret maystry;
 In myddys a schyp for to stand;
 Swylke on sawgh nevyr man in land.
 Four sayles wer theretoo,
 Yelew, and grene, red and bloo.
 With canevas layd wel al about,
 Ful schyr withinne and eke without;
 Al withinne ful off feer,
 Of torches maad with wex ful cleer;
 Ovyrtwart and endelang,
 With strenges of wyr the stones hang¹⁰;
 Stones that deden never note,
 Grounde they never whete, no grote,
 But rubbyd as they wer wood.
 Out of the eye ran red blood^e.

art of war. It occurs often in the Byzantine Tactics, although at the same time it was perhaps derived from the Latin *Machina*: yet the Romans do not appear to have used in their wars so formidable and complicated an engine, as this is described to have been in the writers of the dark ages. It was the capital machine of the wars of those ages. Du Cange in his *CONSTANTINOPOLIS*

CHRISTIANA mentions a vast area at Constantinople in which the machines of war were kept. p. 155.

⁹ See supr. p. 166. Note^e. ^d mill.

^e This device is thus related by Robert of Brunne, Chron. p. 175. 176.

Richard als suite he did raise his engyns
 The Inglis wer than blythe, Normans
 and Peteryns:

⁹ [made.]

¹⁰ [With spryngelles of fyre they dyde honde.]—Espringalles, Fr. engines. See Du Cange, GL. LAT. *SPRINGARDA*, *QUADRELLUS*. And Not. Joinv. p. 78. Perhaps he means pellets of tow dipped in the Grecian fire, which sometimes were thrown from a sort of mortar. Joinville says, that the Greek fire thrown from a mortar looked like a huge dragon flying through the air, and that at midnight the flashes of it illuminated the Christian camp, as if it had been broad day. When Louis's army was encamped on the banks of the Thanis in Egypt, says the same curious historian, about the year 1249, they erected two *chats chateils*, or covered galleries, to shelter their workmen, and at the end of them two *befrais*, or vast moveable wooden towers, full of crossbow men, who kept a continual discharge on the opposite shore. Besides eighteen other new-invented engines for throwing stones and bolts. But in one night, the deluge of Greek fire ejected from the Saracen camp utterly destroyed these enormous machines. This was a common disaster; but Joinville says, that his pious monarch sometimes averted the danger, by prostrating himself on the ground, and invoking our Saviour with the appellation of *Beau Sire*. p. 37. 39.

Beffore the trowgh there stood on;
 Al in blood he was begon;
 And hornes grete upon his hede,
 Sarezynes theroff hadde gret drede^f.

The last circumstance recalls a fiend-like appearance drawn by Shakespeare; in which, exclusive of the application, he has converted ideas of deformity into the true sublime, and rendered an image terrible, which in other hands would have probably been ridiculous.

————— Methought his eyes
 Were two full moons, he had a thousand noses,
 Horns whelk'd and way'd like the enridged sea.
 It was some fiend^g —————

At the touch of this powerful magician, to speak in Milton's language, "The griesly terror grows tenfold more dreadful and deform."

The moving castles described by our minstrel, which seem to be so many fabrics of romance, but are founded in real history, afforded suitable materials for poets who deal in the marvellous. Accordingly they could not escape the fabling genius of Tasso, who has made them instruments of enchantment, and accommodated them, with great propriety, to the operations of infernal spirits.

At the siege of Babylon, the soldan Saladin sends king Richard a horse. The messenger says,

"Thou sayest thy God is ful of myght:
 Wylt thou graunt, with spere and scheeld,

In bargeis and galeis he set mylnes to go,
 The sailis, as men saie, sam were blak
 and blo,

Soa were rede and grene, the wynde
 about them blew.—

The stones were of Bynes, the neywe
 dreadfull and grete

It affraid the Sarazins, as leven the fyre
 out schets.

The noywe was unride, &c.

Bynes is the river Rhine, whose shores or bottom supplied the stones shot from their military engines. The Normans, a barbarous people, appear to have used machines of immense and very artificial construction at the siege of Paris in 885. See the last note. And *Vin. Saladin*, per Schultens, p. 135. 141. 167, &c.

^f Line 2631.

^g King Lear, iv. vi.

Deraye the ryght in the feeld,
 With helm, hawberk and brondes bryght
 On strong stedes, good and lyght,
 Whether is off more power
 Jesu or Jubyter?
 And he sente thé to say this,
 Yiff thou wilt have an hors [of] hys?
 In alle the landes ther thou hast gon,
 Swylk on say thou nevyr non!
 Favel off Cypre, ne Lyard off Prys^b,
 Are nought at nede as that he is;
 And, yiff thou wylt, this selve day,
 It shall be brought thè to assay."
 Quoth kyng Richard: "Thou sayest wel;
 Swylke an hors, by Seynt Mychel,
 I wolde have to ryde upon.—
 Bydde hym sende that hors to me;
 I schal asaye, what that he be.
 Yiff he be trusty, withoute fayle,
 I kepe non othir in batayle."

^b horses belonging to Richard, "Favel of Cyprus and Lyard of Paris." Robert de Brunne mentions one of these horses, which he calls PHANUEL. Chron. p. 175.

Sithen at Japhet was slayn PHANUEL his stede,
 The Romans talles gret pas ther of his douhty dede.

This is our romance, viz. Sign. Q. iii.

To hym gadered every chone
 And slewe FAVELL under hym,
 Tho was Richard wroth and grym.

This was at the siege of Jaffe, as it is here called. *Favell* of Cyprus is again mentioned, Sign. O. ii.

FAVELL of Cyprus is forth fet
 And in the sadell he hym sett.

Robert of Brunne says that Saladin's brother sent king Richard a horse. Chron. p. 194.

He sent to king Richard a stede, for curteisie

On of the best reward that was in pænnie.

[In the wardrobe-roll of prince Edward, afterwards king Edward the Second, under the year 1272, the masters of the horse render their accounts for horses purchased, specifying the colours and prices, with the greatest accuracy. One of them is called, "Unus equus FAVELLUS cum stella in fronte, &c. Hearne's JOHNN. DE TROCKLOWE. Pref. p. xxi. Here *favellus* is interpreted by Hearne to be *honeycomb*. I suppose he understands a dappled or roan horse. But FAVELLUS, evidently an adjective, is barbarous Latin for *fulvus*, or *fulvus*, a dun or light yellow, a word often used to express the colour of horses and hawks. See Carpentier, SUPPL. DU FROISS. LAR. GLOSS. V. FAVELLUS. tom. ii. p. 370. It is hence that king Richard's horse is called FAVEL. From which word PHANUEL, in Robert de Brunne, is a corruption.—ADDITIONS.]

The messenger thenne home wente,
 And tolde the Sawdon in presente,
 Hou kyng Richard wolde hym mete.
 The rych Sawdon, al so skete,
 A noble clerk he sente for thenne
 A maytyr negromacien¹,
 That conjuryd as [I] you telle,
 Thorwgh the feendes craft off helle,
 Twoo stronge feendes off the eyr,
 In lyknesse off twoo stedes feyr,
 Lyke, bothe of hewe and here;
 As they sayde that wer there,
 Never was ther seen non slyke.
 That on was a mere lyke,
 That other a colt, a noble stede,
 Wher he wer, in ony nede,
 Was nevyr kyng ne knyght^k so bolde,
 That, whenne the dame neyghe^l wolde,
 Scholde hym holde agayn hys wylle,
 That he ne wolde renne her tylle^m,
 And knele adoun, and souke^a hys dame:
 That whyle, the Sawdon with schame,
 Scholde kyng Richard soone aquelle.
 All thus an aungyl gan hym telle,
 That cam to hym after mydnyght;
 And sayd "Awake, thou Goddes knyght!
 My lord^o dos the to undyrstande,
 The schal com an hors to hande;
 Fayr he is off body pyght;
 Betraye the yiff the Sawdon myght.
 On hym to ryde have thou no drede,
 He schal the help at thy nede."

The angel then gives king Richard several directions about

¹ necromancer.

^k his rider.

^l neigh.

^m go to her.

^a suck.

^o God.

managing this infernal horse, and a general engagement ensuing, between the Christian and Saracen armies^p,

To lepe to hors thenne was he dyght;
 Into the sadyl or he leep,
 Off many thyng he took keep.—
 Hys men him brought al that he badde.
 A quarry tree off fourty foote
 Before hys sadyl anon dyd hote
 Faste that men scholde it brace, &c.
 Hymself was rychely begoo,
 From the crest unto the too^q.
 He was armyd wondyr weel,
 And al with plates off good steel;
 And ther aboven, an hawberk;
 A schafft wrought off trusty werk;
 On his schuldre a scheeld off steel,
 With three lupardes^r wrought ful weel.
 An helme he hadde off ryche entayle;
 Trusty and trewe hys ventayle;
 On hys crest a douve whyte
 Sygnyfycacioun off the Holy Spryte:
 Upon a croys the douve stood
 Off golde wrought ryche and good.
 God^s hymself, Mary and Jhon,
 As he was naylyd the roode upon^t,
 In sygne off hym for whom he faught,
 The spere-hed forgatt he naught:
 Upon hys spere he wolde it have,
 Goddes hygh name theron was grave.

^p In which the Saracen line extended twelve miles in length, and

The grounde myght unneth be sene
 For bryght armure and speres kene.
 Again,

Lyke as snowe lyeth on the mountaynes
 So were fulfilled hylles and playnes
 With hauberkes bryght and harneys clere
 Of trompettes, and tabourere.

^q from head to foot.

^r leopards.

^s Our Saviour,

^t "As he died upon the cross." So in an old fragment cited by Hearne, Gloss. Rob. Br. p. 634.

Pyned under Ponce Pilat,
 Don on the rod after that.

Now herkenes what oth they swore,
 Ar they to the batayle wore:
 Yiff it were soo, that Richard myght
 Sloo the Sawdon, in feeld with fyght,
 Hee, and alle hys scholde gon,
 At her wylle everilkon,
 Into the cytè off Babylone;
 And the kyngdom of Massidoynes
 He scholde have undyr his hand:
 And yiff the Sawdon off that land,
 Myghte sloo Richard in that feeld,
 With swerd or spere undyr scheeld,
 That Cristene men scholde goo,
 Out off that land, for ever moo,
 And Sarezynes have her wylle in wolde.
 Quod kyng Richard: "Thertoo I holde,
 Thertoo my glove, as I am knyght!"
 They ben armyd and wel i-dyght.
 Kyng Richard into the sadyl leep;
 Who that wolde theroff took keep,
 To see, that syght was ful fayr.
 The stede ran ryght, with gret ayr^u,
 Al so harde as they myght dure,
 Aftyr her feet sprong the fure.
 Tabours beten, and trumpes blowe;
 Ther myghte men see, in a throwe,
 How kyng Richard, the noble man,
 Encounteryd with the Sawdan,
 That cheef was told off Damas.^w
 Hys trust upon hys mere was.
 Therfoore, as the booke telles^x
 Hys crouper heeng al ful off belles^y,

^u ire.^w I do not understand this. He seems to mean the Sultan of Damas, or Damascus. See Du Cange, *Joinv.* p. 87.^x The French romance.^y Antiently no person seems to have

been gallantly equipped on horseback, unless the horse's bridle or some other part of the furniture was stuck full of small bells. Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about 1264, censures this piece of pride in the knights-templars. They

And his peytrel^a, and his arsoun^a;
 Three myle myghte men here the soun.
 The mere gan nygh, her belles to ryng,
 For grete pryde, withoute lesyng,
 A brod^b fawchoun to hym he bar,
 For he thought that he wolde thar
 Have slayn kyng Richard with tresoun,
 Whenne hys hors had knelyd down,
 As a colt that scholde souke;
 And [ac?] he was war off that pouke^a.
 Hys^c eeres with wax wer stoppyd fast,
 Therefore was he nought agast.
 He strook the feend that undyr hym yede,
 And gaff the Sawdon a dynt off dede.
 In his blasoun, verrayment,
 Was i-paynted a serpent.
 With the spere, that Richard heeld,
 He beor him thorwgh and undyr the scheeld,
 None off hys armes myghte laste;
 Brydyl and peytrel al to-brast;
 Hys gerth, and hys steropes alsoo;
 The mere to the grounde gan goo.

have, he says, bridles embroidered, or gilded, or adorned with silver, "Atque in pectoralibus CAMPANULAS INFILAS MAGNUM emittentes sonitum, ad gloriam eorum et decorum." Hist. lib. xxx. cap. 85. Wicliffe, in his TRIALOGUE, inveighs against the priests for their "fair hors, and jolly and gay sadeles, and bridles ringyng by the way," &c. Lewis's WICKLIFFE, p. 121. And hence Chaucer may be illustrated, who thus describes the state of a monk on horseback. Prol. Cant. v. 170.

And when he rode, men might his bridell here

GINGLING in a whistling wind as clere,
 Ande ke as lowde, as doth the chapell bell.

That is, because his horse's bridle or trappings were strung with bells.

^a The breast-plate, or breast-band of a horse. *Poitrel*, Fr. *Pectorale*, Lat. Thus Chaucer of the Chanones YEMAN's horse. Chan. Yem. Prol. v. 575. Urr.

About the PAYTRELL stode the foms ful hie.

^a The saddle-bow. "*Arconarium extencellatum cum argento*," occurs in the wardrobe rolls, ab an. 21 ad an. 23 Edw. III. Membr. xi. This word is not in *Du Cange* or his Supplement.

^b F. *bird*. [broad.]

^c ears.

[¹¹ And he was ware of that shame.]

Mawgry him, he garte hym staupen^a;
 Bakward ovyr hys meres croupe;
 The feet toward the fyrmament.
 Behynd the Sawdon the spere out went.
 He leet hym lye upon the grene^b;
 He prekyd the feend with spores^c kene;
 In the name off the Holy Gost,
 He dryves into the hethene hoost,
 And al so soone as he was come,
 He brak asunder the scheltrome^c;
 For al that ever before hym stode
 Hors and man to erthe yode,
 Twenty foot on every syde, &c.
 Whenne they of Fraunce wyste,
 That the maystry hadde the Chryste,
 They wer bolde, her herte they tooke;
 Stedes prekyd, schaufttes schooke.^f

Richard arming himself is a curious Gothic picture. It is certainly a genuine picture, and drawn with some spirit; as is the shock of the two necromantic steeds, and other parts of this description. The combat of Richard and the Soldan, on the event of which the christian army got possession of the city of Babylon, is probably the DUEL OF KING RICHARD, painted on the walls of a chamber in the royal palace of Clarendon^g. The soldan^h is represented as meeting Richard with a hawk on his fist, to shew indifference, or a contempt of his adversary; and that he came rather prepared for the chace, than the com-

^a spurs.

^b *Schiltren*. I believe, soldiers drawn up in a circle. Rob. de Brunne uses it in describing the battle of Fowkirke, Chron. p. 305.

Ther *SCHILTRON* sone was shad with Inglis that wer gode.

Shad is separated. [*Scheltren*, *turma clipeata*, a troop armed with shields.]

See Jamieson's Etymol. Scott. Dict. and Whitaker's Peirs Plouhman's Visions. —EDR.]

^c Line 5642. ^g See *supr.* p. 118.

^h [This is founded on an erroneous interpretation of the text, where War-ton has mistaken "A faucon brode," (black letter edition) or a broad falchion, for a *falcon*. —EDR.]

[ⁱ Maugre her heed, he made her seche
 The grounde, withoute more speche.]
 [^j Ther he fell dede on the grene.]

bat. Indeed in the feudal times, and long afterwards, no gentleman appeared on horseback, unless going to battle, without a hawk on his fist. In the *Tapestry of the Norman conquest*, Harold is exhibited on horseback, with a hawk on his fist, and his dogs running before him, going on an embassy from king Edward the Confessor to William duke of Normandy^b, *Tabour*, a drum, a common accompaniment of war, is mentioned as one of the instruments of martial music in this battle with characteristical propriety. It was imported into the European armies from the Saracens in the holy war. The word is constantly written *tabour*, not *tambour*, in Joinville's HISTORY OF SAINT LOUIS, and all the elder French romances. Joinville describes a superb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief, which he says was filled with cymbals, *tabours*, and Saracen horns^c. Jean d'Orronville, an old French chronicler of the life of Louis duke of Bourbon, relates, that the king of France, the king of Thrasimere, and the king of Bugie, landed in Africa, according to their custom, with cymbals, kettle drums, *tabours*^d, and whistles^e. Babylon, here said to be besieged by king Richard, and so frequently mentioned by the romance writers and the chroniclers of the crusades, is Cairo or Bagdat. Cairo

^b The hawk on the fist was a mark of great nobility. We frequently find it, upon antique seals and miniatures, attributed to persons of both sexes. So sacred was this bird esteemed, that it was forbidden in a code of Charlemagne's laws, for any one to give his hawk or his sword as part of his ransom. "*In compositionem Wirigildi volumus ut ea dentur quæ in lege continentur excepto accipitre et spatha.*" Lindebrog. Cod. Leg. Antiq. p. 895. In the year 1337, the bishop of Ely excommunicated certain persons for stealing a hawk sitting on her perch in the cloisters of the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark. This piece of sacrilege, indeed, was committed during service-time in the choir: and the hawk was the property of the bishop. Registr. Adami Orleton, Episc. Winton. fol. 56. b. In Archiv. Winton. In DOMZANI-BOOK, a Hawk's Airy, *Aira Accipitris*, is sometimes returned

among the most valuable articles of property.

^c *Histoir. de S. Loys*, p. 30. The original has "*Cors Sarasinoia.*" See also p. 52. 56. And Du Cange's Notes, p. 61.

^d I cannot find *Glais*, the word that follows, in the French dictionaries. But perhaps it answers to our old English *Glee*. See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. V. CLASSICUM. [Roquefort, who cites the same passage, calls *Glais*, a musical instrument, without defining its peculiar nature.—EDIT.]

^e Cap. 76. *Nacaires* is here the word for kettle-drums. See Du Cange, ubi supr. p. 59. Who also from an old roll *de la chambre des COMPTES de Paris* recites, among the household musicians of a French nobleman, "*Menestrel du Cor Sarasinois,*" ib. p. 60. This instrument is not uncommon in the French romances.

and Bagdat, cities of recent foundation, were perpetually confounded with Babylon, which had been destroyed many centuries before, and was situated at a considerable distance from either. Not the least enquiry was made in the dark ages concerning the true situation of places, or the disposition of the country in Palestine, although the theatre of so important a war; and to this neglect were owing, in a great measure, the signal defeats and calamitous distresses of the christian adventurers, whose numerous armies, destitute of information, and cut off from every resource, perished amidst unknown mountains and impracticable wastes. Geography at this time had been but little cultivated. It had been studied only from the antients: as if the face of the earth, and the political state of nations, had not, since the time of those writers, undergone any changes or revolutions.

So formidable a champion was king Richard against the infidels, and so terrible the remembrance of his valour in the holy war, that the Saracens and Turks used to quiet their froward children only by repeating his name. Joinville is the only writer who records this anecdote. He adds another of the same sort. When the Saracens were riding, and their horses started at any unusual object, "*ils disoient a leurs chevaux en les picquant de l'esperon, et cuides tu que ce soit le Roy RICHART^m?*" It is extraordinary, that these circumstances should have escaped Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Benedict, Langtoft, and the rest of our old historians, who have exaggerated the character of this redoubted hero, by relating many particulars more likely to be fabulous, and certainly less expressive of his prowess.

^m Hist. de S. Loyis, p. 16. 104. Who nicle of the holy war. See Du Cange's had it from a French manuscript chro- Notes, p. 45.

NOTE

ON THE ROMANCE OF SIR TRISTRAM.

[See page 78.]

THE romance of Sir Tristram, De Brunne's eulogium on which Warton has here cited, is usually supposed to be still extant. A poem purporting to be such was published some years ago by Sir Walter Scott, from a manuscript contained in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh; and accompanied by a large body of notes in illustration of the singularly beautiful story, with a prefatory dissertation on the age and character of the presumed author. In the latter, the distinguished editor has exercised the united powers of his ingenuity and erudition, to prove that the poem which he has thus ushered into the world is the same which is alluded to by De Brunne; and that it was composed by the Scottish poet noticed by Warton, Thomas of Erceldoune, called the Rymer.

The premises upon which these opinions are founded have ever appeared to the writer of this note to be both fanciful and unsatisfactory; and in entering into an examination of their validity, he is fortunate in having the example and arguments of Mr. Campbell to favour his attempt. The chain of evidence by which Sir Walter Scott has endeavoured to substantiate his theory, may be thus briefly stated. The æra of Thomas the Rymer (as originally fixed) lies between the years 1219-1296. At a subsequent period the earlier date was withdrawn, and his birth was referred to the close of the twelfth century. With this Thomas the Rymer it is urged we ought to identify the Thomas mentioned by De Brunne; and to accept the poem preserved in the Auchinleck MS. either as the original romance of that writer, or as one whose "general texture and form closely resemble it." In defence of the Rymer's claim to an "original property" in this story, a fragment of a French romance

is cited, containing a reference to one "Thomas" as the most authentic writer on the subject; and a passage from Godfrey of Strasburg, the author of a German version, is also adduced to show that he likewise followed the narrative of one Thomas of Brittanie. The date of the former document is fixed by *conjecture* at 1257; the age of Godfrey, with more probability, in the early half of the 13th century. With regard to the Rymer's death, it is a fact of such uncertain date, that all we positively know is,—it may have occurred between the years 1286–1299. The testimony of Blind Harry, upon which the date of 1296 reposes, is more than suspicious. The same political spirit which produced the numerous vaticinal rymes in favour of the successful Edward's invasion of Scotland, would naturally be combated by similar weapons in the sister kingdom. With these the Rymer may or may not have been connected; but when we recollect the general practice of introducing the seer's agency into every national epos, such a circumstance, however contrary to fact, will rather appear essential than surprising, in the composition of a genuine descendant of the ancient minstrel, bard, or rhapsodist. Unsupported by other authority, it would be useless to assume such a declaration as the basis of an historical argument; and as the rejection of it rather assists than impugns the theory here opposed, it may be dismissed without further comment. The date of the Rymer's birth is purely hypothetical; it may be limited by probability; but in the present state of the evidence, any thing like certainty is perfectly hopeless.

The testimony of De Brunne to the existence of poetry by "Erceldoune and Kendale," and the singular style in which it was written, is unequivocal. But it may be questioned, whether any one, unassisted by the Auchinleck MS., "*the faint vestiges of whose text, as well as probability, dictated Erceldoune*" in the following passage, would have known to which of these writers "Sir Tristram" ought to be assigned.

I was at [Erceldoune],
With Tomas spake I there.

The language of De Brunne is so loose and confused, that it might be attributed to either.

I see in song in sedgeyng tale,
Of Erceldoun and of Kendale;
Non tham says as thai tham wrought,
And in ther sayng it semes noght.
That may thou here in Sir Tristrem,
Over gestes it has the steem,
Over all that is or was,
If men it sayd as made Thomas;
Bot I here it no man so say,
That of some cople som is away;
So thare fayre saying here beforne,
Is thare travayle nere forlorne:
Thai sayd it for pride and nobleye,
That non were suylk as thei.¹

But, waving these considerations, the most important point for examination arises from the internal evidence to be found in the alleged romance of Sir Tristram; and upon which De Brunne has been so explicitly circumstantial.

Thai sayd it in so quainte Inglis,
That manyone wate not what it is.
Therefore heuyed wele the more
In strange ryme to travayle sore.
And my witte was oure thynne,
So strange speche to travayle in;
And forsoth I couth noght
So strange Inglis as thai wrought;
And men besoght me many a tyme,
To turne it bot in light ryme.

It is true, the ingenious editor of "Sir Tristram" considers all these peculiarities to exist in the Auchinleck poem. He

¹ In the Preface to Sir Tristram this line is thus given: "That were not suylk as thei." This error has engendered a wrong interpretation of the passage:

"they wrote for pride (fame), and for nobles, not such as these my ignorant hearers."

conceives the "quaint Inglis" to consist in a peculiar structure of style, which he designates "the Gibbonism of romance;" the "strange ryme" to be manifested by the intricate arrangement of the stanza, with its repetition of the same assonances; and that even the inaccuracies of the "seggers," mentioned in the preceding extract, are still to be traced in the omission of several couplets in various parts of the poem. But if there be meaning in language, or connexion in the narrative of De Brunne, his "quaint Inglis," his "strange Inglis," and his "strange speche," all resolve themselves into the employment of an unusual phraseology dependent upon his "strange ryme," and not into any peculiarity of style;—into the use of terms above the comprehension of the vulgar, which time had rendered obsolete, or fashion had adopted from exotic sources. For he proceeds to observe:

Thai sayd if I in *strange it turne*,
 To here it many on suld skurne;
 For [*in*] it ere *names fulle selcouthe*,
 That ere not used now in *mouthe*.
 And therefore for the commonalté,
 That blythely wild listen to me,
 On *light lange* I it began,
 For luf of the lewed man.

Of these "selcouthe names" what traces do we find in the romance of Sir Tristram, which are not to be met with in equal abundance in the poems of De Brunne? If the former be a specimen of that "quaint Inglis," which could justify De Brunne in saying it contained "*names not used now in mouthe*," upon what principle can we allow this cloistered versifier to have avoided the same peculiarity in his own composition? His own poems are equally quaint and equally prolific of that same obsolete phraseology, which limited the popularity of his admired predecessors; for whoever will be at the trouble of analysing the language of both writers, will find their archaisms nearly corresponding in amount, though frequently differing in verbal

import. With this knowledge, we are either reduced to the necessity of concluding, that there is a strange contradiction between the intention and practice of De Brunne, or that the romance of Sir Tristram still extant is not the production to which he has alluded. There is, however, a passage in this early chronicler, which will relieve him of this apparent charge of inconsistency, if we accept the only interpretation of which his language seems capable. He has stated of the seggours, who recited this romance:

Bot I here it no man so say
That of some copple som is away.

The editor of Sir Tristram renders this: "he never heard it repeated, but what of some copple (i. e. stanza) part was omitted." It does not appear upon what authority this explanation of "copple" is founded; and it would be difficult to point out any period in our language, when that expression implied more than the simple connexion of two distinct bodies. It is clearly equivalent to our modern "couplet;" and the examples brought from Sir Tristram (which is written in *stanzas*) to illustrate the censure of De Brunne, exhibit the suppression of whole copples, and not the omission of a part. In Anglo-Saxon verse, and its genuine descendant, the alliterative metre of early English poetry, the "copple" was as indispensable in the structure of a poem, as we now consider it to be in regular Iambic rymes; and it is among the commonest faults of every early transcriber, to commit the error noticed by De Brunne, and to give us a text, of which it may be truly said, "that of some copple som is away." This negligence is frequent in Beowulf and other Anglo-Saxon poems, to the great confusion of the narrative; and would indeed be a source of infinite perplexity, if the defective alliteration it occasions did not as clearly mark the hiatus as would be the case with an unconsorted ryme. Of this practice the following example out of many may suffice.

Thæm fæower bearn,
forth gerimed;

To him four bairns,
numbered (rimed) forth,

in worold wocun,	in world awoke,
weoroda ræswa,	(leader of armies),
Heorogar and Hrothgar,	Heorogar and Hrothgar,
and Halga til.	and Halga good. [woman]
Hyrde ic thaet Elan cwen,*	I heard that Elan queen (or
.
heatho Scylfinga,	illustrious Scylfing,
heals-gebedda.	bedded consort.

Here the seventh line stands without the second member of the copple, an omission involving the history of Elan in some obscurity. Whether this inadvertency be equally chargeable against the transcribers of early English poetry in the same national metre, must be left to the decision of some more experienced antiquary. But that all who sought distinction in the composition of vernacular poetry, or were stimulated in their effusions by "pride and nobleye," adopted this species of metre, is abundantly proved by the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis. After speaking of Welsh poetry in general, the topographer of the principality proceeds to observe: "*Præcunctis autem rhetoricis exornationibus annominatione magis utuntur, eaque precipue specie quæ primas dictionum literas vel syllabas convenientia jungit. Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu, duæ nationes Angli scil. et Cambri in omni sermone exquisito [faire saying] utuntur, ut nihil ab his eleganter dictum, nullum nisi rude et agreste [lewed] censeatur eloquium si non schematis hujus lima plene fuerit expolitum sicut Brittanice in hunc modum :*"

Digawn duw da y unic
Wrth bob crybwyh parawd

* Ed. Thorkelin, p. 7. From some subsequent details it appears that Elan was married to Ongenthio, chief of the Scylfings; and we might perhaps restore the text by reading :

Hyrde ic thaet Elan cwen
[Ongenthioes was]
heatho Scylfinga
heals-gebedda

Heard I that Elan queen (woman)
was Ongenthio's
(illustrious Scylfing)
bedded consort (heals, *collum* ; gebedda,
consors lecti).

Anglice vero :

God is together
Gammen and wisdom.*

In this it may be assumed that we have the key to the "strange ryme" of De Brunne : and if the reader should feel disposed to accept the preceding illustration of the dismembered copple, he will probably not refuse his assent to the belief, that the following extract from an old romance, more nearly resembles the other peculiarities noticed by our ancient writer, than the stanza of Sir Tristram.

And quen this Bretayn was bigged,
bi this burn rych,
bolde bredden therinne,
baret* that losden ;
in many turned tyme,
tene that wroghten.
Mo ferlyes† on this folde,
han fallen here oft,
then in any other that i wot,
syn that ilk tyme.
Bot of alle that here bult,
of Bretaygne kynges,
ay was Arthur the hendest‡,
as I haf herde telle.
Forthi an aunter in erde,
I attle to shawe,
that a selli in sight,
summe men hit holden ;
and an outrage awenture,
of Arthures wonderes,
If ye wyl lysten this laye
bot on litel quile
Wit tonge

* Girald. Cambria Descript. pp. 889-90. ap. Camd. Anglica, Hibernica, &c. Francf. 1601.

* strife.

† marvels.

‡ most courteous.

I schal *tel* hit as *fit*
 as I in *toun* herde,
 as hit is stad and stoken
 in stori stif and stronge
 wit lel letteres loken
 in londe so has ben longe.⁴

On analysing the language of this production, it will be found to form a striking contrast to the simple narrative of De Bruune, or the abrupt and costive style of Sir Tristram. It abounds in those "selcouth names" which in the fourteenth century were rapidly growing into disuse, and which were only retained by the writers in alliterative metre. Every relic of this species of versification displays the same exuberance of obsolete terms, the same attention to set phraseology and antique idioms manifested in the specimen given above; and the practice cannot be better illustrated, than by referring to the "quaint Hellenisms" which distinguish the Alexandrine school of heroic poetry. By De Brunne, who only felt such learned foppery to be a drawback upon the writer's popularity, it is merely condemned as an error in policy; by Chaucer, who saw the necessary sacrifice it involved of matter to manner, of sense to sound, it is ridiculed for its childish absurdity:

But trusteth wel I am a sotherne man,
 I cannot *geste*, *rem*, *ram*, *ruf* by my letter,
 And God wote, rime hold I but litel better.

Of the Rymer's claim to an "original property" in this story, as inferred from the language of the French fragments, Mr. Campbell has already remarked: "The whole force of this argument evidently depends upon the supposition of Mr. Douce's fragments being the work of one and the same author, —whereas they are not to all appearance by the same author. A single perusal will enable us to observe how remarkably

⁴ This stanza has been arranged according to the practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The reasons for this departure from the usual disposition of the lines is the Editor's intention to give in a future publication, which will also contain the whole romance from whence the specimen given above has been taken.

they differ in style. They have no appearance of being parts of the same story, one of them placing the court of king Mark at Tintagail, the other at London. Only one of the fragments refers to the authority of a Thomas, and the style of that one bears very strong marks of being French of the twelfth century, a date which places it beyond the possibility of its referring to Thomas of Erceldoune." In addition it may be observed, that the language of this fragment, so far from vesting Thomas with the character of an original writer, affirms directly the reverse:

⁵ Seignurs cest cunte est mult divers—

Oï en ai de plusar gent;
 Aser saï que chescun en dit,
 Et co qu'il unt mis en escrit.
 Mé selun ce que j'ai oï,
 Néi dient pas sulun Breri,
 Ki solt les gestes et les cuntes
 De tus les reis, de tus les cuntes,
 Ki orent esté en Bretagne,
 E sur que tut de cest ouraigne:
 Plusurs de nos granter ne volent
 Ce que-del naim dire se solent,
 Ki femme Kaherdin dut aimer &c.
 Pur cest plaie e pur cest mal,
 Enveiad Tristran Guvernal
 En Engleterre pur Ysolt.
 Thomas ico granter ne volt;
 Et si volt par raisun mustrar,
 Qu' ico ne put pas esteer.

⁵ "Lordings, this tale is very differently told; I have heard it from many: I know well enough how each tells it, and what they have put in writing. But according to what I have heard, they do not tell it as Breri does, who knew the gestes and the tales of all the kings, and all the earls, who had been in Brittany, and about the whole of this story. Many

of us (minstrels) will not allow what others tell of (Tristram) the dwarf, who is said to have been in love with the wife of Kaherdin, &c. On account of the wound and this disease, Tristram sent Gouvernail into England for Ysolt. Thomas however will not admit this; and undertakes to prove, by argument, that this could not be. He (Gouvernail)

Cist fust par tut la part coneus,
 E par tut le regne sius &c.
 Que hume issi coneus,
 N'i fut mult tost aperceus,
 Ne sai coment il se gardast &c.

It is clear from this document, that in the writer's opinion the earliest and most authentic narrative of Tristram's story was to be found in the work of Breri. From his relation later minstrels had chosen to deviate; but Thomas, who had also composed a romance upon the subject, not only accorded with Breri in the order of his events, but entered into a justification of himself and his predecessor, by proving the inconsistency and absurdity of these new-fangled variations. If therefore the romance of Thomas be in existence, it must contain this vindication; the poem in the Auchinleck MS. is entirely silent on the subject. It is not a little remarkable, that another fragment of French poetry should also mention a Thomas, the author of a *translated* romance on the subject of king Horn.

Seignurs oï avez le vers del parchemin,
 Cum le Bers Aaluf est venuz a la fin;
 Mestre Thomas⁶ ne volt qu'il seit mis a declin,
 K'il ne die de Horn le vaillant orphelin⁷.

And, as if the writer had not sufficiently declared himself in this passage, we find the following repetition of his name at the conclusion:

Tomas n'en dirrat plus: *tu autem* chanterat,
Tu autem, domine, miserere nostri.

was known all over those parts, and throughout the kingdom, &c. That a man so known there, should not have been immediately perceived, I do not know how he could have prevented."—SCOTT.

⁶ From this prudish mode of announcing an author's name, it is impossible not to suspect, that the Tomas of Mr. Douce's fragment is in fact the author of that poem. Alexandre de Bernay declares himself in a similar manner.

Alexandre nous dit qui de Bernay fu nez.

Pliny (lib. i. p. 5) records a parallel piece of affectation observed by the Grecian artists, who used the imperfect tense in their inscriptions instead of the first aorist.

⁷ "Lordings, you have heard the poem as it stands in the parchment, how Baron Aaluf came to his end. (But) Master Thomas is unwilling the story should be closed, till he has spoken of the bold orphan Horn."

That this Thomas was only a translator or copyist of some earlier authority, is clear from his language in the first of these extracts; and is confirmed by two passages of similar import in a subsequent part of the poem.

E Horn si a torné *cum dit le parchemin.*

De Sutdene sui nez, *si ma geste ne ment.*

Sir Walter Scott is disposed to interpret this mention of a Thomas,—“though the opinion be only stated hypothetically,”—as another reference to the authority of Thomas of Erceuldoune; and anticipates any objection that might arise from the apparent antiquity of the language, by instancing the disparity between that of Douglas and Chaucer; the former of which he asserts “we should certainly esteem” [the elder], when in fact it is nearly two centuries later. We may safely leave the discussion of this point, till it be proved that the case at issue is any way analogous to the example brought to refute it; till it be shown that the French romance of king Horn was written in some remote province of France, where the vernacular dialect had either been entirely neglected, or contained elements essentially differing from the language of the capital. In fact, the whole argument with regard to antiquity of language may be said to be perfectly beyond the grasp of contending parties on this side of the channel; such a subject can only be decided with any chance of accuracy by native authority. But the ingenious advocate of the Rhymer’s fame has wholly forgotten to observe, that Mr. Ritson prudently abstained from touching on this point, and only spoke to the antiquity of the document in which the romance was found. This he affirmed “is to all appearance of the twelfth century;” and here the opinion of an English antiquary may be admitted as efficient testimony. On a review of these facts we may therefore assert, that if any conclusion is to be drawn from this collateral mention of a Thomas, it must be, that both fragments in all probability refer to the same personage. This man indisputably wrote in French; and so far from having an original property

in the fictions which he versified, we find him in both instances the follower of earlier authorities. The testimony of Godfrey of Strasburg will be found in close accordance with this opinion. Like the writer of the fragment in Mr. Douce's possession, Godfrey records the difficulty he had found in procuring an authentic narrative of Tristram's story, on account of the various modes in which it was related. At length having discovered, from his perusal of several *foreign* and Latin works, that Thomas of Brittany¹, who was well read in British books, had "told the tale aright," he resolved upon adhering to so competent a guide.

Als der von Tristande seit
 Di rihte und di warheit,
 Begonde ich sere suchen
 In beider hande buchen,
 Welschin und Latinen,
 Und begonde mich des pinen,
 Das ich in siner rihte,
 Rihte dies tihte.
 Sus treib ich manige suche,
 Unz ich an einem buche,
 Alle sine iehe gelas,
 Wie dirre aventure was.²

Of the language in which this "foreign book" was written, and which Godfrey believed to be the *original text* of Thomas, Mr. Weber has supplied us with the following conclusive evidence: "At v. 220 (of Godfrey's version) we are told that

¹ Before this name was interpreted "Thomas of Brittain," (i. e. Great Britain) it ought to have been shown that the German romancers ever understood this country by the term "Britannie." Godfrey's contemporary, Hartman von Awe, who collected materials for his romance of Iwain in England, calls it "Engellandt." The writer of Mr. Douce's fragment also makes a distinction between Bretagne and Engleterre

—Brittany and England.

² "What he (Thomas of Brittany) has related of Tristram being the right and the truth, I diligently began to seek both in French [foreign] and Latin books; and began to take great pains to order this poem according to his [its] true relation. In this manner I sought for a long time, until I read in a book all his relation, how these adventures happened."—WEBER.

Rivalin has been said to have been king of Lochnoys; 'but *Thomas*, who read it in adventure (romance), says that he was of Parmenie, and that he had a separate land from a Briton, to whom the Schotte (i. e. Scots) were subject, and who was named *li duc Morgan*.' A great number of words, sometimes whole lines, occur throughout the poem in French, which are carefully translated into German. *This renders it indisputable that the poet had a French original before him.*" It is impossible for testimony to be more explicit than the declaration of this early German poet. With the romance of *Thomas* lying before him, he cites the very expressions of his original, and these are found to be Norman-French!—The age of Godfrey can only be gleaned from the history of his contemporaries. Mr. Weber has remarked, "This poet appears from various circumstances to have lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. In a digression respecting the troubadours of his age, he deploras the death of Henry von Veldec (who composed a very romantic poem on the basis of Virgil's *Æneid*, in the year 1180, according to his own account); and among his contemporaries he mentions Hartman von Auwe, author of *Ywaine* and other poems, which he composed towards the end of the twelfth century; and Walther von der Vogelweide, who wrote a great number of amorous lays between the years 1190 and 1230." A copy of Godfrey's *Tristram*, including as much of the story as he lived to write, occurs in the royal library at Munich. Mr. Douce refers this MS. to the middle of the thirteenth century, and we are told that Ulrich von Turheim, who wrote one conclusion to Godfrey's unfinished poem, flourished not later than from 1240 to 1250. There is reason to believe this latter writer has been placed too low in the thirteenth century; for Wolfram von Eschenbach, who wrote a second part to Ulrich's *William of Orange*, was in the zenith of his glory in the year 1207. Wolfram would hardly have taken up the narrative during the life of Ulrich.

Sir Walter Scott has cited two early references to the story, one of which was written previous to the birth of the bard of

Erceldoune, and the other about the year 1226. To show the early popularity of the subject, and the general currency it had obtained in various parts of Europe, a few authorities are here collected, all of which were published before the period fixed upon for the composition of the Rymer's poem. The first is taken from Rambaud d'Orange, a troubadour whose death is placed about the year 1173.

Car jeu begui de l'amor,
 Que ja us deia amar celada,
 Ab Tristan, quan la il det Yseus gen—
 Sobre totz aurai gran valor,
 S' aital camis a m' es dada,
 Cum Yseus det a l'amador,
 Que mais non era portata;
 Tristan mout presetz gent presen—
 Qu' Yseutz estet en gran paor,
 Puois fon breumens conseillada,
 Qu' ilh fetz a son marit crezen
 C'anc hom que nasques de maire
 Non toques en lieis mantenen¹⁰.

This passage will be best understood by referring to the language of Brengwain in the English romance:

Greteth wele mi levedy .
 That ai trewe hath ben;
 Smockes had sche and Y,
 And hir was solwy to sen,
 By Marke tho hye schuld lye
 Y lent hir min al clen,
 As thare:
 Oyain hir, wele Y wen,
 No dede Y never mare.

Deudes de Prades, another troubadour, who is conjectured to have written about the year 1213, thus alludes to the "drink of force," the fatal cause of Tristram's criminal passion.

¹⁰ Raynouard, ii. 312.

Beure m fai ab l' enaps Tristran
Amors, et eisses los pimens¹¹.

The same circumstance is also referred to by Henry von Veldeck, a German Minne-singer, who died before the close of the 12th century.

Tristan muste ohne seinen Dank
Treue sein der Königinne,
Weil ihn dazu ein Getrank zwang,
Mehr noch als die Kraft der Minne¹².

In the Provençal romance of Jaufre, probably written before the year 1196, and certainly not later than 1213, we find a singular allusion to the feigned madness of Tristran, of which a detailed account is given in the second of Mr. Douce's fragments.

Que far m' o fai forsa d' amor—
E que fes fol semblar Tristran
Per Yseult cui amava tan,
E de son oncle lo parti,
E ella per s' amor mori¹³.

In the year 1226 the whole story was translated into Norse (Norwegian or Islandic), under the title of "Saga af Tristrand og Isaldis." The Arnæ-Magnæan MS. preserved at Copenhagen contains the following notice at the commencement: "Var tha lided fra Hingadburde Christi 1226 Aar, er thesse Saga var a Norrænu skrifad, eptir Befalningu Virdulegrs Herra Hakonar kongs¹⁴."

¹¹ "Love makes me drink from the goblet and very spices of Tristran."

¹² "Tristran was faithful to the queen by no merit of his own; for a philter rather than the force of love compelled him to it." The German given above is not from Veldeck's original text, but that modernized by Tieck.

¹³ "Since the force of love makes me—that (passion) which caused Tristran

to feign madness on account of Yseult, whom he loved so much, which caused him to be at variance with his uncle and made her (Yseult) die for his (Tristran's) love."

¹⁴ "1226 years were passed from the birth of Christ, when this Saga was written in Norse, by the command of (our) honoured lord, king Hacon."

If the writer of this Note "has been successful in his statement, three points have been established:" 1st, That the peculiarities of style and language in the romance of Sir Tristram are of such a character as to render it extremely doubtful that they are the same which are spoken of by De Brunne. 2ndly, That the Thomas of the French fragment, and the Thomas of Brittany mentioned by Godfrey of Strasburg, wrote his poem in Norman French. 3rdly, That Tristram's story was universally known in Europe previous to the Rymer's age; and consequently that, so far from being an authority to others, he followed in all probability some foreign predecessor. There are several minor arguments advanced in the preface to Sir Tristram, bearing relatively or incidentally upon the general theory, which have been passed over in silence. Several of these are purely hypothetical; such as the assumption that Mr. Douce's fragments were written by Raoul de Beauvais; that Thomas's authority was acknowledged by the Norman *rimeurs* from his supposed acquaintance with British traditions; that the names of Gouvernail, Blaunchefflour, Triamour, and Florentine, were bestowed upon the inferior personages, because the originals being unknown to Thomas he used those peculiar to the Norman-English dialect in which he composed—a circumstance, by the way, savouring strongly of a French original. These, with several others of a similar nature, can only need examination when the previous arguments shall have been established. Above all, the strange appropriation of the Auchinleck poem as a Scottish production, when no single trace of the Scottish dialect is to be found throughout the whole romance which may not with equal truth be claimed as current in the north of England, while every marked peculiarity of the former is entirely wanting, can hardly require serious investigation. From this opinion the ingenious editor himself must long ago have been reclaimed. The singular doctrines relative to the rise and progress of the English language in North and South Britain may also be dismissed as not immediately relevant. But when it is seriously affirmed, that the English language

was once spoken with greater purity in the Lowlands of Scotland, than in this country, we "Sothrons" receive the communication with the same smile of incredulity, that we bestow upon the *poetic* dogma of the honest Frieslander :

Buwter, breat en greene tzies
Is guth Inglish en guth Fries¹⁵.

This Note had been printed, when the writer received the first volume of Professor Müller's *Saga-Bibliothek*; (Kiöbenhavn 1817,) and *Lohengrin*, an old German romance edited by Mr. Görres (Heidelberg 1813). He is happy in being able to add from these interesting works a further confirmation of some of the positions assumed in the preceding pages.—The former contains the following passage: "The artifice here resorted to by the mistress of Dromund (one of the heroes in *Grettur's-Saga*), and which enables her to swear thus equivocally, is indisputably taken from the romance of *Tristram* so generally known in the middle ages. In the romance of *Tristram* by Thomas of Erceldoune, queen *Ysoude* avails herself of a similar manœuvre. See *Fytte the Second*, Stanzas 104, 105. This circumstance is also recorded in the old French version, and forms the 58th chapter of the Icelandic translation executed in the year 1226, at the command of king *Hacon*. The Icelandic *Saga* closely follows the order of the *English poem*." (page 261.) We are not informed whether the Northern version was made from the French or German, or, what is more probable, from a German translation of some French romance. But as it exhibits the story in the same form as the English poem, the Rymer's claim to "an original property in the fable" inevitably falls to the ground. The preface to *Lohengrin* contains a general account of *Wolfram v. Eschenbach's Titurel and Parcifal*. In the former, *Wolfram* cites the authorities he had consulted in the compilation of his

¹⁵ Butter, bread, and green cheese,
Is good English and good Friese.

work; and after mentioning the British history (which Mr. Görres with evident probability interprets the Brut of G. of Monmouth) declares himself to have been further assisted in his researches by "Thomas of Brittany's Chronicle of Cornwall." This is clearly the same Thomas so repeatedly referred to in the preceding page, and whose celebrity may now be accounted for on better grounds than the belief that he was the author of a *romance* on Tristram's story. The Chronicler of Cornwall was a much more important personage than a mere minstrel composer of chivalric poems; and though the critics of the present day might refuse to acknowledge the distinction between Thomas and his ryming cotemporaries, the characteristics of romantic and authentic history were not so rigidly defined at the period we are concerned with.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TAKEN FROM

MR. PARK'S COPY

OF

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

P. 4. note r.—Herbert observes that the Saxon þ [th] is used to this day in the letter y: as y^t *that*, y^e *the*. MS. note in Mr. Dallaway's copy.—PARK.

P. 15. end of note h.—Caxton had printed the *Liber Festivalis* in English before W. de Worde.—HEASLER. (Q^u. Lives of the Saints.)

P. 90. l. 3.—Guernes, an ecclesiastic of Pont St. Maxence in Picardy, wrote a metrical life of Thomas a Becket, and, from his anxiety to procure the most authentic information on the subject, came over to Canterbury in 1173, and finally perfected his work in 1177. It is written in stanzas of five Alexandrines, all ending with the same rhymes; a mode of composition supposed to have been adopted for the purpose of being easily chanted. A copy is preserved in MS. Harl. 270. and another in MS. Cotton. Domit. A. xi. See *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. and Ellis's *Hist. Sketch*, &c. p. 57.—PARK.

P. 90. note a.—The lives of St. Joseph and of the Seven Sleepers are attributed by the Abbé de la Rue to *Char-dry*, an Anglo-Norman poet, who also wrote *Le petit plet*, a dispute between an old and a young man on human life. Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury in 1207 wrote a canticle on the passion of Jesus Christ in 123 stanzas, with a theological drama, in the duke of Norfolk's library; and Denis Pyramus, who lived in the reign of Henry III., wrote in verse the life and martyrdom of King St. Edmund, in 3286 lines, with the miracles of the same saint in 600 lines: a manuscript in the Cott. Library,

Dom. A. xi. See *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. —PARK. For a note on Langton's drama, see vol. ii. p. 80.—EDRS.

P. 50. note y.—A version of this song was made by Sir Walter Scott, at the request of Ritson, and has been printed in the late republication of his *English Songs*, vol. ii. Mr. Geo. Ellis made another metrical translation, which perished with many of Ritson's MS. treasures.—PARK.

P. 54. note q.—It is certain that neither of these terms relates to chess.—DOUCE.

P. 64. note b.—The county of Lincoln is divided into the hundreds of Lindsey and Kesteven.—PARK.

P. 66. note m.—Herbert says he had found the *Fructus Temporum* printed at St. Albans, also by Julian Notary and W. de Worde, but not by Caxton.—MS. note.

P. 67. note c.—It is not said by Geoffrey of Monmouth that he received his original from Walter Mapes (who probably was not born at the time), but from Walter archdeacon of Oxford, i. e. Walter Calenius, who has more than once been confounded with Mapes, who was also archdeacon of Oxford. Mr. Warton has fallen into another mistake, which he confers on Nicolson, who only supposes Wate to be Walter, and not Walter Mapes.—DOUCE.

P. 90. l. 15.—It is very certain that many French poems were written during this period by Englishmen; but it is probable that several were also composed by Normans.—DOUCE.

P. 92. note l.—The "*Roman de Oti-*

nel," in Montfaucon Bibl. Bibliothec. p. 32, is probably the same.—DOUCZ.

P. 99. l. 20.—Mr. Philip Bliss, of St. John's college Oxon. (to whose kindness I am indebted for the collation of this extract with the Bodley MS.) observes, that a leaf appears to be wanting at this place, which contained probably the life of Edwyn; six lines of which only remain, and are here appended:

His wife, for here faire hedde,
Of God he hadde lytell drede;
Thought (?) he was here owne cosyne,
Therfore he sewed (?) the more pyne.
He reyned xii yere:
To Wynchester men hym bere.

P. 105. note k.—The "Mappa Mundi" was not by Mandeville, as here suggested, nor was Aiton or Haiton king of Armenia, but only related to that sovereign. He was lord of Curchi. See his travels in "Bergeron, Voyages faits principalement en Asie," &c. Mr. Warton was probably misled by Chardin the famous traveller.—DOUCZ.

P. 109. note i.—It has been remarked by Ritson, that the elegy printed by Mrs. Cooper was the composition of Fabryan the chronicler, who died in 1511: but then it is a translation from the original Latin, preserved by Knighton, of the twelfth century.—PARK.

P. 116. note i.—Two metrical reliques by Richard I. were first printed in *La Tour ténébreuse*, &c. 1705. The first of these, in mixed Romance and Provençal, professes to be the *véritable chanson* of Blondel; the other is a love-song in Norman French. The sonnet cited by Mr. Walpole was exhibited with an English version in Dr. Burney's *History of Music*, but has since received a more graceful illustration from the pen of Mr. George Ellis, in the last edition of *Royal and Noble Authors*. It can hardly be called "a fragment," though the last stanza looks imperfect.—PARK. [Mr. Park has probably mistaken the Envoy, consisting of three lines, for a part of the poem:]

Suer Contessa vostre pretz sobeirain,
Sal dieus e gard la bella qu'ieu am tan,
Ni per cui soi ja pres.

The whole has been published by M. Raynouard, in the fourth volume of his

"*Choix des Poesies originales des Troubadours*," a volume which had not reached me when the note, to which this is a supplement, was sent to the press. Another poem by Richard I. will be found in the "*Parnasse Occitanien*," Toulouse 1819, a publication from which the following remark has been thought worth extracting: "*Creacimbemi avat dit qu'il existait des poesies du roi Richard dans le manuscrit 3204; et la-dessus Horace Walpole le taxe d'inexactitude. Cependant le sirvente se trouve au fol. 170. Ro. et 171 Ro. C'est donc l'Anglois qui se trompe en disant: there is no work of King Richard.*"—ENRR.]

P. 117. l. 8.—It by no means follows that the contents of this book were romances of chivalry. Any collection of French pieces, especially in verse, would at this time be called *Romances*; and this from the language, not the subject.—DOUCZ.

P. 118. note n.—Mr. Warton has been apparently misled by Montfaucon. *Lancelot du Lac* is ascribed in the work itself to Walter de Mapes. Robert de Borron appears to have composed the romance of the *Saint Graal*, which being in part introduced into that of *Lancelot*, may have occasioned the above mistake.—DOUCZ. [But see p. 138. note c.—ENRR.]

P. 129. note b.—This *Roman de Thebes* is in reality one of those works on the story of the siege of Troy, engrafted either on that of *Columna*, or on his materials.—DOUCZ.

P. 134. l. 5.—Either from the ardour of composition, or through the multiplicity of books referred to by Mr. Warton, some mistake has arisen at this place. The late Mr. Librarian Price pointed out to me the 4to volume which once belonged to Hearne, and is now marked B. N. Rawl. 99. It consists of seven articles, the third of which is "*Gesta Alexandri Magni metricè composita*." This being very neatly written, in a hand much resembling the type of our early printed classics, seems to have been confounded (as Ritson shrewdly surmised) with "*Expositio Sancti Jeronimi*," MCCCCLXVIII. a rare specimen of typography by F. Corsellis, in the library of C. C. C. Oxon.—PARK.

P. 139. l. 1.—*La Charette*, or *Du Chevalier à la Charette*: perhaps the

same, says Ritson, with *Les romans de Chevalier d'Épée*, ou *L'Histoire de Lancelot du Lac*. To the same romance-writer are attributed, *Du Chevalier à Lion*, *du prince Alexandre*, *d'Erec*, with others, that are now lost.—PARR. M. Roquefort's catalogue of Chretien's works still extant, contains: Perceval, le Chevalier au Lion, Lancelot du Lac, Cliget, Guillaume d'Angleterre, and Erec et Enide. The latter probably gave rise to the opinion, that Chretien translated the *Æneid*, and which has been adopted from Mr. von der Hagen, at p. 130. note c.—EDRR.]

P. 139. note i.—*Ogier le Dannois duc de Dannemarche* was printed at Troyes in 1610; and at the same place, in 1608, were printed, *Histoire de Morgant le geant*, and *Histoire des nobles Provençes et Vaillances de Galeon restaure*.—PARR.

P. 146. l. 6.—The earliest printed copy of this romance that I have met with, is in Italian, and printed at Venice, 1489. 4to. Other editions in the same language are, Venice 1562. 1580. 12mo. Milan 1584. 4to. Piacenza, 1599. 12mo. French editions, Paris folio, no date, by Verard. Ibid. 4to. no date, by Bonfons. English editions are by Copland, 4to. no date, by Pinson, by East, by G. W. for W. Lee, all without dates. I have been informed from respectable authority, that this romance is to be found in Provençal poetry, among the MSS. of Christina queen of Sweden, now in the Vatican library, and that it appears to have been written in 1380. See likewise Bibl. de Du Verdier, tom. iii. p. 268.—DOUCZ.

P. 146. l. 16.—"Bevis" seems long to have retained its popularity, since Wither thus complained of the sale it had about the year 1627. "The stationers have so pestered their printing houses and shoppes with fruitlesse volumes, that the aunient

and renowned authors are almost buried among them as forgotten; and at last you shall see nothing to be sould amongst us, but Currantos, Beavis of Hampton, or such trumpery." Scholler's *Purgatory*, no date.—PARR.

P. 149. note y.—Busbec, in the third letter of his Embassy into Turkey, mentions that the Georgians in their songs make frequent mention of Roland, whose name he supposes to have passed over with Godfrey of Bulloigne.—DOUCZ.

P. 149. note a.—Mr. Dibdin imparts, that the original of the Romance of Paris and the Fair Vienne is of Provençal growth, and was translated into French by Pierre de la Sipparde, whose name, however, is not found in the *Bibliothèque Française* of La Croix du Maine and Verdier. Caxton, in his version 1485, is silent as to the name of the French translator. See Dibdin's edit. of Herbert, vol. i. p. 261.—PARR. [But this can only be the name of the translator into French prose. Its early and extensive popularity is manifested by the prologue to the Swedish version, made by order of Queen Euphemia, in the second month of the year 1308. This refers to a German original, executed at the command of the Emperor Otho (1197-1208); but this again was taken from a foreign (Wälsche) source.—EDRR.]

P. 164. note h.—In an ancient Provençal poem, of which M. de St. Palaye has given some account in his "*Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*," tom. ii. p. 160, a master gives the following instructions to his pupil, "Ouvrez a votre cheval par des coupes redoublés, la route qu'il doit tenir, et que son portrail soit garni de beaux grelots ou sonnettes bien rangées; car ces sonnettes reveillent merveilleusement le courage de celui qui le monte, et repandent devant lui la terreur."—DOUCZ.

COLLATIONS OF THE OXFORD MSS.

TAKEN FROM

MR. PARK'S COPY.

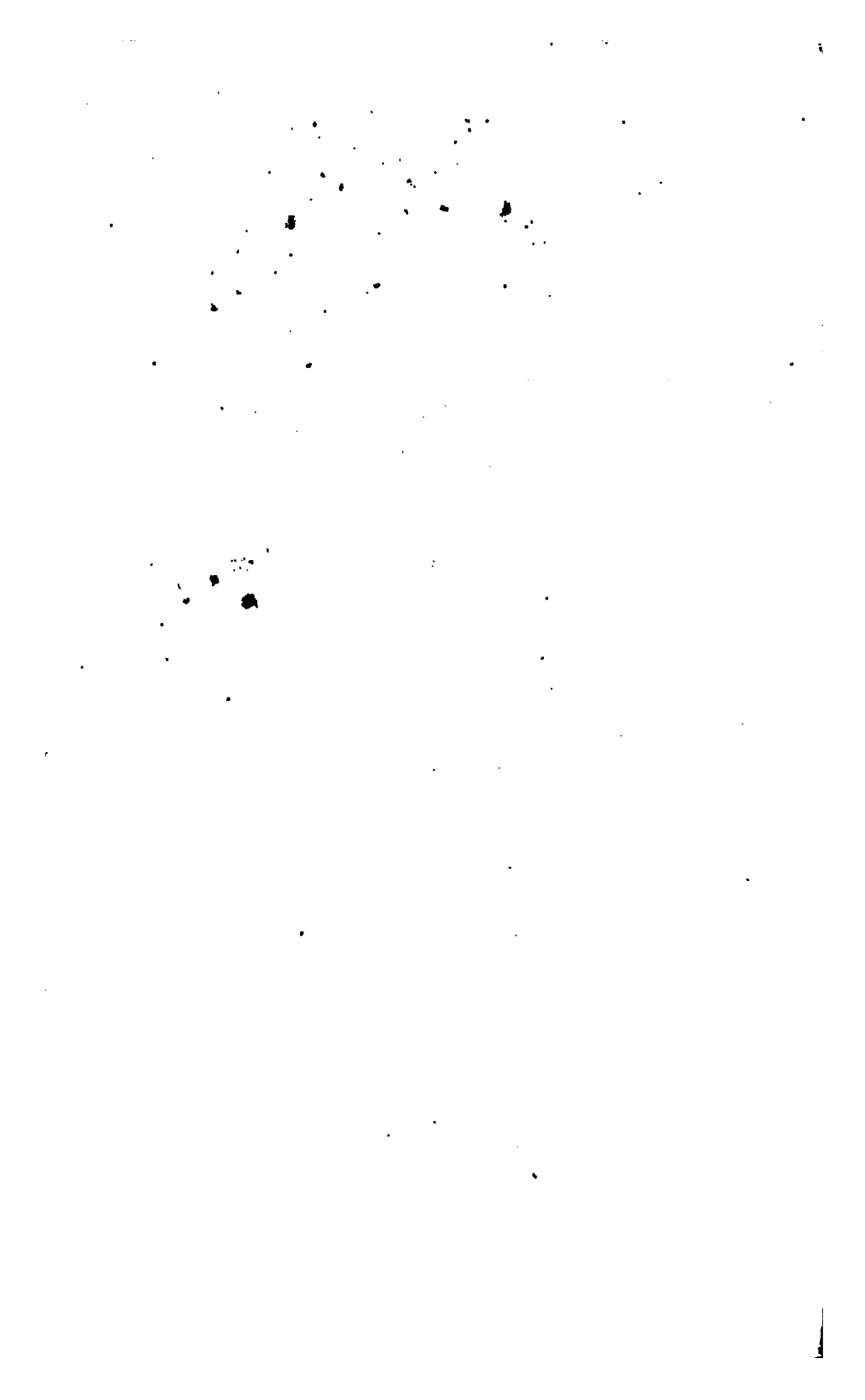
Page.	Line.	
17.	4.	Bi the kynges dai Egbert this goode <i>mon</i> was ibore.
17.	9.	Athelbriht the goode kyng <i>ac</i> al the lond nouht.
17.	12.	So that Egbert was kyng, tho that <i>seint</i> Swyththan was bore.
7.	19-20.	Seint Wolston bynschop of Wircestre was <i>her</i> of Ingelonde, Swithe holiman all his lyf as ich undurstonde.
17.	23.	Whan othur childre <i>rounes</i> to pleye toward chirche he drauh.
17.	24.	And the bischop of Wircestre <i>Brihtge</i> hette iwis
18.	7.	To get <i>reuthe</i> to al Ingelonde so weylawey the stounde
18.	11.	<i>Ac</i> William Bastard that was tho duyk of Normaundye
18.	17.	Harald <i>herde</i> herof tell kyngs of Ingelonde
18.	19.	<i>The</i> barenye of Ingelonde <i>redi</i> was <i>wel</i> sone
18.	19.	In no stude by <i>his</i> daye <i>me</i> fond non so strong a man
19.	3.	Al a cuntre where he <i>were</i> for him wolde fleo
19.	5.	He seide he <i>nolde</i> with no man beo beste with on that wene
19.	14.	To teche men <i>her</i> rygte beleve Jehu Cryst to understonde
19.	15.	So ful of wormes that lond he fonde that no man <i>ne</i> myghte gon
19.	16.	In some stede for wormes that he nas <i>iuenemyd</i> anon
19.	20.	There was Tomas fadir that trewe man was and gode
		<i>The</i> croyse to the holy <i>londe</i> in his youthe he nom,
19.	22-3.	<i>He</i> myd on Rychard, that was his mon, to Jerusalem com.
20.	2.	So that among Sarazyns hy wer nome <i>atte</i> laste
22.	1.	Allas my sone for serwe <i>wel ofte</i> seide heo
22.	5.	How schal I sone deone, hou hast <i>i-thought</i> liven withouten the.
22.	7.	Thenne spak Jhesue wordus gode <i>tho</i> to his modur dere
22.	15.	Hole and seeke heo duden good that <i>heo</i> founden there
22.	19.	Wy <i>at</i> heore mihte yonge and olde hire loveden bothe syte and fer
22.	28.	<i>Good</i> him was the gardiner &c.
27.	5.	<i>Faste</i> nayled to the tre.
27.	7.	<i>Ibunden</i> bloc an blodi.
27.	14.	An <i>neb</i> wit teres wete
24.	27.	Of Englisch <i>Ichul</i> <i>mi</i> resan schowen
25.	7.	And hou sone he hit <i>for-les</i>
25.	12.	And for a prison that was forloren
25.	18.	In feir stude and clene siker it was

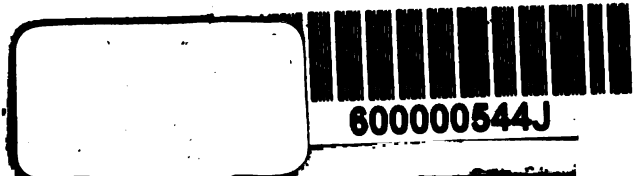
Page.	Line.	
86.	22.	Ther never ne fayleth socour
86.	24.	That thider wol fien to sechen grith
86.	25.	This castel is siker and feir abouten
87.	2.	So is inde <i>and eke</i> blew
87.	9.	And is raddore then <i>even</i> any rose schal
87.	10.	That <i>thuncheth</i> as hit barnde <i>al</i>
87.	24.	That mai riht of this water <i>cleche</i>
88.	4.	Foure vertues cardinals <i>ther</i> beoth
88.	8.	That <i>witeth</i> the heighe tour withouten
88.	19.	That beoth the seven vertues <i>which winne</i>
98.	12.	In Crystiante was <i>none</i> hym leche
98.	20.	Held this kyngdome
98.	26.	<i>Ac</i> he ne reyned here
99.	29.	That Edgare ybore <i>was</i>
100.	4.	Ne <i>loved</i> he never fyght ne stryfe
100.	8.	To bringe hym trewaye <i>there</i>
100.	11.	<i>iiij</i> yere <i>pleynerlyche</i>

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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